

V. V. BARTHOLD

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FOUR STUDIES ON THE  
HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

BY

V. AND T. MINORSKY

VOLUME I



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## FOREWORD BY THE TRANSLATOR

Barthold (1869-1930) was a great historian of the Muslim East and a remarkable personality. In the obituary notice of the *London Times* (26th August, 1930) he was called "the Gibbon of Turkestan". This epithet stresses the importance of Barthold's researches on the vast area extending from the Caspian to Mongolia and China, but, even outside it, and apart from it, there are many branches of Islamic history on which he has left his impress. He wrote a 'Historical Geography of Iran', a 'History of Oriental Studies in Western Europe and in Russia', a study of the two pillars of the Islamic state 'The Caliph and the Sultan', and several books on Islam and Islamic culture, to say nothing of a host of important articles on varied subjects of Islamic culture, history and geography <sup>1</sup>, biographical notices <sup>2</sup> and reviews of new books, some of which are veritable gems of acumen and learning <sup>3</sup>. The list of Barthold's works contains over four hundred items, and it can be confidently said that none of his writings has lost its utility and interest, in the light of later research.

Barthold was born in St. Petersburg in 1869 and belonged to a well-to-do family of German origin. His Christian name was Wilhelm, but he readily acquiesced in its Russianised form "Vasily Vladimirovich". Russian was Barthold's mother-tongue and he himself acknowledged the help of the friends who checked the German of his first articles written for a foreign audience <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Among them are his articles in Russian encyclopedias, and especially in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden).

<sup>2</sup> R. Dozy, I. Goldziher, Baron V. Rosen, F. Hirth, K. Salemann etc.

<sup>3</sup> See in particular his reviews of the works of Chavannes, Blochet and Marquart.

<sup>4</sup> Some light on Barthold's Russian roots is shed by a passage in his autobiography (*Ogonyok*, 2 Oct. 1927) in which he stresses the fact that after 1917 neither he, nor his brothers "emigrated, or tried to save their fortunes". After 1917 Barthold paid several visits to England, Germany and Turkey.

He studied at the University of St. Petersburg where he himself began to lecture in 1896. In 1912 he was elected member of the Russian Academy and held this post till his death on 19 August 1930. His very close connections with the University and the Academy were reflected even in his family ties, for he married a sister of the well-known Persian scholar V. A. Zhukovsky (1858-1918), whose other sister was married to Prof. N. Y. Marr (1864-1934).

Barthold was a stern-looking man of Socratic appearance and students feared his sarcasm above all things, but "off stage" he was capable of devoted friendship and was the first to encourage talent and enterprise. It was only when attempts were made to pass off amateurish views as unconditional truths, that Barthold refused to compromise and would ruthlessly tear such flimsy constructions to pieces. He spread around him a salutary awe, and many an Orientalist in preparing a new article thought: "what will Barthold say to it?" The present writer once had to compile, in great haste, a bibliography of the great German scholar J. Marquart (1864-1930), with whom Barthold had long-standing divergencies of views. On seeing the list published, Barthold was apparently so displeased with the few inadvertent omissions, that he even forgot to sign the personal letter in which he gave vent to his criticism. It was an excellent lesson, and I immediately recast my list, which has now received the blessings of Marquart's pupils and biographers.

As time wore on, Barthold became mellowed by age and experience. "Perhaps you are right: with me the negative aspect of things is sometimes expressed more strongly than I would like it to be, and this dims the recognition of the merit where merit there is... It is a source of regret to me that my article on N. I. Veselovsky... in which I wished to say of my teacher all good I could, has been understood as wholesale and excessive vituperation" (letter of 2nd July 1929).

In addition to his many bodily infirmities, Barthold broke his leg on his very first expedition to the Semirechyé (1893). He returned for treatment to Tashkent, but in the following spring set out, nothing daunted, to complete his tour. His curiosity and

thirst for knowledge overcame any other consideration. One day he declared to his young nephew Y. Marr: "Come with me to see America", and off they sailed to New York. Barthold worked for long periods in many European libraries, as well as in those of Istanbul and Cairo, each time carefully recording the results of his studies and discoveries. Nearly every year he made a pilgrimage to Turkestan, where he knew every scholar, every private collection of manuscripts, and even every single rare book. One of Barthold's memorable achievements was to arouse the interest in local history and antiquities among Russian and Muslim scholars, officials, teachers, doctors and engineers. He became the organising link of this army of explorers. He corresponded with all, wrote readily in local papers and investigated the special problems which might be of interest to the men on the spot<sup>1</sup>. The Introduction to his *History of the Semirechyé* (see below p. 73) is the best witness to his aims and practice.

Barthold was a scholar in all three "Muslim languages" — Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and published texts in them<sup>2</sup> but his fundamental characteristic was that he was not an "Oriental philologist" making inroads into history, but a "historian" equipped with Oriental languages. In his articles, especially of his later period, one can see how well read he was in general historical literature, and how at home he felt in discussing such problems as migrations, feudalism, or Charlemagne's correspondence with the Caliph. There was nothing "second hand" in Barthold; a true historian, he had grown up from his sources, supplementing their range every year. No sooner was Kāshghari's dictionary of mediaeval Turkish discovered in Turkey during the first world war, than, in the midst of the Russian revolution, Barthold read through the bulky work in difficult Arabic and extracted from it all the historical references. And so he proceeded with every new source brought to light, every new geographical exploration, every new archaeological discovery. The

<sup>1</sup> For example, a study of the different courses which the Oxus followed in historical times and a masterly history of *Irrigation in Turkestan*.

<sup>2</sup> The Russian original of his *Turkestan* is accompanied by two hundred pages of very difficult Oriental texts edited for the first time.

Oriental sources may have been dry, but Barthold ever kept an eye on the influence of economic factors, institutions, trade routes, art and other elements of general importance. Very illuminating in this respect are the "fifteen theses" advanced by Barthold in his dissertation on "Turkestan at the epoch of the Mongol invasion" (see below pp. 69-72).

In 1928 this "epoch-making" book was translated into English <sup>1</sup> in the Gibb Memorial series, under the auspices of Prof. H. A. R. Gibb and Sir D. Ross, who in his early years had attended Barthold's courses in St. Petersburg. A short book by Barthold on Islamic culture was translated from the Russian by Dr. Shahid Suhrawardy in Calcutta (1934). Other works have been translated into French, German, Arabic and Persian. Three bibliographies of Barthold's works have appeared, two of them in German and one in Russian <sup>2</sup>, and before the last war German scholars had begun actively translating and assimilating Barthold's works and even his scattered materials <sup>3</sup>.

All his life Barthold maintained his independent views on scholarly problems. In the pre-revolution days he created some stir by his utterances <sup>4</sup> on the slow rhythm of Oriental studies in

<sup>1</sup> Under the improved title of 'Turkestan down (sic) to the Mongol invasion'.

<sup>2</sup> Umnyakov, in *Bull. de l'Université de l'Asie Centrale*, fasc. 14, 1926, 175-202 (the same author has now prepared an extensive analytic bibliography of Barthold); Milius Dostojevskij, in *Die Welt des Islams*, XII/3, May 1931, pp. 91-135; T. Menzel, in *Der Islam*, XXI, 238-242, XXII, 144-61.

<sup>3</sup> See Hinz, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der Timuriden* (ZDMG, 80/2, 1936, pp. 357-98), which for the most part gives a resumé of Barthold's articles.

<sup>4</sup> See his *History of Oriental Studies*. The late Prof. M. Hartmann (Berlin) in his review of the book tried to attenuate Barthold's conclusions. Barthold's later views are reflected in the following quotations: "(Kampfmeyer's article on Kratchkovsky) shows that the activities of Russian scholars are no longer lost on the West as they used to be formerly" (letter of 2 August 1927). Then referring to his views on certain Western European books he remarks: "once again these reviews will show that in the field of Oriental studies we are not so far behind the West" (letter of 21 December 1928).



Russia; he withdrew from the editing board of the *Mir Islama* (founded by himself) as soon as he felt that adventitious elements had begun to lower its standards. After the revolution, some of his views (on feudalism) provoked sharp remarks in the *Novy Vostok*, but they left Barthold unruffled. Even at the time when the outlook was very obscure and complicated, Barthold took the far-sighted attitude of a historian and philosopher which is reflected in the conclusion of his essay ‘Mir Ali Shir’ (see below p. XIII).

Barthold’s authority always stood high. After the revolution of 1917, there was a period of acute nationalism among the peoples of Turkestan who eagerly asserted the principle of “We, ourselves” in every matter, including the reform of their alphabets. Yet even in those days the Turkmans and the Qirghiz officially requested Barthold to write for them the histories of their communities. At the invitation of the new government of Mustafa Kemal, Barthold delivered in Istanbul a course of lectures on the history of the Turks, and their text was first published in Turkish<sup>1</sup>.

The loss of his wife, who was his devoted companion and helper, was a hard blow to Barthold, especially at a period when demand was growing for his teaching and writings. “There was no interruption in my usual work: I had to return to it almost immediately after the funeral” (letter of 16 May 1928). “Never in my life have I worked harder than nowadays”, he wrote in another of his letters. After the revolution the unique manuscript of the Persian geography *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (written in A.D. 982) had left Russian soil but the present writer succeeded in re-directing it from Paris to Petrograd. Barthold’s last big work was the publication of its *facsimile*, with a remarkable introduction on Muslim geographers. It is written with the perfect mastery of a scholar who sums up the facts carefully collected

<sup>1</sup> At a historical congress held in Istanbul (in 1932) some entirely irresponsible remarks were heard about this book, but it is much more characteristic that in 1937 a Turkish scholar (an emigré from Russia) honoured Barthold’s memory by dedicating his book to him as his teacher and friend.

during a long and strenuous career, but Barthold did not live to greet it in its printed form <sup>1</sup>.

Among the obituary notices dedicated to Barthold, one written by P. Pelliot merits special attention. The most renowned of modern French Orientalists (d. 26 October 1945) wrote <sup>2</sup>: “tant par l’étendue des connaissances que par la pénétration et la netteté de l’esprit critique, l’œuvre de Barthold est d’une solidité et d’une variété exceptionnelles. Ce grand savant laisse vide une place que nul n’est préparé à occuper comme lui. Et il vaut peut-être de rappeler que, par la loyauté, le désintéressement et le courage, l’homme fut chez lui à la hauteur du savant.”

The four monographs out of Barthold’s legacy, which are now presented in translation, have been selected so as to illustrate the general course of history in Turkestan and the Semirechyé. It is necessary to bear in mind that in the present edition, the studies are printed in the chronological order of their contents, and not of their composition. Moreover, the dates of each of the four works are separated by considerable periods of time and each study contains some repetition of certain facts, which, in a slightly different sequence, are referred to in the three others. To recast the essays so as to eliminate the repetitions would be inadvisable, as each of the surveys would lose its special logic. Besides, in view of the peculiarities of Barthold’s condensed style (see below), it is in the interest of the readers to see the facts presented in fuller detail and without constant references to the other parts of the collection.

The position will be much clearer if we take up the purport of each of the essays separately.

I. *A short history of Turkestan*, published in Tashkent in 1922, is a syllabus of the lectures delivered by Barthold at the newly founded University of Turkestan in 1920-1. As such, it contains very few foot-notes and is more popular in character

<sup>1</sup> The book was published by the Soviet Academy towards the end of 1930. Barthold’s ‘Introduction’ will be found in English in my translation of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (Gibb Memorial series, 1937).

<sup>2</sup> *T’oung Pao* 1930, No. 4-5, pp. 458-9.

than its companions. This essay is entirely different from Barthold's well-known dissertation "Turkestan at the time of the Mongol invasion" (published in 1900). In a very concise form, the Short History covers a much longer period, from time immemorial down to the Russian conquest, and, in view of its encyclopedic nature, it forms a useful introduction to the whole series. In order to underline some points of general interest, it has been thought useful to give in the Appendix the so-called "theses" advanced by Barthold in his dissertation. In these fifteen points Barthold has summed up all his main conclusions, and their translation will be welcome both to the readers of the present collection of essays and the students of his *Turkestan*, published in an English translation in 1928.

II. *A History of the Semirechyé* was published in Verny (now Alma-ata) in 1893, seven years before Barthold had submitted his thesis on *Turkestan*. This very early work, written over half-a-century ago, remains, as it is, unique in that it systematizes the little-known events on a territory lying between Turkestan proper and Western Siberia. *Semirechyé* is the Russian translation of the local Turkish term *Jiti-su* "the Seven Rivers", and *grosso modo* covers the basins of the two great lakes, Issik-kul and Balkhash, with the addition of some areas in the West. The territories of the former Semirechyé are now divided between the Soviet republics of Qazakhstan and Qirghizistan. In his *Turkestan* Barthold often refers his readers to the *History of the Semirechyé* but even in Russian the book was unobtainable until quite recently when it was reprinted in the capital of the Qirghiz republic (Frunze, 1943) under the supervision of Dr. A. N. Bernstam, the present-day explorer of local antiquities. In re-transcribing Chinese names I have had much help from [the late] Prof. G. Haloun (Cambridge).

III. *Ulugh-beg*, written in 1915 and published in 1918, is a good sample of Barthold's painstaking methods of historical investigation. This monograph fits into the general scheme traced in the first two essays and picks up the thread of events where *Turkestan* has left it, at the Mongol invasion. In the light of all the genuine sources and with all the accuracy of modern research,

the monograph of Ulugh-beg throws a new light on a considerable period of the history of the Timurids (*circa* A.D. 1400-1450), in the thick of Central Asian troubles.

IV. *Mīr ʿAlī Shīr* is the latest in date of our collection. It appeared in 1928 in a volume published by the Soviet Academy to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the birth of the well-known statesman and writer who lived and worked at the court of the last important Timurid of Central Asia. If the story of *Ulugh-beg* centres round Samarqand, that of *Mīr ʿAlī Shīr* centres round Herat, in the North-Western corner of present-day Afghanistan. This equally detailed monograph represents the second land-mark in the destinies of Tamerlane's descendants (*circa* A.D. 1450-1500).

Barthold is not an easy writer to read, still less to translate. The author makes few attempts to render the spiritual food more digestible by means of repetitions or of a slight watering down of the facts, and on the part of the student the text requires a constant concentration. The translators have tried to do their best by shortening and simplifying the heavier constructions, but they did not feel themselves entitled to re-write the original under the pretext of producing "more fluent English". This might have amounted to changing the author's purpose.

The four monographs are full of difficult Oriental names and words, Turkish, Mongolian, Chinese, Arabic and Persian. The established system of transcription in the first two languages is phonetic, whereas in the last three it more or less follows the native script so as to enable a scholar to put the transliteration back into the original garb. In the present publication, care has been taken not to complicate the text with too many diacritical signs. Well-known names of persons and places have been quoted in their familiar form (Muhammad, cadī, Isfahan). For the title *Khawāja* I have adapted the Central-Asian pronunciation *Khoja*. In more difficult cases, an accurate transcription has been used when the name appears for the first time, and after that only occasionally, by way of reminder. At the risk of being suspected of inconsistency, the translators have tried to spare the eyes of the readers any unnecessary fatigue. The references in Oriental

languages which Barthold gives in his foot-notes have been translated or explained in English.

*Cambridge, 25 December 1947.*

V. MINORSKY

P.S. For certain technical reasons, it has been decided to publish the first two essays as a separate volume, to be followed by the two books on *Ulugh-beg* and *Mīr ʿAlī Shīr*.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AR* — ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Matla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, MSS. Leningrad University, No. 157 [published by M. Shafi‘, Lahore 1941 and 1949].
- Aristov — *Zametki ob etnicheskom sostave turkskikh plemen*, in *Zhivaya starina*, 1896, III-IV, 277-456.
- Babur, *Babur-nāma* facsimile, ed. Annette Beveridge, *GMS*, 1905. [Turkish transcription and translation by R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1943-5, 2 vols.]
- Barthold, *Turkestan*, Eng. translation, *GMS*, 1928.
- Barthold, *Turkestan*, texts — in vol. I of the Russian original.
- Barthold, *Irrigation* — *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, SPb. 1914.
- Barthold, *Report* — *Otchot o poyezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu v 1893-4*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. I, No. 4, 1897.
- Barthold, *Semirechyé* — *Ocherk istorii Semirechya*, Pamyatnaya knizhka Semirech. Oblasti, II, 1898 [reprinted (with corrections) in *Frunze* 1944, with an introduction by A. N. Bernstam.]
- Hudūd* — *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* (“rukopis Tumanskogo”), photographic reproduction and introduction by Barthold, Leningrad 1930; Eng. trans. by V. M‘norsky, *GMS*, 1937.
- Iakinf — Iakinf Bichurin, *Sobraniye svedeniy o narodakh obitavshikh v Sredney Azii*, SPb. 1851, 3 vols. [New edition, Moscow 1950-3].
- Mujmal* — *Mujmal al-tavārikh* (520/1126), Paris MS. [Printed Tehran 1318/1938.]
- d’Ohsson — *Histoire des Mongols*, La Haye 1834-5.
- Qutadghu-bilik*, ed. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik*, SPb. 1891 [new edition by R. Rahmeti Arat, Istanbul 1947].
- Rubruquis (Rubruk), ed. *Recueil de voyages ... publié par la Société de Géographie*, t. IV, Paris 1839.
- T.R.* — M. Haydar Dughlat, *Tārikh-i Rashīdī*, trans. by E. D. Ross, 1895.
- Veliaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovaniye o kasimovskikh tsaryakh*, 4 vols., St. Petersburg 1863-7.
- Waṣṣāf — *Tārikh*, ed. by Hammer (1st Book), Vienna 1856; Bombay, 1294/1877.
- ZVO* — *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya*, SPb.

# I. A SHORT HISTORY OF TURKESTAN

## ANCIENT WORLD

Turkestan, the southernmost region of Russia, was the first to be drawn into the cultural exchanges of the ancient world. Our information about the Greek towns of the northern coast of the Black Sea goes still further back, but being foreign colonies, these towns left no durable impress on local cultural life. In Transcaucasia only a few frontier regions could have been affected by the influence of Assyrian culture. Of the Transcaucasian peoples the Armenians alone are mentioned among the subjects of the kings of Persia. At that time they were living mainly outside the limits of present day Russia, in what are now Persian or Turkish territories. The earliest information on the Albanians<sup>1</sup> and Iberians was collected during Pompey's campaigns (first century B.C.).

The ancient population of Turkestan, both sedentary<sup>2</sup> and nomad (the Sakas), belonged to the same Iranian stock as the Persians who founded the first world monarchy in history. The original home of the Iranians remains doubtful. Most of the existing data show that the Iranians, as later the Turks, advanced from East to West and penetrated into Eastern Europe (the Black Sea Scythians) from Central Asia. The remnants of the pre-Iranian population of Persia disappeared at an early date in the North-East, but survived longer in the South-West. It can be reasonably assumed that this population was connected with the so-called "Japhetids"<sup>3</sup>, i.e. the non-Semitic population of Hither Asia whose present-day remnants are the Georgians and

<sup>1</sup> [In Armenian sources the *Alvank'*, i.e. the people living on the lower course of the Kur, in the present day Soviet republic of Azarbayjan.]

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Parthians and Bactrians in the Transcaspiian province (the region along the Murghab being reckoned to Bactria), the Khwarazmians on the lower course of the Oxus and the Soghdians on the Zarafshan.

<sup>3</sup> [This term, first proposed by Prof. N. Marr (1864-1934), is obsolete. V. M.]

some other Caucasian peoples. A still unsolved problem is the recently established existence of a "Japhetic" language in Kanjut<sup>1</sup>, a province to the south of the Hindukush. It is not clear whether these "Japhetids" were the aborigines of this province or immigrants from the West.

In Western Persia, the Iranians underwent the influence of peoples possessing a written language and a political organisation, both of which they transmitted to their eastern kinsmen. An analogy can be traced between the advance of the Iranians into Hither Asia and the movement of the Germans into the Roman Empire. In the latter case, the Franks became familiar with the idea of an organised state in Gaul, in the West, and brought it with them to Germany, in the East.

In the early stages of the independent cultural life of Central Asia, an outstanding part among the Iranians was played by the people of Khwarazm. Arguments have been lately put forward in favour of a Khwarazmian origin of Zoroastrianism or Mazdeism. Herodotus (III, 117) makes it clear that even before the Persian monarchy was formed, Chorasmia had been the leading political power in Central Asia. This fact would be in keeping with a common historical phenomenon—the initial development of civilisation in regions situated along the lower courses of great rivers, such as the movement of civilisation up the Euphrates and the Nile. At a later time, cultural supremacy passed from Khwarazm to Bactria, where the governors of the Persian Achaemenid kings resided and whence the cultural influence of India radiated abroad.

#### GREEKS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Greek information about Central Asia before Alexander the Great is very scanty. The Persian inscriptions of Darius enumerate the provinces conquered by the Persians, but,—except in the cases of Parthia and Bactria,—give no details either about the conquest itself, or about the general events which took place there. We possess, however, "an original and valuable ethnological

<sup>1</sup> [The Burushaski language of Hunza and Nagar can be compared with the Caucasian languages only in certain syntactical constructions. V. M.]

museum”<sup>1</sup> in the bas-reliefs on Darius’s tomb which depict representatives of all the nations of his empire, including those of Central Asia, each in their national garb.

Chorasmians and Indians took part in Xerxes’s Greek campaign. In Alexander’s time, both in Khwarazm and India there were rulers independent of Persia. This fact indicates that in the East the limits of the empire had somewhat receded.

To Alexander’s campaigns we owe our earliest geographical notions of ‘Turkestan, but only that part of it which lies between’ the Oxus (Amu-Darya) and the Jaxartes (Sīr-Darya), or, more precisely, along the middle reaches of these two rivers. Even in later times, the Greeks had a false idea of the lower courses of these rivers which they regarded as flowing into the Caspian. The cultural development of the Eastern Iranians was far inferior to that of the Western. This was also true of the Soghdians in relation to the Bactrians. Nevertheless they too had towns, though on a smaller scale. Alexander had mostly to reduce “fortified places” (*erymata*), i.e. castles of the local landowning nobility. The name of one of these towns, Maracanda, has survived in the present-day Samarqand. There exists a report on rice-growing in Bactria, but we have no information on the kind of crops grown in Soghdiana. Beyond the Sīr-Darya there seem to have been neither towns, nor agriculture. Many geographical details remain obscure as neither the diaries of Alexander’s campaigns, kept by his orders, nor in fact any original sources on the history of his wars, have come down to us.

Under Alexander and the Seleucids who succeeded him in Asia, several new towns—bearing such names as Alexandria, Antioch, Seleucia etc.—were built in Turkestan. One Antioch was built beyond the Sīr-Darya. Two Antiochs were founded on the Murghab, and in the course of time became respectively known as Upper Marv, or “Marv of the river” (Marvarrūd, now Bālā-Murghāb in Afghanistan), and Lower or Principal Marv. Under Antiochus Soter (280-261 B.C.) the oasis of Marv was

<sup>1</sup> Expression used by F. N. Weissbach in *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius Hystaspes*, Leipzig 1911, See, e.g., the bas-reliefs in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910.

surrounded by long walls as a protection against the nomads. This was the first construction of this type in Central Asia. The building of new towns continued even after an independent Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, of which Soghdiana formed a part, arose in Central Asia (by the middle of the third century B.C.). The kingdom of Eucratides (2nd cent. B.C.) was called "the kingdom of a thousand towns". Relations with India, which had gained in importance since Alexander's times, must have contributed to the propagation of culture. The conquering aspirations of the Graeco-Bactrian kings were directed also towards India.

#### NOMAD MOVEMENTS

In the middle of the second century B.C. the northern, and later the southern provinces of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom were conquered by Central Asian nomads, who in due course subdued several Indian provinces and became known in Greek literature under the general appellation of Scythians. In the same century relations between Central Asia and China were established for the first time. The fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom is the first event of world history recorded both in Western (Greek) and Far-Eastern (Chinese) sources.

Nearly all we know about Central Asia between the second century B.C. and the seventh century A.D. has been extracted from Chinese sources. A survey of these data was made in Russian by the monk Iakinf (Hyacinth) Bichurin<sup>1</sup>. It is also to the Chinese that we owe our earliest information on Farghana, on the settled regions of the present day Eastern, or Chinese, Turkestan and on the nomads of the Central Asian steppes. Both the Greeks, in Soghdiana, and the Chinese, in Farghana and Eastern Turkestan, found agriculture and urban life fairly well developed. The Chinese borrowed from Farghana the cultivation of the vine and the lucerne. Owing to the proximity of the nomads, horse-breeding flourished in Farghana, and the Chinese even organised military expeditions for the sake of one

<sup>1</sup> *Collection of information on the peoples having inhabited Central Asia in ancient times*, St. Petersburg 1852, 3 vols. [Re-published with additions, 3 vols, 1950-3].



particular breed of its horses. In their turn, the inhabitants of Farghana learnt from the Chinese the art of making silver and gold vessels and iron weapons. These crafts were still flourishing in Farghana during the first centuries of Islam.

Two nomad peoples—the *Wu-sun* in the Qulja region, and the Great *Yüeh-chih* on the Oxus—, had reached Turkestan somewhat earlier, in connection with the migrations which led to the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The Chinese do not mention the part taken in this movement by the *K'ang-chü*, who bordered on the *Wu-sun* in the West and on the *Yüeh-chih* in the North; nor do they say whether the *K'ang-chü* were the original inhabitants of the country, or newcomers like their neighbours. It has now been established<sup>1</sup> that *Yüeh-chih*, or more correctly *Yüeh-shih*, is the Chinese pronunciation of the name of the people *Kush* or *Kushān*, mentioned on local coins and in western sources. A section of this people, the “Lesser *Yüeh-chih*” of the Chinese sources, remained in Eastern Turkestan, in the region to the East of Khotan. Both the Greater and Lesser *Yüeh-chih* were also called *Tokhar*. Apparently the term “*Kush*” or “*Kushān*” had mainly a political, and the term “*Tokhar*” mainly an ethnical meaning. The *Tokhar* gave their name to the province of *Tokharistān* which, during the Muslim period, comprised the northern part of Afghanistan between *Balkh* and *Badakhshān*, and, in a wider sense, the whole of the territories along the right and left affluents of the upper Oxus. Judging by the language of the Buddhist writings discovered in the region to the East of Khotan, where the *Tokhars* lived, this people was of Aryan origin<sup>1</sup>. The ethnical origin of the *Wu-sun* and *K'ang-chü* is still uncertain. The Chinese describe them as nomads, but mention also five lesser *K'ang-chü* possessions which seem to have been agricultural regions conquered by the nomads. These states have been located in the vicinity of *Tashkent*, in *Khwārazm*, on the *Zarafshān*, near *Katta-Qurghan* and *Bukhara*, and on the *Qashka-Darya*, near *Shahrīsabz*. *Samarqand* is not mentioned by the Chinese sources before the fifth century A.D. This fact corroborates the statement of Greek sources that *Maracanda* had

<sup>1</sup> [This is still a moot question. V.M.]

been destroyed by Alexander. As a result of this event the territories around Samarqand must have lost their former importance for several centuries and the cultural centre of the Zarafshān valley was displaced towards the region of Katta-Qurghan. This conclusion founded on Greek and Chinese sources is supported by certain archaeological data.

The caravan route from China to Hither Asia had been opened up in the second century B.C., and later it became the principal channel for the export of Chinese silk. Graeco-Roman glass and cut-crystal were imported into China by the same route. Under Western influence, the glass industry developed in Central Asia, parallel to the development of the metal industry under the influence of the East. Persia was the country which drew the greatest advantages from trade relations with China, at first under the Parthian *Arsacids*, and later under the Persian *Sasanids*, who by every means at their disposal impeded the communications between China and the Roman Empire, in order to retain the profitable rôle of commercial intermediaries. Under the Sasanids the Persians held the most important sea and land routes of world commerce. The influence of Sasanian Persia, as well as of China and India, and the remnants of Graeco-Bactrian culture helped to raise the cultural level of the Central Asian Iranians, especially the Soghdians.

Political life in Central Asia during that period was limited to the petty wars of local rulers, especially in Eastern Turkestan, and the raids and conquests of the nomads. The Chinese too occasionally took a hand in the struggles against these latter. In the fifth century the southern part of Turkestan was conquered by the Haytals<sup>1</sup>—the *Hephthalites* of the Greek sources—in all probability a people of Iranian descent, to whom the appellation of Kushan was now transferred<sup>2</sup>. The Soghdians too submitted to the Hephthalites, whose headquarters were in Badakhshān. Their advance in the direction of India was not successful. In the sixth

<sup>1</sup> [*Haytal* is the Arabic form of the name, but \**Habtal* would be a better reading. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> [Still doubtful. The name of the Kushan seems to have survived in that of the *Hindu-Kush*. V.M.]

century, between the years 563 and 567, according to our sources, the Hephthalite kingdom was conquered by the *Turks* who formed the most extensive nomad empire ever known up to that date, stretching as it did from the frontiers of China to the confines of Persia and Byzantium. This explains why our information on this empire comes both from Chinese, and from Persian, Greek and Armenian sources. By this time the nomad Iranians had been finally dislodged from Central Asia, and in the seventh century the Muslims did not meet any there. The sedentary Central-Asian Iranians, *viz.* the Soghdians, successfully exploited the extent and power of the Turkish empire. The commercial interests of the Soghdians, who retained the monopoly of the silk trade, brought about a rupture between the Turks and the Persians and led to an exchange of embassies between the former and Byzantium. Trade with China was also greatly developed. The eastern gate of Samarqand was called "the Chinese gate". Soghdian colonies sprang up along all the routes to China—from the southernmost road *via* Khotan and the southern part of Eastern Turkestan towards Lob Nor, to the northernmost, *via* the Semirechyé. In the latter region and eastward of the Sīr-Darya, where in the second century B.C. the Chinese had found only nomad life, the famous seventh century traveller Hsüan-tsang (629-630) saw cultivated fields and trading towns.

#### LOCAL CULTURE CONTEMPORARY OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY

Towards 618 China under the T'ang dynasty reached the zenith of its political power, and the contemporary Chinese sources give more detailed accounts of the material and spiritual culture of Turkestan. They mention the cultivation of rice in the valleys of the Qashqa-Darya and the Zarafshan, as well as of millet and wheat. In three states, including Farghana, there were gilt thrones in the form of rams, whereas in Bukhara the throne was in the shape of a camel. These data from Chinese sources find confirmation in the reports of the Byzantine envoys who saw in the *ordu* of the Turkish khan a gilt throne supported by four golden peacocks, and silver figures of animals which were not

inferior to Byzantine work. It is clear that the throne and figures were the work of conquered Central Asian Iranians and not of the Turks themselves. Even in the tenth century under the Muslims, wooden figures of animals—horses, oxen, camels and wild beasts—were to be seen in the public squares of Samarqand. Near the town of Kushaniya<sup>1</sup> there stood a building decorated with frescoes: on the northern wall these represented Chinese emperors, on the eastern, Indian brahmans and Turkish khans, and on the western, Persian kings and Roman emperors.

The Turks borrowed their alphabet from the Central Asian Iranians. The Turkish ambassadors who visited Constantinople in 567 brought with them a letter written in "Scythian characters". The oldest Turkish alphabet has survived in a series of inscriptions. The most extensive of these are those dated with the years 732 and 735 and found on the banks of the Orkhon in Mongolia. The Danish scholar V. Thomsen succeeded in deciphering the alphabet and the language itself, which in Russian are both called after Orkhon. Other inscriptions, undated, but more ancient, judging by the type of the characters (probably of the seventh century), have been found in Turkestan, in the valley of the Talas, to the south of Auliya-ata. It has been suggested that this alphabet is derived from the script used by the Soghdians, i.e. the Central Asian Iranians. The most ancient samples of Soghdian writings are commercial documents discovered in a tower of the Chinese frontier wall near Tun-huang. More certain is the Soghdian origin of the Uyghur alphabet, the second Turkish alphabet in chronological order, so named after the first [? V.M.] sedentary inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan of Turkish origin. The Soghdian and Uyghur alphabets are known to us from Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian documents dating approximately from the seventh century A.D. The language of the Soghdian documents is the same, but they present dialectical differences. Neither the language, nor the dialects can be located with certainty. The discoveries were made in Eastern Turkestan where the exceptional dryness of the climate insured

<sup>1</sup> North of the Zarafshan, in the Katta-Qurghan district [in the present-day Uzbek Republic].

the excellent preservation of the documents which may have been brought from elsewhere. The peculiarities of the language and certain terms, such as the names of the months, coincide with what Biruni, the eleventh century Muslim author, says about the Soghdian language. The Greeks gave the name of Soghdiana to the region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, whereas Muslim geographers applied the term Soghd only to the Zarafshan basin. As for the Soghdian language which is mentioned by Biruni, we do not know how far it extended northwards and westwards, if only as a literary language.

Representatives of different religions used different alphabets. The Buddhists took up the local Soghdian alphabet, while the Manichaeans and Christians adapted their own alphabets to the local language. In Uyghur Turkish the Buddhists sometimes used a Sanskrit alphabet. At a later time the representatives of all three religions switched over to the same Uyghur alphabet. Some Manichaean documents have come down to us in two versions, of which one is in Manichaean, and the other in Uyghur characters. The two literary languages of Eastern Turkestan, the Northern (in the region of Kucha) and the Southern (to the east of Khotan) have come down to us only in Buddhist texts. The Northern language, misnamed by German and French scholars "Tokharian", belongs to the Indo-European group, but is neither Iranian, nor Indian. So far it has not been ascertained to which of the historically known peoples it belonged and what part this people played in the movements of the Indo-Europeans. The Southern language belongs to the Iranian group and seems to have a better claim to the name of "Tokharian"<sup>1</sup>.

No literary remains of Zoroastrianism, the national religion of the Iranians of Persia and of the western part of Central Asia, have so far come to light in Eastern Turkestan. Zoroastrianism in Turkestan had some local features which differentiated it from the Zoroastrianism of Sasanian Persia. One such feature is attested by ossuaries; these were small clay coffins ornamented with figures, sometimes in relief, in which the bones of the dead were preserved after the flesh had fallen away,

<sup>1</sup> [It is usually attributed to the Iranian Saka. V.M.]



for the earth was not to be polluted by the decomposition of the corpse. Such ossuaries have been recovered only within the territory of Russian Turkestan, between Katta-Qurghan on the Zarafshan, and Pishpek in the Semirechye. Their ornamental figures are equally interesting for the history of religion and for the history of art, as they point to the survival of the artistic traditions of the Greeks and to the influence of Sasanian Persia.

There exist some written sources on religious life in pre-Islamic Turkestan, and especially in its capital Samarqand, where Zoroastrian, Manichaean and Buddhist communities still existed in the tenth century. Buddhism died out in Samarqand and other regions in pre-Islamic times, but it remained the predominant religion in Tokharistan (in the wider sense of the term) down to the Islamic conquest.

Politically Turkestan was divided into a number of small states. The most powerful ruler was the prince of Samarqand who, like the prince of Farghana, bore the title of *ikhshīd*. However, even the *ikhshīds* were only the first among the land-owning nablemen and, like them, were called *dihqān*. The *dihqāns* lived in fortified castles <sup>1</sup>, and from thence completely dominated the country. In this respect the Turkestan of the seventh century A.D. differed but little from the Turkestan of the fourth century B.C. despite the progress of trade and industry. The towns were of no great size, as attested both by Chinese and Muslim sources and by archaeological sites (*gorodishche*). The site of Afrāsiyāb, on which stood pre-Islamic Samarqand, the capital of the country, covers an area of less than two square kilometres <sup>2</sup>. In Buddhist Tokharistan urban life had also realised considerable progress. Tirmidh, one of its secondary towns, was of the same size as Samarqand. Balkh, the ancient Bactria, was in all probability much larger. This accounts for the important part played by Balkh during the first centuries of Islam in the cultural life of Turkestan and of the whole Muslim world.

<sup>1</sup> Their remains (so-called "habitation qurghans") exist in many parts of Turkestan.

<sup>2</sup> [See now the important excavations of the Soviet scholars in Khwarazm, Soghdiana and Turkmenia].

The princes were attached to the Turkish khans, and sometimes to the Chinese emperors. Only a part of the present-day Transcaspian province down to Marv belonged to Sasanian Persia. Coins of the Sasanian type were struck in some places (Samarqand, Bukhara and Khwarazm). Roman architectural technique exercised its influence through Sasanian Persia. An example of this influence was the Samarqand "lead conduit" (*jū-yi arzīz*)<sup>1</sup>, which served to bring water into the town.

#### ARAB CONQUEST

The Arabs were the first people to invade Turkestan from the West since the times of Alexander. Their conquest re-attached a part of Turkestan to Hither Asia. The Arabs annexed the lands beyond the Oxus—*Mawarannahr*, lit. "that which lies beyond the river" (Transoxiana)—to Khorasan, the eastern march of Sasanian Persia. Marv became the capital of the whole of Khorasan, and Samarqand the capital of Mawarannahr. From the military point of view, the expeditions of the governor *Qutayba ibn-Muslim* (705-715) were most important. He took Samarqand in 712, and this is one of the few phases of the Arab conquest on which we possess some local information<sup>2</sup>, in addition to what we know from Arabic sources. At times the local rulers sought the aid of the Turkish khans and the Chinese Emperors against the Arabs. In the late seven-thirties the Arab victories over the Turks on the Jaxartes brought about the final dismemberment of the Turkish nomad empire, even though the Arabs did not pursue the nomads on to their steppes. In 751 the victory over the Chinese in the Talas valley settled the question as to which of the two cultures, the Hither Asian or the Far Eastern, would prevail in Turkestan. The Arabs themselves looked upon Turkestan as a province wrested from the Chinese Emperors.

In their campaigns the Arabs reached Kashghar<sup>3</sup> and the eastern part of the Sir-Darya region, while their actual conquests

<sup>1</sup> A lead water-pipe laid under the roofs of the bazaar, a stone arch and the town-moat.

<sup>2</sup> A letter of the Samarqand prince to the Chinese Emperor, dated A.D. 712.

<sup>3</sup> [Whether the Arabs reached Kashghar itself is doubtful. V.M.]

stretched to the eastern frontiers of Farghana, the Chirchik valley and Khwarazm, or generally speaking the regions where the sown lands bordered on the steppe. In the eighth century a long wall was built to protect the Chirchik valley from the raids of the nomads. Similar long walls protected, for instance, the province of Samarqand, i.e. *Soghd* in the narrow sense of the term. Remnants of these walls have survived to the present day in the form of earthen ramparts. The governor or *amir* of Khorasan was appointed directly by the Caliph or by the Caliph's viceroy for the eastern part of the caliphate. The viceroys who followed one another in quick succession availed themselves of their short term of office to acquire estates which remained the property of their descendants. Local ruling dynasties, although completely subjected to the Amir of Khorasan, continued in existence for quite a long time. In some cases an Arab Amir ruled the province side by side with the native prince.

By the middle of the eighth century, a movement originating in Khorasan brought about the fall of the Omayyad dynasty of Caliphs and the accession of the Abbasids. Armed bodies of Khorasanians, i.e. Central Asian Iranians, to which later Turkish detachments were added, formed the 'Caliphs' chief bulwark in the East. Officials of Khorasanian origin held the highest charges both in the centre of the caliphate and above all on the eastern marches. Under the first Abbasids the *Barmakids* enjoyed full power as ministers; in the ninth century they received from the Caliph governorships in various provinces of Mawarannahr, and from the year 900 they became amirs of the whole of Khorasan. Barmak, the ancestor of the Barmakids, and the Sāmānkhudāt, the ancestor of the Samanids, were both natives of the province of Balkh, which points to the importance of that region. They had both already achieved eminence under the Khorsasanian governor Asad. In 725, on the orders of Asad, Barmak rebuilt Balkh which had been destroyed during the Arab conquest, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Barūqān, built by the Arabs, were transferred to it. This is a unique instance in Muslim history of the abandonment of a Muslim-built town in order to restore a town built in pre-Islamic times. It is nothe-

worthy that this cultural triumph of the vanquished over the victors should have taken place in the Buddhist part of Iran. Other information points also to Buddhist Iran: such are the reports on the origin of the *madrasa*, as a special type of Muslim theological high school; on the home of the earliest Sufis<sup>1</sup> in Central Asia, and on the renaissance of the Persian language and literature in the same region. On the other hand, during the Muslim period, Buddhist Iran<sup>2</sup> adopted the administrative traditions of [Western] Iran as represented, in public opinion, by the Barmakids and the Samanids. At the time when the founder of the *Samanid* dynasty, Ismail (892-907) was ruling only in Mawarannahr, his residence was in Bukhara and not in the capital Samarqand. After having subdued the lands to the south and west of the Amu-Darya the Samanids continued to reside in Bukhara, and thus the administrative centre of the former Khorasan governorship was transferred to the east of the Oxus.

The tenth century, the century of the Samanids, was the period when Arabic geographical literature was at its zenith. The principal works of this literature have been published by the Dutch Orientalist de Goeje<sup>3</sup>. These works contain a detailed enumeration of all the regions of the Muslim world: they describe towns, rivers and irrigation systems, and give information on trade, industry, customs, religions and even dialects. The data on Turkestan under the Samanids are particularly comprehensive, as compared with those bearing on the earlier and later epochs.

Thanks to the Arab geographers, we are able to reject the theory which attributes the changes of climatic conditions in Central Asia to the process of *desiccation*. The detailed information on tenth-century Turkestan shows that cultivated tracts and steppes were distributed then more or less as they are to-day, and this comparison suggests that, if the process of desiccation is operative at all, it proceeds so slowly that its effect is negligible within a millenium.

The same records suggest that during the first centuries of

<sup>1</sup> Muslim mystics.

<sup>2</sup> And in general, Central Asian Iran.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, vols. I-VIII.

Islam Turkestan was making rapid progress. In the seventh century A.D. Turkestan was much as it had been in the fourth century B.C. and its culture could not have stood comparison with that of Sasanian Iran, whereas in the tenth century it differed little from the other countries of ancient civilisation. Particularly interesting are the facts pointing to the considerable growth of the towns and to the progress of trade and industry.

In Turkestan the Arabs did not build such large new towns as they did in Persia (Shiraz and Qum) and Transcaucasia (Ganja), but under their rule the existing towns grew in size. A comparison of literary records with archaeological remains throws much light on the growth of such towns as Marv, Samarqand and Bukhara. We can form now a clear idea of the plan of a *pre-Muslim town*. Its component parts were:

a) the *shahristān*, represented in Marv by the Giaur-qalʿa, in Samarqand by the Afrāsiyāb site, and in Bukhara by the inner mound;

b) the citadel (*diz* “fortress” or *kuhandiz* “old fortress”, hence *kunduz*), which stood either inside the *shahristān* (as in Marv and Samarqand) or outside it (as in Bukhara);

c) the suburbs (*rabad*), surrounded by an outer town-wall (the rampart Gīlakīn-Chilburj in Marv, the rampart Duvār-i Qiyāmat in Samarqand, the present-day wall of Bukhara).

Even after the capital had been transferred to Bukhara, Samarqand remained the most populous town in Turkestan and its commercial and industrial centre. From the Chinese prisoners, captured in the battle of 751, the inhabitants of Samarqand learned the art of manufacturing rag-paper. This new writing material gradually spread from Samarqand to the West and replaced papyrus and parchment, both in the Muslim and the Christian worlds. On the other hand, the influence of the Western textile industry made itself felt first in Persia, and from thence in Turkestan. Textiles manufactured in Samarqand, Bukhara and Khwarazm were called after Egyptian towns or the Persian towns of Fars. Very popular too were the cotton fabrics made in the small town of Vadhār lying to the east of Samarqand. The fact that Vadhār was a centre of Arab settlers shows that the

Arabs who settled down in Turkestan came there not only as warriors of the faith. A still more important factor in the development of urban life and industry must have been immigration from Persia: this alone would account for the disappearance of the Soghdian language from the plains of Turkestan. In our days Soghdian (in two dialects) has survived only in the valley of the mountain river Yaghnob. Soghdian has given way to *Tājīk* which differs little from Persian. The name *Tāzīk*, or *Tājīk*, which was originally given to the Arabs, is an Iranian derivation from the name of the tribe Tayy, in Northern Arabia. The Turks seem to have understood the term *Tājīk* in the sense of "Muslim", "one belonging to Muslim culture", and used it, accordingly, as a designation for the main mass of Muslims known to them, namely for the Iranians, making no distinction between the *Tājīks* and the Arabs. The mountaineers *Gharcha*, or *Ghalcha* (from the word *ghar* "mountain") differed greatly from the inhabitants of the plains in their language, and especially in their manners and customs. The region inhabited by them was called Gharchistān. How small was the difference, in the tenth century, between the language spoken in Turkestan, at least amongst the educated classes, and that spoken in Persia, can be judged by the fact that poets, who were natives of Turkestan, such as Rūdakī, could achieve eminence in the Persian Parnassus. In Khwarazm the people still continued to speak their own language, unintelligible to the other Iranians, and even to use it in writing<sup>1</sup>. Later this language seems to have been superseded by Turkish and not by Persian. The tall caps, a special feature of the Khwarazmian costume, survived among the Northern Khivans and the Turcomans. Some terms relating to irrigation (*arna* "large canal", *yab* "small canal") which survived only in Khiva and among the Turcomans are undoubtedly remnants of the Khwarazmian language.

As early as the ninth century Mawarannahr was regarded as a Muslim country, its population taking part in the holy war against the infidels. Towards the same time the local school of

<sup>1</sup> [The documents in Khwarazmian have been studied by W. Henning and A. Freiman].

theology, based on the Hanefite rite, came into being. The learned *Abū-Hafṣ* of Bukhara, who died in 832, was called "the teacher of scholars in Mawarannahr", as it stands written on his tomb. In the tenth century, besides the Jewish community, which subsists to the present day, there were Zoroastrian and Christian communities in Samarqand, as well as a small Manichaean colony. The Zoroastrians of Samarqand (*mugh*) were entrusted with the care of the "lead conduit", which exempted them from the poll-tax imposed in Islamic states upon non-Muslims. In the eleventh century Zoroastrians are still mentioned in Bukhara and Khwarazm. In the tenth century there existed a Christian settlement to the south of the Sir-Darya, on the border between the cultivated lands and the "Hunger steppe". There was also a large Christian monastery to the south of Samarqand in the region near Urgut, where Christian inscriptions in Syriac have recently come to light. Even then the Christians were less numerous than the Jews. Among the Muslims themselves, certain customs and beliefs of former times still survived. The poet Rūdakī expresses in his verses a purely pagan conception of Earth and Heaven, as the father and mother of mankind. Clay statuettes, originally idols, were freely sold in Bukhara till the middle of the tenth century, and traces of dualistic beliefs are found to the present day in rural districts. Among the popular masses Shi'ism spread simultaneously with orthodox Islam. The Samanid Amir Nasr (914-943) patronised one of the Shi'a movements. He probably did so out of hatred for the aristocracy and the clergy allied to it, but this venture led to his downfall.

The new order which the Samanids introduced in the tenth century had not altogether superseded the old. The suburbs, where the bazaars were situated and where the commercial and industrial classes were concentrated, had outgrown the old shahristans, but the latter were still associated with the idea of a "town". It is true that independent princes and the landed aristocracy had given way to a despotic regime of the Hither Asian type and to bureaucratic centralisation: in Bukhara, the capital of the Samanids, as many as ten *divans*, or administrative departments, were arrayed around the *Registān* place. However,

in some regions like Khwarazm, hereditary rulers of pre-Muslim dynasties were still carrying on. There remained also a few influential dihqans. Thus the mighty lord of Tūnkat<sup>1</sup>, though divested of his political power, still wielded much influence over the population. Like the Abbasid caliphs, the Samanids had surrounded themselves with a guard of *Turkish slaves* who formed their military mainstay, but there was as yet no such strict distinction between the army and the people as at a later date. The population retained some of their warlike habits and continued to carry arms. It was the popular masses who furnished bodies of *volunteers*, "warriors of the faith", who, like the "free cossacks", defended the frontiers of the Muslim states against the raids of the Turks and at the same time imperilled internal order. It was said of these detachments that they were "both the support of the government and the object of its anxiety". The population of Samarqand, the principal centre of urban life, had also a reputation for unruliness; because of their mutinous spirit the government had the outer gates of the town demolished. Nor could the Samanids confidently rely on their Turkish guard, especially in their struggles against the Turkish khans. The latter's conquest of the Samanid state in the tenth century was aided by the treason of the dihqans and Turkish generals, as well as by the apathy of the popular masses. The people showed no love for the despotic tendencies of the Samanids and the bureaucratic centralisation, because the upkeep of the guard and of the officials led to increased taxation.

#### THE TURKS

As usual, the new conquering onslaught of the Central Asian barbarians upon the civilised regions was preceded by a period during which these barbarians were drawn into the sphere of cultural influences. Trading with the nomads was profitable to the civilised population who received from them the products of their stock breeding, in particular meat and horses. Still greater was the demand of the nomads for the products of their civilised neighbours, such as wheat and especially articles of clothing. Wherever

<sup>1</sup> In the Āhangarān (now Angren) valley, to the south of Tashkent.



trade existed between the nomads and the sedentary population—on the borders of China, of the Muslim world and of Russia—the nomads drove their herds to the frontier towns without waiting for the traders to come on to their steppes. Besides the necessary commodities, another attraction for the nomads were the reed beds along the banks of the large rivers which made convenient grounds for winter camping. The coming of the nomads for trade to these winter quarters easily turned into plundering raids. *Rabāṭs*<sup>1</sup>, or block-houses, built on the frontiers for the volunteers “fighting for the faith”, were meant to cope with such raids. The Samanid government went so far as to grant lands along the middle course of the Sīr-Darya to Turkish settlers on condition that they defended the frontier against their heathen kinsmen. Traders from Muslim Turkestan introduced Islamic civilisation in various regions, partly through channels previously opened up by the Soghdians. As before, the principal roads were those leading to China, and from these other roads branched off towards the North to the headquarters of certain nomad khans: from Talas (now Auliya-Ata) it took 81 days to reach the headquarters of the Kimaks on the Irtysh; from the region of Turfan a road ran towards the Qirghiz, into the basin of the Upper Yenisey. According to Chinese sources, in the tenth century Muslim merchants penetrated even into Eastern Mongolia on the Orkhon. The Kimak camp could also be reached by another road from the lower course of the Sīr-Darya. This area lay outside the Samanid territories, but trading factories had been established there by settlers from the Samanid state. These emigrants seem to have been coming partly from the region along the middle course of the Sīr-Darya, where Sauran was the frontier-post of the Samanid Mawarannahr, and partly from *Khwarazm*. The latter owed its wealth exclusively to its trade with the nomads which seems to have greatly developed in Islamic times. This trade was concentrated in the northern part of Khwarazm,—where stood the town of Gurgānj (now Kuna-Urganch). In the tenth century this part of Khwarazm formed a separate state independent of the pre-Muslim

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with *rabad*, “a suburb”.

dynasty of the Khwarazmshahs whose rule did not extend beyond the southern part of the region. Traders from Gurganj carried Islam and Muslim culture to the banks of the Volga: the Volga Bulgars adopted Islam, and the Khazar state had a guard of Khwarazmian Muslims. Khwarazmians seem to have taken service with the Khazars even before the final triumph of Islam in their country, for in 764 a Khwarazmian commanded the Khazar army which raided the Muslim possessions beyond the Caucasus. How close were the ties between the Samanid state and the regions along the Volga, can be judged by the fact that the Caliph's embassy of 921-922, whose journey is described by Ibn Fadlān, travelled to the Volga by the circuitous route through Bukhara and Khwarazm, instead of taking the shorter road through the Caucasus. The amirs of Gurganj grew so powerful, through their trade with the nomads, that in the tenth century they finally annexed the southern part of Khwarazm and appropriated the title of Khwarazmshah. A few years later the Samanid dynasty perished in the struggle against the Muslim Turks.

In those days the success of Muslim trade was not always accompanied by the success of *Islam* as a religion. Unlike Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism, Islam was at that time unsupported by missionaries. The propagation of the faith was regarded as the business of the state, and not of private individuals. Muslims who travelled for commercial purposes did not engage in religious propaganda. In the eighth century there existed in the Chinese language religious literature of the Buddhists, the Manichaeans and the Christians, but not of the Muslims, although according to the sources, alien Muslims in China were no less numerous than the adherents of other Asian creeds. Thus the Christians and Manichaeans, in their proselytising activities, profited by the success of Muslim trade in Central Asia much more than did the Muslims themselves. The most important gains of Christianity and Manichaeism in Central Asia were made during the Muslim period. Islamic propaganda affected mainly the immediate neighbours of the Muslim world, as a corollary of the political and cultural influence of the Muslim

states. Independently of government policy, Islam was spread by *darvish* mystics who are perhaps the only representatives of a missionary movement, internal or external, in the Muslim world. The shaykhs of the darvish orders were always more successful on the steppes than in the more civilised regions, yet they confined their activities to the near-lying steppes and did not undertake any distant expeditions.

The geographers of the first half of the tenth century regarded the frontiers of Islam in the North-East as coinciding with those of the Samanid kingdom. They represent the Turks as opposed to the Muslims, with the exception of the Turks on the Sīr-Darya who had been converted to Islam and had at the same time come under Samanid rule. Talas remained the centre of the frontier trade in the North-East. This town, situated on the river of the same name, had been conquered by the Samanids in 893, when the "principal church" was converted into a mosque. This fact shows that here Christian propaganda had preceded Muslim. Hardly correct, however, is Ibn Hauqal's statement that no Muslim had ever penetrated farther than Talas, because beyond this town began the possessions of the nomad Qarluq Turks. An entirely different picture is given by Muqaddasi, a geographer of the second half of the tenth century: settlements to the east of Talas had mosques; in Merki, as in Talas, the church had been converted into a mosque; near the same settlement a Samanid lord had built a *rabāt*.

Historians give 960 as the date of the first conversion to Islam of a numerous Turkish people (200,000 tents) without any mention of Holy War. There is possibly some connection between this fact and the sojourn at the court of the Turkish khan of Kalimati, a Muslim scholar from Khorasan. The reports about the conversion of the Turks and Kalimati's journey probably refer to the Turkish Khanate which comprised the town of Balasaghun in the valley of the Chu, and Kashghar, and from which came the attack on the Samanid kingdom at the end of the tenth century. Although the southern part of the Semirechye and the north-western part of Eastern Turkestan are separated by a high chain of snow-capped mountains, under nomad domination they

often formed part of the same state, and even part of the same fief, because Eastern Turkestan had no grazing grounds, which were necessary to the nomads. On the other hand, the high mountains presented an obstacle to the movement of armies. Like all the other nomad inroads into the cultivated districts of Turkestan, the Turkish attack on the Samanid state was made from the Semirechye in the North-East, and not from Kashghar. Kashghar itself was more often attacked from the direction of Farghana, than vice versa.

#### THE QARA-KHANIDS <sup>1)</sup>

The Turkish people that conquered the Samanid dominions have left no reliable traditions on the circumstances in which they were converted to Islam. There exist only certain legendary reports about Satuq Boghra khan, the first ruler to embrace Islam, though his tomb is still shown in a village to the north of Kashghar. With equal rapidity, the Turks lost all recollection of their pre-Muslim cultural past. The Uyghur alphabet inherited from pre-Islamic times was for some time used side by side with the Arabic, to be abandoned and forgotten at a later date. Its use was revived only during the domination of the Mongols who had acquired it from the non-Muslim population of Eastern Turkestan. Some traces of early nomad traditions survived in administrative terminology, and especially in the titulature of the khans. Thus some Muslim khans styled themselves Emperors of China (in Turkish *Tabghach-khan* or *Tamghach-khan*), though their possessions no longer included China or even lands bordering on China. The literature of the Muslim Turks was based exclusively on Muslim, and especially Persian patterns. The earlier acquaintance of the Turks with Chinese culture, Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism left no impress on their literature. This explains the aridity, dullness and lack of popularity among the popular masses of the Turkish imitative writings. It is enough to compare the didactic poem *Qutadghu* (or *Qudatqu*)-*bilik*, composed in 462/1069-70 by Yūsuf of Balasaghūn <sup>2)</sup> for the khan

<sup>1</sup> For further details see below p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> The author states that his was the first work to be written in Turkish, whereas the Arabs and Persians had many books.

of Kashghar with the didactic treatise *Qābūs-nāma*, written in Persian in 1082 A.D. and subsequently translated no less than three times into Turkish. The Persian author presents his edifying subjects in animated narrative, and illustrates them with historical examples, thereby enhancing the interest of his book. In the *Qutadghu-bilik* the personages are lifeless allegorical figures: Justice is impersonated by a ruler, Happiness by a vazir, Intelligence by the vazir's son, Contentment by the vazir's brother. Very few manuscripts of the *Qutadghu-bilik* have come to light so far<sup>1</sup>, though the discovery, made in 1909<sup>2</sup>, of an earthen jug inscribed with paraphrased verses from this poem may mean that it enjoyed a wider popularity than the number of surviving copies seems to suggest.

The conquest of the Samanid state by the Muslim Turks began from the North-East, and the first province to be occupied was Isfijāb, the present day district of Chimkant. In 992 the Turkish forces entered Bukhara for the first time but were forced to withdraw in the same year. By the treaty of 996, the Samanids ceded to the Turks the whole of their possessions to the north of the Zarafshan basin, and in 999 Samarqand and Bukhara were annexed by the Turkish khan. The last Samanid pretender perished in 1005 after several unsuccessful attempts to restore the power of his dynasty. How far the domination of these Turks spread to the East, the sources do not say. In 998 the khan of Kashghar Arslan khan Ali died a "martyr" in the struggle for the faith and the place where he met his end is still shown to the north-east of Yāngi-Hisar. This detail seems to indicate that at that time the dominion of the Muslim Turks and the diffusion of Islam was halted a short distance to the east of Kashghar.

In the tenth and twelfth centuries, the lands on both sides of the principal chain of the T'ien-shan were united under the rule of the so-called *Qarakhanids* or Ilek-khans, but not under one single ruler. Like all nomad or semi-nomad states the Qarakhanid state was divided into fiefs which soon became independent.

<sup>1</sup> [The MSS. of Vienna, Cairo and Farghana (the latter in Arabic script) have now been published in *facsimile*, Istanbul 1942-3.]

<sup>2</sup> In the village of Saraychik, near the mouth of the Ural river.

Their frontiers frequently shifted and they were often at war amongst themselves. All traces, even nominal, of the supreme power of the head of the dynasty had disappeared by the eleventh century. Different towns were ruled by independent rulers, all bearing equally proud titles. For some time after the conquest, the ruler of Western Turkestan bore the title of *ilek* which was apparently regarded as less important than that of *khan*. The first ilek, ruler of the whole of Mawarannahr, lived and was buried in Uzgand, a frontier town of Farghana, which under the Samanids was comparatively small in size (equalling one third of Osh). After the Turkish conquerors had securely established their power, they transferred their residence to Samarqand, the central town of the region, and there in the eleventh century they assumed the rank of *khan*. Uzgand continued to be the residence of the ruler of Farghana, until in the thirteenth century the Mongols built Andijān<sup>1</sup>. To this flourishing period of Uzgand belong the buildings which have survived to the present, such as a 63 feet high minaret and a *mazār*, i.e. a mausoleum where, according to local tradition, lie buried the first ilek and the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar (d. 1157), although, in point of fact the latter's tomb is in Marv. The inscription on the mausoleum shows that it was built only at the end of the twelfth century, but the interest of the Uzgand monuments is obvious in view of the scarcity of pre-Mongol buildings still extant in Turkestan. The ruler of Farghana was mostly independent of Samarqand, although the khans of Samarqand claimed sovereignty over the whole of Mawarannahr and in the late twelfth century styled themselves "Sultans of Sultans". In Bukhara, which ceased to be the capital under the Qarakhanids, some of the khans erected buildings, the best known of which is the minaret built in 1127 by Arslan-khan (170 feet high).

The Turkish conquest and the system of fiefs introduced by the conquerors did not interrupt the cultural development and progress of the country. The historical processes, discernible under the Samanids, continued under the Qarakhanids. The fall of the Samanid kingdom gave a new lease of life to the landed

<sup>1</sup> Now Uzgand is a village in the district of Andijān.

aristocracy, the *dihqans*. This conclusion is supported by the coins struck by the *dihqan* of Ilaq, who had enjoyed no such rights under the Samanids, and by reports about the wars of the Qarakhanids, in which there are references to a special force of the *dihqans* of Mawarannahr. Soon however the *dihqans* lost even such importance as was theirs under the Samanids, and in the political events of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, even at the time of the Mongol invasion, no mention is made any longer of the cavalry of these lords. It is probable that the *dihqans* took a hand in the struggle between the throne and the military aristocracy<sup>1</sup> which grew in fierceness under the Qarakhanids. The khans had the support of the popular masses, while the aristocracy was backed by the mullas. As a typical event one can quote the deposition and murder in 1095 of the Samarqand khan Ahmad who was very popular with the masses. This act was perpetrated by the chiefs of the Turkish guard at the instigation of the mullas. The life must have also contributed to the decline of the class of *dihqans*. Since the conquest, there had been a noticeable tendency of the clergy to move the centre of town life from the old *shahristans* into the suburbs where the bazaars were situated. This process, by which former "towns" were transformed into "suburbs" and vice versa, was completed under the Qarakhanids in the eleventh century. The towns took on their present-day aspect, the principal arteries leading from the gates towards the centre, with bazaar-stalls lining these streets and the central cupola of the market (*chārsū*) rising over the spot where they intersected. The same process can be observed in Marv and other towns of Turkestan which lay outside the Qarakhanid possessions. Bukhara assumed the form of an aristocratic municipal republic, at whose head stood the *ṣadrs*, i.e. the princes of the church of the "house of Burhān", who represented the interests of the wealthy classes. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the power of the *sadrs* was crushed,—not by the khans, but by a popular movement headed by a man from the ranks of the craftsmen.

<sup>1</sup> Represented by the chiefs of the Turkish guards.

Foreign enemies took advantage of the struggles within the Qarakhanid state. The dynasty lost its independence as early as the eleventh century, but its physical existence continued till the beginning of the thirteenth. After the fall of the Samanid state, its territories situated to the south of the Amu-Darya passed into the hands of another dynasty which had formerly stood in a vassal relationship to the Samanids and which has been surnamed *Ghaznavid*, after its capital Ghazni (in present day Afghanistan, to the South-West of Kabul). Sultan Mahmūd (998-1030), the principal representative of this dynasty, successfully beat off the attacks of the Qarakhanids on the provinces to the south of the Amu-Darya. He retained Balkh in his power, and to some extent subdued the eastern provinces of present day Bukhara which gravitated towards Balkh. In the same way he conquered Khwarazm, a former vassal state of the Samanids.

Mahmud's successors were dislodged from Persia and Northern Afghanistan by the invasion of another Turkish people, the *Turcomans*, who formerly lived along the lower course of the Sir-Darya. Thence they began moving southward in the tenth century,, and in the eleventh had crossed the Amu-Darya. The Turcomans belonged to a lower standard of civilisation than the conquerors of Samanid Turkestan. Until their conversion to Islam they were illiterate, and no dynasty of khans led them on their conquests. They came to Persia first as separate hordes, and then as bands comanded by *beks* (princes),—the issue of the Turcoman chief Seljuk. Only when they reached Persia did their *beks* adopt the royal title and style themselves “shahs” and “sultans”. They were the first to introduce this latter title<sup>1</sup> into official terminology and the legends on coins. In this they were imitated by the later Ghaznavids and Qarakhanids. These “Seljuk Turks” gradually extended their sway over the whole of Muslim Asia. Having firmly established their power in Persia and Mesopotamia, they turned back to the East,

<sup>1</sup> Primarily this term did not designate an individual ruler, but only the “state power” in general.



conquered Khawarazm and the lands along the lower course of the Sir-Darya, which were their earlier home, and subjugated the Qarakhanids, including the khan of Kashghar.

It was they who first conceived the idea of the *Sultan of Islam* as the sovereign ruler of the entire Muslim world, standing alongside the Caliph, the religious chief of the Muslims, whose spiritual authority was to consecrate the Sultan's power.

Even in the empire of the Seljuk sultans the principle of administrative unity was not completely achieved, despite all the efforts of their Persian ministers, especially the famous Nizām al-mulk (assassinated in 1092). Relatives of the Sultan received vast provinces which they administered and passed on by inheritance, while not always bowing to the authority of the head of the dynasty. The title of "sultan" was sometimes borne simultaneously by several persons. During the lifetime of his brothers (Bärk-Yaruq and Muhammad), Sultan Sanjar (1118-1157) ruled Khorasan and lived in the East, mostly in Marv,—even after he had become the head of the dynasty. Simultaneously, other princes in the West assumed the title of sultan. Sanjar's sovereignty over these provinces was purely nominal, though he successfully put down attempts of open rebellion. While his nephew Sultan Mas'ūd (1133-1152) ruled in Baghdad and Western Persia, Sanjar did not advance further West than Rayy (to the east of Tehran). Finally the "Sultan of Islam" had to relinquish his sovereignty over the former Qarakhanid possessions in favour of the new conquerors who came from the Far East, and for the first time since the spread of Islam in Turkestan that country had to submit to a non-Muslim people.

#### THE QARA-KHITAY

From the beginning of the tenth century, and since the fall of the T'ang dynasty, the northern provinces of China had been ruled by foreign dynasties which arrogated to themselves the title of Emperor of China. The first of these dynasties was the House of Liao (916-1125) of Khitay (K'itan) extraction. The Khitay are usually supposed to have been of Tunguz origin but arguments have also been advanced to show that they were Mongols.

The earliest rulers of the House of Liao had solidly established their sway over Manchuria, Mongolia and Northern China, where they underwent the influence of Chinese culture. The Khitay gave to the Celestial Empire the name which has survived to the present day among the Mongols and Russians<sup>1</sup>. The Muslims, and after them the Western Europeans, gave the name of *Qitā* (*Khitā*), or *Qatā* (*Khatā*), only to Northern China, retaining the old name of China (*Chīn*, Arabic, *Ṣīn*) for Southern China, which remained under the rule of national dynasties until the Mongol conquest. The domination of the Khitay greatly affected the ethnical composition of the population of Mongolia by dislodging the Turkish elements whose place was now taken by the Mongols. They also influenced the conditions of life of the nomad peoples, as can be seen from the fact that they replaced the former cult of the East by the Chinese cult of the South, with the corresponding orientation of the nomads' dwellings in that direction.

Already in the eleventh century, the Muslims of Turkestan had to ward off attacks of non-Muslim peoples coming from the East, among whom the Khitay are mentioned. A more important westward movement of the Khitay took place after the conquest of the Liao kingdom in 1125 by the Jürchens, who also originated from Manchuria. Part of the Khitay, the Qara-Khitay (Black Khitay), as the Muslims called them, left their country under the leadership of a member of the former dynasty and migrated to the western part of Central Asia. In the letter which Sultan Sanjar addressed in July 1133 to the vazir of the Caliph, he speaks of the victory of the khan of Kashghar, at some days' distance to the East of Kashghar, over the *kāfir* ("infidel") who, a few years previously, had come "from the farthestmost part of Turkestan". The leader of the *kāfirs* was taken prisoner.

This was the victory of the Kashghar ruler Arslan khan Ahmad over the Qara-Khitay army. The historian Ibn al-Athīr gives the date of this battle as 1128, though it probably took place some years later. And so the advance of the Qara-Khitay across

<sup>1</sup> [In Russian, China is called *Kitay*, cf. old English *Cathay*.]

Eastern Turkestan came to grief. More successful was their movement along the northern route, across the regions lying north of the Tien-shan. The first place where the Khitay firmly established themselves after they had left their native country, was Tarbaghatay. There, in the vicinity of the present day Chughuchaq, they built the town of Emil. At that time they numbered 40,000 tents. The first Muslim ruler to have dealings with them was the khan of Balasaghun who solicited their aid against some hostile Turkish chiefs. The Qara-Khitay defeated the khan's enemies but at the same time seized Balasaghun and deprived the khan of his title. Since then the valley of the river Chu remained the residence of the Qara-Khitay ruler who bore the title of *gūrkhān*<sup>1</sup>. The Chinese historians include the gurkhans among the Chinese emperors, enumerate their "years of rule" in Chinese nomenclature and call their dynasty "Western Liao". This seems to be the only example in history, of the retention of the Chinese imperial title by an alien dynasty even after it had been driven out of China. When in the fourteenth century the Yüan dynasty<sup>2</sup> was ousted from China, it was considered as having come to an end, although direct descendants of the last emperor continued for some time to reign in Mongolia.

From the banks of the Chu the gurkhan gradually spread his dominion over the Qarakhanids of Eastern and Western Turkestan. There is no information about his fighting with the khan of Kashghar but as Ibrahim khan, son of Arslan khan Ahmad, is called "the martyr" (*shahīd*), it is possible that he fell in a battle with the Qara-Khitay. The non-Muslim lands of the Eastern Tien-shan also submitted to the gurkhan. As early as 1137 the Qara-Khitay defeated the khan of Samarqand, Mahmud, near Khojand, but for some reason they did not avail themselves of this opportunity of conquering Mawarannahr. In 1141 the gurkhan intervened in the feuds in Mawarannahr, as he had done in Balasaghun. This time, however, he sided with the Turkish aristocracy, whereas Mahmud khan had invoked the aid of his

<sup>1</sup> According to Muslim authors it meant "khan of khans".

<sup>2</sup> As the Mongol dynasty was officially called in China.

uncle Sultan Sanjar. On 9 September 1141 the Sultan's army was defeated on the Qatvan steppe, to the north of Samarqand. It was said that the Muslims lost up to 30,000 men. The khan of Samarqand fled with the Sultan of Khorasan. He was succeeded by his brother who became the gurkhan's vassal.

News of the defeat of the most powerful Muslim sultan in a battle with non-Muslims reached the Crusaders, who were fighting the Muslims in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, and gave rise to the legend of the Christian "Prester John". It was expected that the Christian king, who was attacking the Muslims from the East, would reach Jerusalem and help his co-religionists to smash the enemies of Christendom. In 1145 it was given out that he had reached the Tigris. In point of fact, the Qara-Khitay were not ambitious of extensive conquests and contented themselves with subjecting the nearest Muslim states, including Bukhara and Khwarazm. Even the town of Tirmidh, on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, remained under the Seljuk Sultan.

The Qara-Khitay kingdom was vastly different from the usual type of nomad empires. While retaining their nomad habits, the Qara-Khitay had absorbed Chinese culture to a far greater extent than other nomad conquerors. In their state the Chinese system of taxation "by households" prevailed, each house paying 1 dinar (about ten shillings). The first gurkhan is also said to have distributed no fiefs and entrusted to no man a command over more than 100 men. Even in later times the gurkhan's possessions show no signs of parcellation into appanages<sup>1</sup>, but neither had they any administrative unity. Everywhere former local dynasties continued to exist as the gurkhan's vassals, their feudal dependence being of those three different types which became known in Russia during the various periods of Mongol domination. In many places there were permanent representatives of the gurkhan side by side with the local ruler. Some other provinces, like Khwarazm, were only periodically visited by the gurkhan's representatives who collected the tribute. Finally, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the *sadr* (religious chief)

<sup>1</sup> [In Russian: *udel'naya sistema*, i.e. the system of appanages under which the father's dominions were divided among his sons.]

of Bukhara in person took the tribute to the khan's ordu, as at a later date the prince of Moscow took his to the Golden Horde. In the middle of the twelfth century there lived in Bukhara a delegate of the gurkhan, whose instructions were to take the *sadr's* advice in all matters.

By comparison with the times of Sultan Sanjar, the limits of the Qara-Khitay dominions had been somewhat extended in the second half of the twelfth century, when they had come to include both Tirmidh and Balkh. As a general rule, however, the Qara-Khitay attempted no further conquests and even took no measures to prevent the recrudescence of war among their Muslim vassals and neighbours, until finally the latter raised the banner of holy war. With the death of Sultan Sanjar in 1157, the power of the Seljuk dynasty waned in the East. After this, several dynasties in turn laid claims to be regarded in Central Asia as Sultans of Islam "bound to liberate their co-religionists from the infidels' yoke", first the Seljuk Sultans of Western Persia, then the Ghūrid dynasty which arose in Afghanistan, and finally the Khwārazmshāhs who were hereditary governors in the service of the Seljuks.

#### THE KHWARAZMSHAHS

The end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century are an important period in the history of Khwarazm for at that time this region had become the nucleus of a powerful state whose rulers could bid for paramountcy in Muslim Asia. The Khwarazmshah Tākish<sup>1</sup> (1172-1200) defeated his Muslim rivals. Toghrul, the last Seljuk sultan in Western Persia, fell in 1194 in a battle against Tākish. Like his predecessors Tākish several times waged war against the Qara-Khitay but with no great success. Even his son and successor Muhammad, during the first years of his reign, when he was struggling with the Ghurids, continued to pay tribute to the Qara-Khitay and to accept their aid. Later, however, he proclaimed himself the liberator of the Muslims from infidel domination and in 1210 defeated the Qara-Khitay army on the banks of the Talas. This

<sup>1</sup> [Perhaps: *Türkish*?]

victory, although not decisive, brought great fame to the Sultan, who adopted the titles of "Second Alexander" and "Sultan Sanjar". He planned to conquer China and to create a world empire, but this ambition was thwarted partly because of the opposition of foreign enemies, and partly also because of the lack of response among his Muslim subjects. In those days, the imperial idea was not popular in the Muslim world, in whose history one does not find the same connection between the growth of political power and the progress of trade and industry, that is to be found in later times in the history of Western Europe. In the Islamic world, political disintegration did not weaken cultural links between the separate regions. There no longer existed such a unique political and cultural centre as Baghdad had once been, but the interests of culture were equally well served by the existence of a number of rival capitals. Local princes vied with one another in attracting men of literary and scientific distinction to enhance the lustre of their courts. The outer world was no longer an object for Muslim military expeditions, but Muslim traders and men of culture, without any aid from the government, penetrated much farther than Islamic armies could have done. In the twelfth century, representatives of the Muslim military caste were to be found in the service both of the Polovtsian khans in Southern Russia and of the Manchurian rulers in Northern China. After their conquest of Central Asia the Qara-Khitay did not embrace Islam, but Muslim men of culture were in favour at the court of their rulers. A Muslim merchant, Mahmud-bay, was the minister of the last gurkhan. Muslim traders visited Eastern Mongolia and even the trade between Mongolia and China passed into their hands. Trade was in the form of barter, and apparently was not affected by disturbances in the currency system of Mawarannahr,—where, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the "silver" dirhams were struck in copper, which was tantamount to the introduction of token currency. The fame of Muslim specialists in irrigation inspired Mongol epics to create the figure of Sartaqtay<sup>1</sup>, the builder of miraculous dykes and dams.

<sup>1</sup> In Mongolian "an Iranian, a representative of Muslim culture".

Sultan Muhammad did not secure the good will of the inhabitants of Turkestan whom he had liberated. In Bukhara he sided with the aristocracy. Malik Sanjar, the leader of the popular movement, was removed from Bukhara to Khwarazm. The *sadr*, who headed the aristocracy, was permitted to return to Bukhara but later on he too was deposed and sent to Khwarazm. Still worse was the treatment meted out by Muhammad to the Qarakhanids. The Khwarazmian garrison left behind in Samargand provoked such irritation that the "Sultan of Sultans" Othman rose against his deliverers, with the full approval of his people, and resumed relations with the Qara-Khitay. Muhammad shed rivers of blood in subduing the population which he had previously "freed". The Qarakhanids, who had remained in power under the Qara-Khitay, were exterminated. After the battle on the Talas the inhabitants of Balasaghun in the Semirechye had expected the coming of the liberator and had closed the gates against the Qara-Khitay, but Muhammad betrayed their expectations and the town was captured by the Qara-Khitay. At about the same time, bands of "Tatar" nomads appeared in the Semirechye and in Kashgharia, as a sequel to the disorders which took place in Mongolia in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and which ended in the unification of the country under Temüchin, better known by the title of Chingiz-khan <sup>1</sup>.

#### THE MONGOLS

The empire created by Chingiz-khan was the outcome not merely of political struggles between various peoples and tribes, but also of a class conflict between the steppe aristocracy and the popular elements. Chingiz-khan represented the aristocracy. The popular masses <sup>2</sup>) united under the leadership of his rival Jamukha, who had adopted the title of gurkhan, probably in imitation of the Qara-Khitay. Jamukha incited one enemy after another against him, but Chingiz-khan and his supporters emerged victorious from all these struggles. According to Mongol tradition, Jamukha was taken prisoner and executed after Chin-

<sup>1</sup> [Jenghiz khan.]

<sup>2</sup> [Somewhat doubtful. V.M.].

giz-khan's victory <sup>1</sup> over the Mergit (who lived to the East of Lake Baikal). On the other hand the Muslim historian Juvayni [I, 80] speaks of a stalwart Gurkhan <sup>2</sup> who joined the Muslims after escaping from Chingiz-khan and was killed at the taking of Bukhara by the Mongols in 1220. This might suggest that after his failure in Mongolia Jamukha had found refuge in Turkestan.

The events in Mongolia stirred up the "Tatars" on the Turkestan steppes. "Tatar" was at that time the popular name of the Mongols, and later it was used by the Chinese, Muslims and Europeans to designate the Mongol conquerors. The struggle in Mongolia did not end till 1208 when the *Mergit* and *Nayman* living in Western Mongolia were finally defeated. Both these peoples moved southward into the country of the Uyghurs, whence an ancient trade route led into Mongolia. The Nayman had always been under the influence of Uyghur culture and it was in their country that Chingiz-khan became acquainted with the Uyghur script which he adopted for his people.

In 1209 the chief of the *Uyghurs*, who bore the title of *idiqu* opposed the fugitives and defeated them. He withdrew his allegiance from the Qara-Khitay, whose vassal he was, and submitted to Chingiz-khan. After this the Nayman leader, *Küchlük*, crossed into the gurkhan's own territory, i.e. probably into the southern part of the Semirechye. The Mergit took a more northerly route, and somewhat later, in 1216, Chingiz-khan's troops exterminated them in the present-day province of Turghay <sup>3</sup>. The appearance of a Mongol detachment in northern Semirechye in 1211 was probably connected with the pursuit of the Mergit. The Muslim ruler of this region, *Arslan khan Qarluq*, followed the example of the heathen Uyghur *idiqu* and abandoning the Qara-Khitay submitted to Chingiz-khan. A further progress of the Mongols in the West was delayed for some years by the war which broke out between Chingiz-khan and the Chin (Kin) dynasty in Northern China. These complications gave

<sup>1</sup> In the winter of 1204-5.

<sup>2</sup> [Variant: Gök-khan].

<sup>3</sup> East of the Aral sea.



a few years' breathing space to the kingdom which the Nayman Küchlük had founded in Central Asia.

### KÜCHLÜK

According to some reports, Küchlük at first entered into close relations with the gurkhan, who received him as a son. Other reports say that he was in alliance with the Khwarazmshah Sultan Muhammad and other leaders of the Muslim movement. In any case, his later actions show that he had broken with the gurkhan and the Muslims. The gurkhan was taken prisoner and practically deposed, but during his life-time he continued to enjoy the outward honours due to a sovereign, while Küchlük acted in his name.

The clash with S. Muhammad was apparently connected with the splitting up of the Qara-Khitay empire, and hostilities took place both on the Sīr-Darya and in Kahgharia. Once again the Crusaders heard of an attack upon the Muslims from the East and this time the enemy of the Muslims was in fact a Christian. Muslim sources admit that Küchlük and the majority of the Nayman were Christians, but they add that, in the Qara-Khitay empire, Küchlük had succumbed to idolatry, i.e. probably to Buddhism, or the official Chinese cult.

In such circumstances, it was natural that the legend of Prester John should have been transferred to Küchlük. The reports of the Crusaders also contain the perfectly credible[?] statement that, through the intermediary of the Nestorian Patriarch, the head of Islam in person—the Caliph Nāṣir—sought Küchlük's alliance, on the grounds of their common hostility to the "Sultan of Islam", who, like his predecessor, had called upon the Caliph to abandon to him all secular power, even in Baghdad itself.

Even inside his own territory Küchlük had to contend with the Muslims. At the time when he still looked upon them as his allies, he had set free and befriended the khan of Kashghar whom the gurkhan had imprisoned, apparently during the Muslim revolt. On his arrival in Kashghar the khan was killed by the local aristocracy. For four years Küchlük devastated the lands

of Kashghar to avenge the death of his friend, and finally forced the inhabitants into submission.

After that he became an open enemy of the Muslims. For the first and last time, since Islam was introduced into Central Asia, this religion suffered persecution. Public worship was forbidden the Muslims and they were ordered to become either Christians or idolators, or at least to exchange their Muslim for Chinese clothing. Some were punished by the quartering of troops upon them, a measure similar to the "dragonnades" which Louis XIV inflicted on the Huguenots. One of the cases when members of the clergy were put to death is particularly quoted: Shaykh 'Alā al-din Muhammad of Khotan was nailed to the doors of the madrasa which he himself had built.

At the time when the kingdom of the last gurkhan was rent by internal troubles, a new Muslim principality sprang up in the extreme North-East of the Muslim world as it then was. *Buzar*, a former robber chief, founded it in the region of the present-day Qulja, where Almaliq was the principal town. Buzar too was hostile to Küchlük and, like the khan of Kashghar, he waited on Chingiz-khan. Küchlük succeeded in capturing and killing Buzar during a hunting expedition, but Almaliq, where the power was taken over by Buzar's wife, successfully resisted until the arrival of the relief sent by Chingiz-khan.

It is obvious that, in such conditions, S. Muhammad could not put into execution any of his ambitious schemes, nor could Küchlük think of an offensive against the Sultan. Muhammad was forced to cede to Küchlük some former possessions of the Qarakhanids, such as Farghana and the provinces to the North and East of it, including the cultivated strip of land along the Chirchik and the Aris. Muslim historians report that the Sultan himself laid waste these regions lest they should benefit Küchlük, but the Chinese sage Ch'ang-ch'un who travelled in those parts in 1221 enumerates the towns that lay on his route without any mention of traces of devastation. The frontiers of Muhammad's possessions now ran along the banks of the Sir-Darya, from Khojand to the estuary. They also included the course of the river below Sauran, over which neither the Sa-

manids, nor the Qarakhanids had held sway. Even in the second half of the twelfth century this area, with the town of Sighnaq (now the ruins of Sunaq-Qurghan), was still in the possession of non-Muslim Qipchaqs, whereas in the lands lying both upstream and downstream from it Islam had reigned supreme since the beginning of the eleventh century. Sultan Muhammad visited the lower course of the Sīr-Darya on several occasions and led expeditions from thence to the North. During one of these marches, in the summer of 1216, his army clashed with the army of Juchi, Chingiz-khan's eldest son, who was pursuing the Mergit, but after the battle with the Sultan the Mongols retreated under cover of the darkness.

#### CHINGIZ AND THE KHWARAZMSHAH

Both parties seem to have taken this encounter for a misunderstanding and it did not hamper the development of the peaceful relations which had been established between the two kingdoms on the Sultan's initiative. His ambassador was received by Chingiz-khan in Peking in the year 1215, in which the Mongols occupied that city, or in the beginning of the year 1216, in which Chingiz-khan returned to Mongolia. The sources quote only one object of this embassy: the Sultan, who had been hoping to conquer China had now learnt that he had been forestalled and the ambassador's duty was to check this piece of intelligence. He may have had other tasks as well: the Sultan may have hoped to find in Chingiz-khan an ally against Küchlük; and while the hostilities with this prince had blocked the usual communications with China through Eastern Turkestan, Chingiz-khan's conquests, which had already reached the northern part of the Semirechye, made it possible to establish a new trade route. Actually a caravan accompanied, or closely followed, the embassy sent to Chingiz-khan. We have no information about the route taken by the embassy and the caravan, nor do we know where Chingiz-khan received the caravan. By analogy with Chingiz-khan's campaign in 1219, we may assume that the embassy and the caravan journeyed across the northern part of the Semirechye, and from thence on to the Irtish. This must have been also the route taken

by the Mongolian embassy and caravan which came to the Sultan's dominions in the spring of 1218 and which must be considered as Chingiz-khan's response to the initiative taken by the Sultan.

This embassy was headed by three Muslims in Chingiz-khan's employ. The task of the ambassadors was to offer the Sultan peace and safe commercial relations. The Sultan gave a favourable answer, though he resented being addressed by Chingiz as a "son",—i.e., more or less as a vassal. Soon after the departure of the ambassadors, a caravan of 450 merchants, all Muslims, arrived in Otrar<sup>1</sup>, bringing with them 500 loaded camels. The merchants were detained as spies and murdered, and their wares looted. Only one camel-driver escaped and returned to Mongolia. The sources give contradictory accounts of the circumstances in which this disastrous event took place, and of the respective responsibility of the Sultan and the governor of Otrar. In any case, the Sultan took the entire responsibility upon himself when he ordered the killing of one, or, according to another report, all three of Chingiz-khan's envoys<sup>2</sup> who had come to claim compensation and the extradition of the culprit. These facts put together show that the Mongol expedition against Turkestan was directly provoked by the Sultan's action. There is nothing to confirm the report, accepted by many scholars, that it was the Caliph who had called in the Mongols against the Sultan. Much more credible is the report, already quoted<sup>3</sup>, on the Caliph's relations with Küchlük, the Sultan's immediate neighbour and Chingiz-khan's enemy.

In 1218, and apparently after the events of Otrar, Chingiz-khan sent his general Jebe-noyon against Küchlük. The Uyghur *idiquit*, who was no less hostile to Islam than Küchlük, took part in this expedition with a small force of 300 men. On the other hand, the Mongol general proclaimed himself protector of religious freedom and promised that every man would be allowed to profess the faith of his fathers. Therefore the occupation of

<sup>1</sup> The frontier-town of Muhammad's territory, situated on the eastern bank of the Sïr-Darya.

<sup>2</sup> This time the envoys were non-Muslims.

<sup>3</sup> Above p. 34.

the southern part of the Semirechye, of Farghana and Kashgharia was practically bloodless. Küchlük's Muslim vassals and subjects, amongst them the ruler of Farghana <sup>1</sup>, went over to the Mongols. The population massacre<sup>1</sup> Küchlük's soldiers who were quartered upon them. Juvayni heard later from the Kashgharians that the coming of the Mongols had been a divine mercy for them. Küchlük who fled from Kashghar to Sarikol <sup>2</sup>, was overtaken and killed. In contrast to what had happened under Küchlük, the remnants of the Qara-Khitay, and probably of the Nayman, merged with the Muslims and adopted Muslim dress. The task of delivering the Muslims from the oppressions of the infidels, which had proved too much for the Sultan of Islam, was successfully carried out by a heathen general.

These events made it difficult for Sultan Muhammad to rally round him both the people and the army, on the pretext of defending Islam against the invasion of the *kafirs*. Somewhat earlier the Sultan had irritated the clergy by his hostile actions against the Caliph. The troops which he sent against Baghdad in 1217 were destroyed in the Kurdish mountains partly by the snow and partly in skirmishes with the Kurds, and this disaster was interpreted as a divine retribution for an impious expedition. Moreover, the Sultan was on bad terms with the Turkish military aristocracy who rallied round his mother Turkan [Tärkän]-khatun, who ruled in Khwarazm. In 1216 the Sultan put to death, as an adherent of Turkan-khatun, the popular Shaykh Majd al-din, a disciple of Shaykh Najm al-din Kubrā, the founder of the Kubravi order of darvishes which exists to this day. Finally, the massacre in Otrar of Muslim merchants of whom Chingiz had made himself the avenger must have destroyed the last possibility of understanding between the Sultan of Islam and the representatives of Muslim world trade. A comparison of the events of the thirteenth century with the events which took place in China in the beginning of the twentieth century is interesting: in contrast to what can be observed in modern European policy, the medieval history of Islam shows how slender was at that time the con-

<sup>1</sup> A native of Balasaghun.

<sup>2</sup> [According to Juvayni, to Badakhshan, V.M.]

nection between the progress of Muslim trade and the political might of the nations to which the trader belonged.

#### MONGOL CONQUEST OF TURKESTAN

Muslim merchants accompanied Chingiz-khan on his expedition against the Sultan and were his trusted counsellors. To them he owed the detailed acquaintance with geographical conditions, apparent from his plan of campaign. Chingiz-khan spent the summer of 1219 on the banks of the Irtish. In the autumn he was joined in Northern Semirechye by two Muslim rulers, Arslan khan Qarluq and Suqnaq-tegin of Almaliq with their armies, and by the idikut of the Uyghurs, Barchuq, with his force. On an earlier occasion Chingiz-khan had informed the Sultan that he regarded him as the sovereign of the West, and himself as the sovereign of the East. This high opinion of his adversary may have affected the character of his military preparations. This time too, as in 1211 during the Chinese campaign, Chingiz-khan and his sons accompanied the army. The Sultan was aware of the approach of the foe but was unable to devise effective measures to meet them. His kingdom lacked unity because of his unfriendly relations with his own mother. Even the bureaucratic centralisation had been upset when the vizirial powers were invested in a council of six dignitaries. The people, who gained nothing from this reform, thought that on the whole it was easier to satisfy one man than six. In order to finance the war, taxes for three years ahead were collected, but the funds were not spent according to plan. The Sultan had meant to build long walls around Samargand and its suburbs but this plan was immediately given up. The extreme unpopularity of the Sultan and his dynasty with the population and army hampered any consistent organisation of the defence. The Sultan was aware that if he concentrated his numerous military forces on some particular front, such as the Sïr-Darya line, this army would turn against him as soon as it had defeated the foreign invader. Consequently the troops were quartered in different towns and settlements, and this explains why the Mongols succeeded in conquering Turkestan without having to fight battles in the open field, as had

been the case during the earlier invasions. All they had to do was to reduce the towns, a problem successfully solved even by small bodies of troops. Thus the force sent from Otrar up the Sīr-Darya was only 5,000 strong.

When at the end of 1219 Chingiz-khan reached Otrar he detached two bodies of troops from his main army: one, under the command of his sons *Chaghatay* and *Ögedey*, was left behind to invest Otrar, and the other, under the command of his eldest son *Juchi*, was sent down the Sīr-Darya. Both these forces had gained their objectives by about April 1220. From Otrar Chingiz-khan marched with the bulk of his army across the Qizil-Qum desert to Nūr-Ata, and from thence to Bukhara and Samarqand. Bukhara was taken in February 1220, which shows that the crossing of the desert was conditioned by the season of the year. There are no grounds for the opinion that the march across the desert indicates a change which has since taken place in the physico-geographical conditions of the country. Chingiz-khan reached Samarqand in March 1220 and was joined by his two sons who by that time had taken Otrar. After the fall of Samarqand, part of their forces was detailed against Khojand where the Mongols met with stubborn resistance on the part of the governor Timur-Malik. 20,000 Mongols and 50,000 prisoners took part in the siege. These numbers are typical of the system of warfare favoured by the Mongols. When they invested towns they drove before them prisoners taken from among the local peasants, using them as shields from the arrows of the besieged garrison and forcing them to clear the way for the Mongol army. Sometimes the prisoners were disposed in military formation and furnished with banners to trick the besieged into believing the Mongol army larger than it really was. When Timur-Malik was compelled to abandon the town, he sailed down the Sīr-Darya, forced a passage through the Mongol troops occupying the banks and then, leaving his boats, rode on to Khwarazm.

Chingiz-khan spent the summer in Qarshi, captured Tirmidh in the autumn and in the spring of 1221 crossed the Amu-Darya and occupied Balkh. He did not re-cross the river till October 1222. In 1221 the armies of Juchi, Chaghatay and Ögedey con-

quered *Khwarazm*. In the same year Chingiz-Khan's youngest son *Tuli* captured and destroyed the towns of Khorasan, including Marv. The detachments sent across the Amu-Darya in 1220, in pursuit of Sultan-Muhammad, penetrated still further to the West. In 1223 they defeated the *Russians* on the Kalka and rejoined Chingiz-khan across the steppes, north of the Caspian sea, though a considerable part of this force perished in an ambush laid by the Volga Bulgars.

In many places the Muslims put up an energetic resistance and even succeeded in repelling the Mongols for a time. In 1220 Timur-Malik made a thrust from Khwarazm across the steppes bordering on the eastern shores of the Aral Sea, and dislodged Juchi's men from the town of Shahrkand (now the Jankant ruins), near the estuary of the Sir-Darya. In 1222 a successful expedition was led against Bukhara from Marv which had temporarily shaken off Mongol domination. Not until 1223 had all resistance been definitely crushed. By that time Chingiz-khan with his sons was on the Qulan-bashi steppe, in the eastern part of the present-day Sir-Darya province, slowly making his way homewards.

Sultan Muhammad and the other members of his dynasty took only a small part in these events. In the beginning of the year 1220 the Sultan with his troops was in Kālif<sup>1</sup>, and apparently hoped to defend the line of the Amu-Darya, but after the fall of Samarqand he left the river even before the Mongols had put in an appearance. After wandering aimlessly through Persia he found refuge on an island in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian sea where he died in the same year (1220). The news of her son's flight moved his mother Turkan-khatun to leave Khwarazm despite the assurance of Chingiz-khan, who was aware of her hostile relations with her son and tried to win her over by protesting that he was only avenging the massacre of the merchants in Otrar and would not molest her possessions. On leaving Khwarazm Turkan-khatun retired with all her adherents to two castles in Mazandaran. Both these castles were taken in the summer of 1220. The male members of the dynasty were put to

<sup>1</sup> Which down to the 18th century stood on the *left* bank of the Oxus.



death. The queen and the princesses were captured and, after the conclusion of the campaign, carried off to Mongolia. Sultan Muhammad's three grown-up sons were with him on the island, and after his death they returned to Khwarazm. The eldest, *Jalāl al-din*, was proclaimed Sultan, but the mutinous spirit of the troops forced him, and then his brothers, to leave that province. The departure of the members of the dynasty put an end to all internecine strife, and one of Turkan-khatun's relatives was proclaimed Sultan. Gurgānj, the capital, was taken by the Mongols only after a stiff resistance, for which the garrison and all the inhabitants were put to the sword, with the exception of the artisans and the young women and children who were led off into captivity. During the year 1221 Sultan Jalal al-din fought the Mongols in Afghanistan, but it was only on the banks of the Indus that he ventured to give battle to Chingiz-khan's main force (on 24 November). With the remnants of his defeated army he managed to escape to India. Later he returned and played a certain political role in Persia and Transcaucasia (till 1231), but he never again appeared in Turkestan and Khwarazm. Jalal al-din completely eclipsed his father in the memory of the Mongols who credited him with everything that was known about the Sultan, even the massacre of the caravan in Otrar.

#### CH'ANG-CH'UN'S JOURNEY

The Chinese monk Ch'ang-ch'un, whom Chingiz-khan had summoned to the West, was an eye-witness of the situation obtaining in Turkestan immediately after the Mongol invasion. Ch'ang-ch'un spent the winter of 1221-2 in Samarqand, and in the spring of 1222 travelled to Chingiz-khan's headquarters in Afghanistan. He spent part of the summer in Samarqand and in the autumn was again in Afghanistan to re-cross the Amu-Darya with Chingiz-khan in October. With the aid of the artisans in their service, the Mongols repaired the roads which in those days were in a better state than they are now. Forty eight wooden bridges were built in the Talki defile near the Sayram-Nor lake, where the road crosses and re-crosses the little river. Ch'ang-ch'un crossed the Chu on a wooden bridge, and the

Talas on a stone one. There was a floating bridge across the Amu-Darya. The building and repair of bridges was the concern of Chingiz-khan's second son *Chaghatay*. The greater part of Central Asia was destined to become his fief and, even in his father's life-time, he exercised a certain degree of sovereignty in this area. The *ordu* of Chaghatay stood in the Qulja region, to the south of the Ili. The consequent importance of Qulja explains the presence in Almaliq of a Mongol governor alongside the local prince. Samarqand was the only Muslim town administered by a non-Muslim Qara-Khitay governor. Measures somewhat similar to those of Küchlük were taken against the local Muslim population in Samarqand, though not on religious grounds, and Muslims could own real estate only in common with Qara-Khitays, Chinese and Tanguts. Many Chinese artisans seem to have come to Samarqand with the Mongols, yet the town retained its Muslim character. On Fridays, men and women, who at that time still had access to communal religious worship, hastened to the mosque. Those who abstained were punished, a fact showing that the lower ranks of the police were still recruited among Muslims. Ch'ang-ch'un was told that before the Mongol invasion the town had over 100,000 families of which only a quarter remained after the invasion. Life went on as of old and there were many goods in the bazaars. Ch'ang-ch'un thought the gardens even better than the Chinese but there were many hungry people about, and on his return to Samarqand he distributed amongst them what remained of the provisions issued to himself. Ruined peasants gathered into robber bands which operated in the vicinity, and the glare of flames could often be seen from the town.

#### THE CHINGIZIDS

Ch'ang-ch'un's report shows that, as soon as military operations were over, the Mongols took measures to restore the welfare of the conquered regions. The opinion that the Mongols did not appreciate culture and would have turned all the land into grazing grounds is contradicted by the facts. The Mongol rulers, at least, were bound to realise that from town-dwellers and land-owners they could obtain a better revenue than from nomads.

It was also evident that the administration of settled areas could not be entrusted to Mongols or nomads without loss of revenue to the state, and in particular to the khan's clan who regarded the treasury as their common property. The concept of family ownership was transferred from the domain of private law into the domain of state law. The empire belonged to the whole family, every prince and princess being entitled to part of the revenue, and the administration of the empire was a common task, though its methods varied according to circumstances. In Chingiz-khan's life-time, the authority of the head of the family was recognised by all the members, and he alone took all the decisions. Under Chingiz-khan's successor *Ögedey* (1229-1241) this personal rule was superseded by a council of representatives from all the branches of the khan's family. *Ögedey* had inherited neither his father's genius, nor his strong will, but his personal qualities fitted him above all for the role of the unifying centre very much needed by the dynasty and the empire.

One single political administration, acting in the name of the Great Khan, prevailed throughout the whole empire, although Chingiz-khan, even in his life-time, had allotted separate fiefs to his sons. In this case too the rule followed private law: the eldest sons were given their share by their father during his life-time, while the youngest inherited the father's original personal property. Thus Chingiz-khan's youngest son *Tuli* received in heritage Mongolia and the bulk of the regular Mongol army. The degree of remoteness of the fiefs corresponded to the age of the sons: as the frontiers of the empire expanded, so the fief of the eldest son *Juchi* moved further and further to the West. Both Chingiz-khan and *Juchi* died in 1227, the son slightly predeceasing his father, and at that time *Juchi's* fief comprised the territories from the *Irtish* up to the limits "reached by the hooves of the Mongols' horses". Out of the cultivated area of Central Asia, it included the lands along the lower course of the *Sir-Darya* and the northern part of *Khwarazm* with its capital. Soon after the Mongol massacre, *Gurgānj*, or *Urganch* as the Mongols called it, was rebuilt on a new site near the old one, and had again become an important commercial centre. *Juchi's* fief bordered on

the Sīr-Darya and in the Semirechye upon the fief of *Chaghatay*. Ögedey had received Western Mongolia with Tarbaghatay. Despite the vastness of the empire, the *ordus* of the three elder sons were situated at comparatively short distances from each other: Juchi's *ordu* was on the Irtysh, Ögedey's near Chughuchaq, and Chaghatay's on the Ili. On being proclaimed Great Khan Ögedey left his fief <sup>1</sup> to take up residence in his father's original home on the Orkhon. Here in Qaraqorum, the ruins of which are situated near the present-day monastery of Erdeni-tsu, Muslim and Chinese architects, with the assistance of Western European and Russian artisans, built palaces for him and his successors. It would seem that a site on which, within a small area and in a short space of time <sup>2</sup>, buildings were erected by representatives of the most diverse civilisations, should yield much valuable material for the study of the cultural history of Central Asia and other lands, yet the first attempts at excavating in 1912 did not realise such hopes, and no other attempts have been made since.

It was natural that Muslim civilisation should be represented at the Mongol court mostly by town-dwellers of Mawarannahr. During Ögedey's reign, this latter country was governed by *Mahmūd Yalavach*, a Khwarazmian appointed by the Great Khan and resident in Khojand. Under him a peasant revolt broke out in 1238 in Bukhara which by that time had recovered from the devastations of 1220. The revolt was directed both against the Mongols and the local aristocracy. After the revolt had been put down, Mahmūd's intervention saved the town from the imminent reprisals. It is not clear what relations existed between Mahmūd and Chaghatay's Muslim minister *Habash-ʿAmīd*, who, according to some reports, was a native of Otrar, and according to others, of Karmina. Like Mahmud he belonged to the wealthy merchant class and was a cultured man. Chaghatay, who was regarded as a resolute upholder of Mongol customary law and an enemy of Islam, could not have chosen his counsellor from amongst Mus-

<sup>1</sup> After Ögedey's death his body was taken back to his original fief.

<sup>2</sup> The traveller Rubruquis compares Qaraqorum with the Faubourg St. Germain. Qaraqorum ceased to be the capital in 1260.

lim zealots. An epistle which an influential shaykh of Bukhara, Sayf al-din Bākharzi, addressed to Ḥabash-<sup>c</sup>Amīd, is full of reproaches for the insufficient protection of Islam. The execution of several members of the clergy—Yūsuf Sakkākī and Bahā al-din of Marghinān—was laid at Habash-<sup>c</sup>Amīd's door. On the other hand, he is said to have been buried in 1260 in a khānaqā built by himself, which shows that he too was a founder of pious institutions.

Soon after 1238, Mahmūd Yalavach, who had fallen out with Chaghatay, had to leave Mawarannahr. Ögedey put up with this violation of his own appointment and accepted his brother's excuses. Mahmud was made governor of Peking and died there in 1254. Still under Ögedey, Mahmud's son, Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd bek, was appointed governor of the whole agricultural zone of Central Asia extending from the Uyghur country down to Khwarazm. He held this charge till his death in 1289, despite all the upheavals which occurred within this half-century. He was confirmed in his office by Ögedey's son *Güyük* (1246-1248) who was considered an enemy of Islam. Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd bek remained in office even after the events of 1251, when the power in the empire passed from Ögedey's line to Tuli's eldest son, *Mönke* (1251-9). The clans both of Chaghatay and Ögedey were destroyed on the accusation of plotting against Mönke, who had been proclaimed Great Khan. While Chaghatay's fief was nominally ruled by *Orqina*<sup>1</sup> his grandson's widow, the actual power in the empire was divided between the descendants of Tuli and Juchi. The line of demarcation between the sphere of influence of Batu, son of Juchi, and that of Mönke passed somewhat to the East of Talas. Mawarannahr was administered by Batu, and after his death by his brother *Berke*, who had embraced Islam and was supported by the Muslim clergy. Orqina was also called a protector of Islam, and sometimes even a Muslim. Mas<sup>c</sup>ūd bek's authority as governor of the agricultural regions was recognised in both parts of the empire. In 1251 he was in the Uyghur province, and in 1255 in Samarqand, where he entertained Mönke's brother *Hulagu* who was setting out at the head of an army on the conquest

<sup>1</sup> Barthold spells throughout: *Ergene* (?).

of Hither Asia. It was about at this time that Mas'ūd built a large madrasa in Bukhara, apparently on the Registan, which was called Mas'ūdiya after him. Still more remarkable is the donation made by the Christian mother of Mönke and Hulagu for the building of another madrasa in Bukhara. Each of these two educational institutions counted more than one thousand students. No such large madrasas seem to have existed in Turkestan before the Mongol invasion. The Mas'ūdiya of Bukhara was destroyed in 1273 during the capture of the town by the Persian Mongols (see below p. 50), but later it must have been restored for its builder was buried there in 1289.

Chaghatay's grandson *Alghuy* also availed himself of Mas'ūd bek's support when in the early twelve-sixties he took advantage of the feuds between Tuli's sons to restore the power of his house in Central Asia. To the regret of the Muslims, and especially of the shaykhs, Berke's governors were driven out of the towns of Mawarannahr. The son of Shaykh Sayf al-din Bākharzi was killed, whereas Habash-<sup>c</sup>Amīd's son went over to Alghuy. Otrar, which was the last town to be wrested by Alghuy from Berke, had by that time become an important commercial centre. The conquest of Otrar was financed by the sums collected by Mas'ūd bek. Alghuy was succeeded in 1266 by Or-qina's Muslim son *Mubārakshah*. His accession to the throne did not take place in the customary *ordu* on the Ili, but on the Angren nearer to the Muslim cultural centres. This fact suggests that by that time the Central Asian Mongols were succumbing to the influence of Mus'im culture. The next khan *Boraq*<sup>1</sup>, who had taken Mas'ūd into his service, was also a Muslim, but when he died in 1271, he was buried according to the heathen ritual. Boraq had to recognise the sovereignty of Ögedey's grandson Khaydu who firmly established the independence of the Central Asian Mongol kingdom. In 1269 a diet was assembled in Talas to consider the organisation of this state. It was laid down that the princes should live in the mountains or on the steppes and keep away from the settled regions. The administration of the latter and the collection of the revenue for the benefit of the

<sup>1</sup> Better: *Baraq*. V.M.

princes was entrusted to a special official appointed by the head of the state. Khaydu's choice fell again on Mas'ūd bek. The latter, after his death, was succeeded in turn by his three sons, of whom the first two ruled under Khaydu (who died in 1301), and the third, who lived in Kashghar, under Khaydu's son and successor Chapar.

#### MONGOL RULE IN CENTRAL ASIA

Consequently the fundamental traits of Chingiz-khan's empire survived in Central Asia longer than in any other region conquered by the Mongols. In the middle of the thirteenth century the empire was still regarded as a united whole. Despite the actual division of the empire into two parts, the coins were struck exclusively in the name of Mönke-khan, even in the dominions of Batu and Berke<sup>1</sup>. That large numbers of such coins have cropped up is probably due to the fact that for the taxation in kind prevalent under Ögedey, the Mongols had by this time substituted taxation in money.

As a result of the events of the twelve-sixties, the Mongol Great Khaqan became Emperor of China and transferred his capital from Qaraqorum to Peking; in the meantime three independent Mongol states were formed: in Russia (the Golden Horde), Persia and Central Asia. In the first two, a certain administrative unity was soon established, as symbolised by the coins bearing the names of the local khans. In Central Asia the khan remained for a long time a nomad chief, taking no direct part in the administration of the agricultural zone. He did not create any administrative machinery, nor even strike coins. Besides the supreme governor of the agricultural regions appointed by the khan, there remained in various towns hereditary rulers (*maliks*) who struck their own coins. Historical texts, inscriptions and coins mention maliks in Bukhara, Otrar, Shāsh (Tashkent), Khojand, Farghana<sup>2</sup>, Talas, and even in Almaliq, in spite of its proximity to the khan's *ordu* on the Ili.

<sup>1</sup> Before Mönke's time the names of the Mongol khans seldom appeared on the coins.

<sup>2</sup> Its capital was Uzgand.

There seems to have been no malik in Kashghar where the civil administration was headed by the *sadr*. The *sadr* of Almalik having been banished by the malik also took refuge in Kashghar. The struggle between the aristocracy and the democratic elements, represented respectively by the *sadr* and the *malik*, continued under the Mongols. Bukhara was at one time governed by a Chinese Cho-jang Tai-fu (?) which explains the coining in Bukhara of copper money with a bilingual—Chinese and Arabic—legend, a fact that stands unique in the history of Central Asia.

To conciliate the interests of the nomads and the sedentary population proved more difficult in Central Asia than in any other Mongol state. The Mongol conquest was not a migration of peoples, nor was it provoked by an urge to find new territories. Chingiz-khan's conquests made hardly any difference in the ethnical distribution of the Mongol race. The overwhelming majority of the Mongols remained in Mongolia, whither Chingiz-khan himself returned and where his successors continued to reside. Out of the total number of the Mongol regular army of 129,000, the youngest son Tuli received 104,000, with Mongolia as his fief. Each of the three other sons of Chingiz-khan received 4,000, and the remaining 13,000 were distributed among other members of the dynasty. Nevertheless the Mongol expeditions were bound to cause a certain shifting of the nomad peoples from East to West, and in general an increase of the nomad element in Central Asia. In the years between the death of Chaghatay (1242) and the accession of Khaydu (1269), when Central Asia had no strong khan, the proximity of the nomads, who alone possessed military importance, affected the welfare of the agricultural regions, and especially of the towns, far more than the impact of the Mongol invasion. According to the missionary *Rubruquis*, in the part of the Semirechye situated to the North of the Ili, which had hardly suffered from military operations, many towns had disappeared about 1253 to make way for pasture land. In 1259 the Chinese traveller Ch'ang-tê also saw many ruins in the valley of the Chu.

These reports seem to refer to the smaller towns. The more



important centres successfully resisted the pressure of the steppe for a long time. Rubriquis passed through the "Saracen", i.e. Muslim, town of Kinchat (Kanjak), on the large river Talas, to the North of the town of Talas. To the North of the Ili there was "a good town" where lived "Saracens speaking Persian". Still further North was a "large town" Qayaliq (Qayaliq) in which Rubruquis for the first time saw Buddhists who had three temples in this Muslim town, the one-time capital of Arslan khan Qarluq. A short distance beyond Qayaliq there was a village with an entirely Christian population and a Christian church, which struck the travellers who "had seen no churches for a long time". This shows that when crossing the Chu valley Rubruquis had missed the settlement of those Christians whose cemetery with funerary inscriptions is situated near Pishpek<sup>1</sup> and Toqmaq. No such Christian remains have been found in the locality where he mentions the Christian village.

In those days the Europeans were not yet utilising the trade routes across Central Asia. The pioneers of European trade in those parts were apparently the Venetian brothers Nicolo and Maffeo *Polo*, who arrived in Bukhara in 1262 from the Golden Horde, and left for China in 1265.

The twelve-seventies were the most disastrous years in the entire history of Bukhara. In 1273 it was laid waste by the invasion of the Persian Mongols. Three years later it suffered greatly from local troubles and remained depopulated for seven years. Khaydu commissioned Mas'ud to restore the city. During his reign the entirely new town of Andijan was built, which remained the principal town of Farghana down to the eighteenth century, a proof that the site had been well chosen. As neither Khaydu, nor his successors lived in Andijan, this town must have been built exclusively for purposes of trade, a rare example in the history of town-building in Central Asia.

The Mongol Empire temporarily brought together into one state the civilised countries of the Far East and of Hither Asia. In the West this political entity included such territories as Khwarazm and the basin of the Volga, between which there

<sup>1</sup> [Now Frunze, the capital of the Qirghiz republic.]

had existed only some cultural and economic links. Such unification was bound to promote international relations, but the feuds within the khan's clan which began in the twelve-sixties hampered the development of trade. These events did not affect sea-trade between China and Persia, both ruled by the Chingizids of the same branch and closely allied with each other. The greatest sufferer was the Central Asian Mongol state whose welfare depended on caravan trade. For this reason in 1304, soon after Khaydu's death, this particular state sent out a call to all the Mongol rulers inviting them to re-establish the unity of the empire in the only form possible at the time, namely as a federation of states under the nominal sovereignty of the Chinese Emperor and with complete freedom of trade between the federated states. A treaty to this effect was concluded but could not be put into practice, because already in 1305 the Central Asian Mongols were torn amongst themselves and supremacy passed once more from the descendants of Ögedey to those of Chaghatay.

#### CHAGHATAY STATE

From that time dates the term "Chaghatay state". "Chaghatay" was the name adopted by the nomads on whom depended the military strength of the dynasty, and they remained known under this name even after no khans of the Chaghatay branch were left. The literary language which towards that time was created in Central Asia also became known as "Chaghatay". In fact no other name connected with the Mongol conquest achieved a similar fame. In the khanate of the Golden Horde, the one to bequeath his name to the nation was neither Juchi nor Batu, but their descendant Uzbek (1312-1340) under whom Islam and Islamic culture took a firm hold.

In the Chaghatay khanate a decisive step towards the adoption of the traditional Islamic culture <sup>1</sup>, if not of Islam as a religion, was made during the reign of *Kebek* (1318-1326). Kebek was the first of the khans, after Mubārakshah and Boraq, to take up residence in Mawarannahr. This time the khan's choice fell upon a place in the neighbourhood of Nakhshab, in the valley

<sup>1</sup> *Add*: and statehood.

of the Qashqa-Darya. A palace was built for Kebek at a distance of 2 farsakhs (12-15 kilometres) from Nakhshab and from this palace the town of Qarshi took its name (*qarshi* in Mongolian meaning "a palace"). The ruins of Shulluk-täpä correspond to the pre-Mongolian town, and the ruins Zohāk-i Mārān (near the railway station) to the fourteenth and fifteenth century town. Kebek introduced into the Chaghatay state a monetary system similar to those of Persia and of the Golden Horde, and common to the whole state. He struck dirhams and dinars, the "dinar" being now a large silver coin weighing 30 grains, and there were 6 dirhams in a dinar. In Central Asia these coins were later called *kebeks* after Kebek khan. Actually the disappearance of copper dirhams and the re-introduction of silver currency in Central Asia date back to the second half of the 13th century. Kebek seems to have been also responsible for the division of the country into small administrative and fiscal districts — *tümäns*, on the Persian model. In Farghana and Kashgharia the term *örchin* was used instead of *tümän*.

Kebek did not become a Muslim<sup>1</sup>, but was considered a just ruler and a protector of the Muslims. His brother *Tarmāshīrīn* (1326-1334)<sup>2</sup>, who also lived near Qarshi, was converted to Islam, and this event, as a contemporary avers, had a happy effect on the trade with the Muslim world. On the other hand, the unity of the empire suffered from the khans' moving into the towns and breaking away from the Mongol common law which was based on the nomad mode of life. According to Chinese sources, Tarmashirin's brother *Durra*(*Duva*?)-*Timur*, whom the Chinese regarded as the ruler of the whole khanate, reigned in the Eastern provinces simultaneously with his brother. His son *Buzan* put himself at the head of the malcontents who resented Tarmashirin's actions and the latter was deposed and killed. The troubles which ensued lasted for more than ten years and dealt a fatal blow to urban life in the Semirechye. A contemporary author gives a vivid description of the ruined country

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this, a mausoleum of Islamic type was erected over his tomb.

<sup>2</sup> [The name is apparently of Sanskrit (Buddhist) origin: *Dharma Śrī*.]

which he had from the mouth of travellers: "From afar you can see a well-built village surrounded by blooming vegetation. You approach it in the hope of meeting the inhabitants only to find the houses quite empty. All the inhabitants of the country are nomads and have no use for agriculture." By the middle of the fourteenth century there were no longer any towns in the Chu valley. On the Talas there still survived the town of Yanī (*yāngi* "new") to which Timur appointed his governors. Here too urban life came to an end in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth it became no longer possible to identify the various groups of ruins on the Chu and the Talas.

### THE AMIR RULERS

During these troublous years Mawarannahr for a time submitted again to the authority of the khans living in the East. The khans residing in Mawarannahr also undertook expeditions to the East. Finally in the thirteen-forties, under *Qazan-khan*, a struggle broke out in Mawarannahr itself between the khans and the Turkish aristocracy. Qazan khan lived near Qarshi (p. 52), in the palace of Zanjīr-sarāy, at two days' distance from the town. Not only the khan, but the principal nomad clans too possessed definite territories both in Mawarannahr and in neighbouring Afghanistan. There were four of these clans, representing the *four* thousands which Chingiz had given to Juchi: the *Jalayir* near Khojand, the *Barlas* on the Qashqa-Darya, the *Qauchin* in the basin of the upper Amu-Darya, and the *Arlat* in Northern Afghanistan. Thus the former system of apanages<sup>1</sup> under which the fiefs were allotted to members of the khan's family, was now modified so that the fiefs were given to the chiefs of powerful clans. Qazan khan's attempt to restore a strong central power in Mawarannahr brought about his downfall (1346), following which the power passed into the hands of the "*amirs*" of the principal clans, this Perso-Arabic title rendering the Turkish *bek* and the Mongol *noyon*. The amir who became head of the state was called *ulus amir* (*ulus*—"tribal area,

<sup>1</sup> [The author uses the mediaeval Russian term *udyel*. V.M.]

state"). The descendants of Chingiz-khan alone were recognised as having the right to be called *khan*, and from amongst them puppet rulers were chosen to occupy the throne. A similar regime was established in the eastern part of the former Chaghatay khanate, where the principal clan was the *Dughlat*, masters of Western Kashgharia and of Southern Semirechyé up to Lake Issik-kul. The further developments in the two parts of the khanate were different. Mawarannahr produced a ruler like Timur whose descendants inherited his power and finally dispensed with the puppet khans. On the other hand, in Kashgharia the khans showed themselves better men than the amirs. A dynasty of khans was re-established, the power of the Dughlat amirs gradually eliminated and the former system of apanages re-introduced, with members of the khan's family holding the fiefs. The traditions of the Mongol state organisation survived longer in the West, whereas the nomads of the East remained more attached to the national Mongol traditions. The nomads of Mawarannahr called themselves *Chaghatay* and looked upon their eastern neighbours as free-booters-*jätä*. In the Chaghatay khanate the terms *chaghatay* and *jätä* were used as opposite terms, in the same way as the terms *uzbek* (those of the khan's army) and *qazaq* (freebooters who had broken away from their lawful khans) were used in the khanate of the Golden Horde. At the same time the nomads of Kashgharia and of the Semirechye called themselves *Moghol*<sup>1</sup>, while referring to their western neighbours as *qarau-nas*, i.e. half-breeds, men of mixed descent.

To the Mongol political and national traditions was opposed the idea of Islam and Muslim law. Even the Mongol states, when they embraced Islam attempted at times to exploit the *Shari'at* in their own interest, although more often the latter was used as a weapon against the Mongols. Both the Chaghatays and the "Moghols" were Muslims, as were also the Mongol rulers in Persia and in the Golden Horde. But in the national and administrative life of the nomads religious principles held

<sup>1</sup> Thus the national name of the Mongols is still pronounced by the "Moghuls" of Northern Afghanistan, the last descendants of the Mongol conquerors who have retained their name and their language.

only second place; therefore the fall of the Mongol state could be regarded as the victory of religion.

#### KHWARAZM

During the breaking up of the Mongol empire, local Muslim dynasties sprang up in various provinces. On their coins religious formulas sometimes replaced the ruler's name. One such legend: "the kingdom belongs to God" stresses the theocratic principle and rejects any political organisation unconnected with religion. Coins bearing similar mottoes were also struck in Khwarazm whose territories were re-united into an independent state in the thirteen-sixties, following the dismemberment of the Chaghatay kingdom and the outbreak of disorders in the Golden Horde after the death of Janibek khan (1357). The new rulers of Khwarazm belonged to the Turkicised Mongol clan of *Qungrat*. When the Chaghatay state, which had grown in power under Timur, tried to recover the southern part of Khwarazm, the ruler of Khwarazm, Husayn Šūfī, replied to Timur's ambassador: "your kingdom is an area of war" (i.e. an infidel state), and the duty of Muslims is to make war on you". Thus the Khwarazmians did not look upon the Chaghatays as Muslims, just as the Chaghatays, who sold captive Moghols into slavery, denied the Islam of the latter.

The development of the caravan trade under Mongol dominion was particularly profitable for Khwarazm and its capital Urganch. Agriculture was much less developed than in pre-Mongol times or in our days. On his way from Urganch to Bukhara in 1333, the Arab traveller *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* did not see a single village with the exception of Kāt (now Shaykh ʿAbbās-valī), but he described Urganch as "the largest, most important and most beautiful" town in the Turkish lands. The crowds in its bazaars were so dense that it was difficult to pass. European travellers also speak of Urganch as a large merchant town with a good market for every kind of goods. After the Mongol devastations the town was so speedily restored that the cultural traditions of pre-Mongol times suffered no interruption. The school of speculative theologians, the *Muʿtazilites*, which had been founded

in Khwarazm at the beginning of the twelfth, subsisted till the end of the fourteenth century. Already in the twelfth century there existed some Turkish literature of pious Islamic inspiration in Khwarazm and along the lower course of the Sîr-Darya. Similarly important for the development of Turkish literature was the rôle of these regions when they formed part of the khanate of the Golden Horde. The writers of this region preceded those of the Chaghatay khanate, although the literary Turkish language of these parts was later comprised under the term "Chaghatay". Khwarazm attracted scholars and artists who subsequently became conspicuous in the development of art and science in Timur's empire. The magnificent buildings of the early fourteenth century, which still survive among the ruins of Old Urganch, must have influenced the constructions of Timur, as well as those of the Golden Horde, as for example in Bulghar (on the Volga). Only a close study of these Khwarazmian monuments, and especially of the remarkable mausoleum of Tûrâ-bek-khanîm will permit us to assess the extent of this influence.

Commercial relations with the basin of the Volga and the Caucasus may have been affected by the fact, now definitely established, that after the Mongol invasions the Amu-Darya had once more worked its way into the Sarîkamish depression and from thence to the Caspian Sea along the bed of the Uzboy.<sup>1</sup> We know the name of the village which stood at the mouth of the river on the Caspian and from which it was possible to navigate upstream, although there was no direct water-way down to the Caspian because of the rapids on the Uzboy, which reached a height of 28 feet. It is also stated that in the early fifteenth century the Sîr-Darya flowed not into the Aral Sea but into the Amu-Darya. This report finds some support in the decadence of the towns along the lower course of the Sîr-Darya: they still existed in the middle of the fourteenth century in the region which, as far as we know, did not suffer damage either from Timur's expeditions, or from other military events of a later date.

<sup>1</sup> [This statement has been rendered doubtful by recent detailed research on the spot. V.M.].

Timur belonged to the *Barlas* clan and was born near Shahrīsabz. He first distinguished himself in 1360 when he went over to the Moghol khan *Tughluq-Timur* who, for a short time, occupied Mawarannahr. As a result Timur became the prince of the Barlas fief. In the years that followed he fought sometimes in alliance with the Moghols, and sometimes against them, together with the other Chaghatay amirs. In 1365, the Chaghatay amirs, including Timur, abandoned the country to the mercies of the Moghols, and the power in Samarqand passed into the hands of the leaders of a popular movement. These latter successfully repulsed the attacks of the invaders, but in the following year fell victims to the treachery of the amirs, who had lulled their vigilance by expressions of confidence and gratitude for the successful defence of the town. Similar methods were used by the amirs in their bickerings amongst themselves, and they also served Timur in achieving his triumph. The main cause of the risings against the Ulus Amir was the same as that of the former risings against the khan, namely the wish of the supreme ruler to reside and keep his treasure in a fortified town where he could feel independent of the other members of the tribe. Such had been the desire of Timur's predecessor the amir *Husayn* whose choice had fallen on Balkh. Timur tried to dissuade him, quoting the example of his uncle Abdullah against whom the Chaghatays had rebelled when he made Samarqand his capital. Husayn disregarded this advice, and Timur's prophecy was fulfilled, Timur himself on this occasion heading the faction of malcontents. Husayn was deposed and killed. Yet no sooner did Timur succeed him in 1370 than he took the step which he had objected to in his predecessor. He had already built forts in Shahrīsabz and Qarshi, and now he transformed Samarqand into a fortified capital adding to it a citadel in which he placed his treasure.

The murder of Husayn was given a lawful character. The actual killing was done according to the right of *vendetta* recognised in Islam, by the amir Kaykhusrau whose brother had



fallen Husayn's victim ten years previously. Two years later, circumstances altered and the law of *vendetta* was invoked against Kaykhusrau who was accused of betraying Timur, and the execution was entrusted to men who had the right to avenge the blood of Husayn.

In the same way Timur and his adherents endeavoured to legalise their further actions. Like his predecessors, Timur set upon the throne puppet khans of the house of Chaghatay and cloaked his acts with their authority. These khans no longer enjoyed even the outward honours due to the supreme ruler, and a legend was invented in favour of Timur who had no hereditary right to the supreme power. His ancestors were said to have been independent amirs under Chingiz-khan's successors, on the strength of a treaty several times renewed and forgotten during the troublous times. By his marriage with the amir Husayn's widow, who was a daughter of Qazan khan, Timur became related with the khan's family and acquired the right to the appellation of *gūrkhān* (son-in-law) <sup>1</sup> which gave him precedence over the other amirs. Timur exploited to his own ends the concept and traditions of the Mongol empire, and in particular of the Chaghatay khannate. The Chaghatays formed his main military force. In appearance this army resembled the Mongols rather than Muslims and the soldiers wore pigtails. Timur's relations with his adherents were determined by military customs and traditions. Among the Chaghatays his mainstay were the *Barlas*, just as his most stubborn enemies were the *Jalayirs*. In 1376, on Timur's orders the Jalayirs suffered a fate corresponding to the modern disbanding of a military unit: the *ulus* of the Jalayirs was declared abolished and its remnants distributed among the detachments of various amirs.

As compared with Mongol military traditions, the traditions of Islam and Islamic culture held second place in Timur's mind, though he cleverly exploited them to justify his actions and enhance the splendour of his throne. In Turkestan, Timur's supporters were mainly the upper Muslim classes, headed by the

<sup>1</sup> [Properly : *kūrākān*. Entirely different from *gur-khan*. Cf. below, p. 68.]

shaykh al-Islams of Samarqand and the sayyids of Tirmidh. The disaffection of a sayyid who in 1371 went over to Timur's enemies was purely incidental and had no consequences either for Timur or for the other sayyids. To the same class belonged the emigrant from Mekka *Sayyid Baraka*, who received from Timur the town of Andkhoy in Afghanistan as a fief and later was buried by Timur's side. According to tradition, Timur adopted as his spiritual patrons several other ascetic shaykhs who were more closely linked with the popular masses; among them were his first teacher Shaykh Shams al-din Kulāl of Shahrīsabz and Shaykh Zayn al-din Tāyābādī of Khorasan. However the former died in the first years of Timur's reign and the latter is mentioned in Timur's history only once in 1381, and consequently their influence on Timur's activities was small. Very remarkable is the complete silence of the sources on any intimacy which may have existed between Timur and the darvishes of Bukhara, although Bahā al-din Naqshband, founder of the Naqshbandi order<sup>1</sup> and one of the most influential shaykhs of Bukhara, was Timur's contemporary. Muslim saints whose cult was connected with the national traditions of the nomads must have been particularly important for Timur. The only considerable edifice built by him, outside his native Shahrīsabz and his capital Samarqand, was a mausoleum in the town of Yasī (*alias* Turkestan) over the tomb of the twelfth-century shaykh Ahmad Yasavi, who had been active in enlightening the Turks.

In other countries, religious zeal was used by Timur only as a means for the attainment of political ends. In Syria, where he appeared as the avenger of the wrongs suffered by the Prophet's house, he was considered a fervent Shī'ite; in Shī'ite Mazandaran he became the avenger of the insults inflicted by the Shī'ites on the memory of the Prophet's companions. Another pretext much used by Timur was the necessity of re-establishing peace and order<sup>1</sup> after the disturbances caused by the political disruption of Persia, the country which was the main object of his expansionist policy. In fact the real motive for his campaigns

<sup>1</sup> Pretexts widely spread even in our days!

was his imperialistic ambition. The following words, which seem to reflect his inner thoughts, are ascribed to him: "The whole expanse of the inhabited part of the world is not large enough to have two kings". This somewhat morbid mania explains his desire to amaze the world by the grandiose scale of his constructive and destructive enterprises, which were intended more to produce an impression than to achieve enduring results. Timur's expeditions covered an enormous expanse of territory, from Yelets in Russia to Delhi, from Smyrna to the Great Yulduz (to the north of Kucha). But, with the exception of the campaigns in Iran where Timur carved out fiefs for his sons and grandsons, his expeditions were nothing more than plundering raids. Timur brought all his booty to Samarqand, including writers and scholars who were intended to add to the lustre of the world-conqueror's capital. However, the idea that Timur's activities were destructive everywhere except in Samarqand is an exaggeration, for he carried out grandiose[?] works of irrigation in regions as far distant from Samarqand as Kabul and the Mughan steppe. But Samarqand, in Timur's plan, was to become the first city in the world. This idea was tangibly expressed by the building around Samarqand of a series of villages bearing the names of the chief towns of Islam: Baghdad, Damascus, Misr (Cairo), Shiraz and Sultaniya.

Timur devoted his entire youth to military training and possessed no education. Yet, though illiterate, he was no stranger to the intellectual life of his court. Besides Turkish he spoke Persian and from his conversations with scholars he acquired some notions of the sciences, and was able to astonish the historian Ibn Khaldun by his knowledge of history. He played chess with the best chess-players of the time, and his architects were guided in their work by his artistic concepts. Some of his buildings were connected with particular expeditions. Thus the Aq-Sarāy palace in Shahrisabz was built in 1380 by captive artisans brought from Khwarazm in 1379; the cathedral mosque in Samarqand, now known as Bibi-khanīm, was begun in 1399 after Timur's return from India. This latter edifice may be regarded as a typical example of Timur's building activities:

magnificent as it was from the artistic point of view, it was so negligently built that even in Timur's time stones began to fall out of the ceiling, making it unsafe for the worshippers.

Of all the cultural regions, *Khwarazm* suffered most from Timur's expeditions, for it rose several times against him. In 1388 the capital Urganch was levelled to the ground, with the exception of the mosques, minarets etc., and all its inhabitants were transferred to Samarqand. In 1391 Timur allowed the town to be restored but only to the extent of one of its quarters. Against the northern and western neighbours of Mawarannahr Timur made several expeditions, but only to punish the nomads for their previous depredations or to discourage future raids. A lasting pacification of the steppe could only have been achieved by a colonising movement in that direction, but of such an intention there were no signs under Timur. It was only in the last years of his reign, when planning the conquest of China, that he carried forward a line of advanced posts. A fort was built on the Ashpara (now the frontier river between the Sïr-Darya province and the Semirechye) and measures were taken to restore agriculture in that region; another fort was built on the Issik-kul. The results of these activities were particularly short-lived. In 1404 important forces were assembled on the Sïr-Darya, from Shah-rukhiya<sup>1</sup> to Sauran, in preparation for the Chinese campaign. But at its very outset, on 18 February 1405, Timur died in Otrar. In the same year, the forts on the Issik-kul and on the Ashpara were abandoned, and a treaty was concluded with the Moghols who got back the territories previously wrested from them. A few years after the disturbances caused by Timur's death had been quelled, and the supreme power in the empire had been assumed by his son Shahrukh, with Ulugh-beg as his representative in Samarqand, the Ashpara was recognised as the north-eastern boundary of the Chaghatay state. In 1425 Ulugh-beg, following in his grandfather's footsteps, led an expedition into the interior of Mogholistan. He visited Timur's fort on the shore of the Issik-kul and brought back from the upper

<sup>1</sup> Named after Timur's son; now the ruins Sharakiya, near the confluence of the Sïr-Darya and the Angren.

Ili valley two large blocks of jade which he laid on Timur's tomb. Another reminder of Ulugh-beg's expedition is the inscription in the Jilan-utī gorge between Samarqand and Jizak. Ulugh-beg's expedition produced no lasting results; it did not achieve the pacification of the steppe, or restore the earlier sedentary and urban life.

#### THE TIMURIDS

During *Ulugh-beg's* reign (1409-1449; till 1447 in the name of Shahrukh) Samarqand retained all its splendour as a capital, though Shāhrukh, the head of the dynasty, lived in Herat<sup>1</sup>. Ulugh-beg attracted scholars and artists to his court, erected gorgeous buildings, including the Registan madrasa, built an observatory in the northern suburbs of the town and himself made astronomical observations and wrote astronomical works. Contemporaries compared him, as a scholar on the throne, with Aristotle's pupil Alexander the Great. Unlike Herat, where Muslim piety prevailed under Shahrukh, who utterly repudiated Chingiz-khan's laws and wished to be only a Muslim Sultan and Caliph, Samarqand continued to live a gay and cultured life under Ulugh-beg. The shaykh al-Islams took part in this life, but not the popular masses, or their spiritual leaders, the darvishes. The latter liked Ulugh-beg even less than his grandfather, while they also feared him less. In Ulugh-beg's lifetime a political leader arose from the ranks of the darvishes. This was *Khoja Aḥrār*<sup>2</sup> of the Naqshbandi order, whose name is linked with the victory of religious reaction over the highly civilised social life and urban culture of Turkestan.

The misfortunes which befell Ulugh-beg during the second half of his reign, his unskilful handling of the troubles after Shahrukh's death and the frivolous ways of his youngest son 'Abd al-'Aziz robbed him of all popularity. The power passed into the hands of his other son, *Abd al-Laṭīf*, who did not shrink from parricide and fratricide. The religious reaction, which began

<sup>1</sup> [On Ulugh-beg see Barthold's special monograph, see above, p. xiii.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Central-Asian form of this title has been preserved in the translation; in Persian *Khawāja*.]

under Abd al-Latif, was interrupted for a short time in 1450 when Abd al-Latif fell victim to a military conspiracy, and Ulugh-beg's nephew, *Abdullah*, ascended the throne and revived his uncle's traditions. Already in 1451 Abdullah had been killed in a battle with *Abu Sa'īd*, another descendant of Timur and Khoja Ahrar's candidate. Abu Sa'īd owed his success to the help of the nomad Uzbeks, who, under their khan *Abul-Khayr*, had by that time firmly established themselves on the lower course of the Sīr-Darya. As on several other occasions in the Muslim world<sup>1</sup>, religious reaction once again found its allies against secular culture among the barbarians.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, in contrast with the times of Shahrūkh and Ulugh-beg, poets and artists found more favourable conditions for themselves in Herat than in Samarqand or Bukhara. Under *Sultan-Husayn* (1469-1506), whose possessions included the Transcaspian province<sup>2</sup> and Khwarazm, Herat became a brilliant centre of intellectual activity. Despite the absence of Turkish elements in the local population, it was here also that Central Asian poetry in Turkī reached the zenith of its development. Its principal representative *Mir Ali Shir* was Sultan-Husayn's vazir<sup>3</sup>. In his writings Mir Ali Shir maintained that it was possible to create a literature in Turkī not inferior to that which existed in the "Sart" language. The word *sart* is of Indian origin, and was originally used by the Turks in the sense of "merchant". At first in the forms *sartaqtay* and *sartaul* it was applied under the Mongols to representatives of Muslim culture in general, and particularly to Iranians, as a synonym of the name *tājīk* by which the Iranians were known. Under the Uzbeks, apace with the gradual Turkicisation of the Turkestan Iranians, the name *Sart* was applied to the Turkish speaking sedentary population of Turkestan, whereas the term *tājīk* was reserved for those who still retained their Iranian language. Parallel to the name "Tajik",—which was at first

<sup>1</sup> As, for instance, in Spain.

<sup>2</sup> [Now the republic of Turkmenistan. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> [In more detail see Barthold's monograph on Mir Ali Shir, see above, p. XIV.J

applied only to the Arabs, then both to the Arabs and Persians, and finally only to the Persians,—the name “Sart” was given at first only to the Persians, then to the Persians and Turks, and finally only to the Turks.

#### THE UZBEKS

Sultan-Husayn and his collaborators seem to have succeeded in carrying on their activities without provoking the opposition of the religious circles. But after the sultan's death, the usual disturbances broke out and cultural progress was interrupted by foreign conquest. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Uzbek khan *Shībani*, grand son of Abul-Khayr, conquered all the Timurid possessions in Turkestan and Khorasan, including Sultan-Husayn's former kingdom. In 1510 Shībani was killed in the battle of Marv which he fought with *Shah Ismā'il*, the founder of the new Persian kingdom. Once again Bukhara and Samargand passed, for a short time, into the power of a descendant of Timur, *Sultan Babur*<sup>1</sup>. In 1512 Shībani's nephew *ʿUbaydullāh* defeated Babur and restored and consolidated the supremacy of the Uzbeks in Turkestan. At about the same time the Persians were driven out of Khwarazm by other Uzbek khans who founded their own dynasty. Sultan Babur withdrew to India and founded there one of the most brilliant Muslim kingdoms, which by tradition was also called “Chaghatay”, although there were none of Chaghatay's descendants in it.

*ʿUbaydullāh* (d. 1539) was regarded as the ideal ruler in the spirit of Muslim piety. Under him and his successors, political pre-eminence gradually passed from Samargand, the former capital of Timur and his successors, to Bukhara. Closely connected with this town were the activities of *ʿUbaydullāh* himself, of *ʿAbdullāh khan* (1559-1598) and of the seventeenth century khans of the Ashtarkhanid or Janid dynasty. *ʿAbdullāh*, who was the outstanding representative of the Shībanids, conquered Khorasan and Khwarazm. He led an expedition into the interior of the steppes and, like Ulugh-beg, left a record of this expedition

<sup>1</sup> Whose *Memoirs* are one of the finest examples of Turkish prose.

in an inscription in the Jilan-utī gorge. In popular memory, ‘Abdullāh, like Timur, lives on principally as a builder. In addition to what they actually built, many other constructions are ascribed to them, such as the arches of the bridge over the Zarafshān near Samarqand, which in fact was built under Shībani.

The Uzbek conquest did not completely arrest cultural progress. Life in the Uzbek khanate of *Khwarazm*, which had attained such high cultural standards in the fourteenth century, was now quite barbaric. When the khan *Abul-Ghāzī* (1643-1663), who had spent ten years in Persia and was in consequence better educated than his countrymen, wished to have a history of his dynasty composed, he could find no one to whom he could entrust this work and so was obliged to do it himself. On the other hand, it was under the Uzbeks that for the first time a rich historical literature was created in the basin of the Zarafshan, whereas the historians of Timur and his descendants nearly all belonged to Persia, either by birth or residence. Some of the buildings erected in those days, as for example the Shīrdār madrasa in Samarqand, built in 1619, are hardly inferior to those built by Timur or Ulugh-beg. The northern part of Afghanistan with Balkh also formed part of the Uzbek khanate. Thanks to its geographical proximity to the splendid kingdom of the Indian Great Moghuls (Babur’s descendants), which lay on the other side of the Hindukush, Balkh became the centre of a cultured social life. In the sixteen-forties *Nādir Muhammad khan*, who had been invited from Balkh to Bukhara, aroused the resentment of his subjects by introducing the customs of Balkh into that stern and pious centre.

#### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

For the whole of Muslim Asia the eighteenth century was a period of political, economical and cultural decadence. The principal cause of this phenomenon, which so far has not been fully accounted for, seems to have been the development of maritime routes controlled by Western Europeans, which began in the fifteenth century and brought about the decline of the



caravan trade. In Turkestan the political disturbances in the Uzbek khanates had been exploited as early as the sixteenth century by their neighbours of the steppes, viz. the *Turcomans* in the West and the *Qazakhs* in the East. The Qazaqs were Uzbeks who in the fifteenth century had detached themselves from the bulk of their nation and consequently had not taken part in the conquest of the Timurid kingdom<sup>1</sup>. The troubles of the eighteenth century particularly affected Samarqand and Khiva. To this latter town the capital of Khwarazm had been transferred from Urganch in the seventeenth century, after the Amu-Darya had changed its course and turned again towards the Aral Sea. This had happened before the New Urganch was founded at no great distance from Khiva and inherited the commercial importance of its old namesake. For a time Samarqand and Khiva became greatly depopulated. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, when new dynasties were founded,—*Manqit* in Bukhara and *Qungrat* in Khiva,—a fairly stable order was re-established. Somewhat earlier, the *Ming* dynasty<sup>2</sup> set itself up in Farghana, and in the nineteenth century the *begs* of Farghana assumed the title of *khan*. To the two Uzbek khanates of Bukhara and Khiva a third was thus added—the khanate of Kokand, which took its name from the new town founded by the new dynasty.

#### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century, when Europe had definitely assumed cultural leadership, Turkestan stood lowest of all Muslim lands on the cultural scale, being as it was the part of Muslim Asia farthest removed from Europe. Before the coming of the Russians, Turkestan had no printing establishments, either in lithograph or in type, whereas Turkey and Persia had long possessed them. Turkey and Persia had shown signs of European influence in their political and social life already in the eighteenth century, while Turkestan still remained entirely medieval. Only

<sup>1</sup> In later times the Qazaqs were mistakenly given the name of Qirghiz.

<sup>2</sup> [From *circa* 1700 to 1876. Not to be confused with the *Chinese* Ming (1368-1644)!].

the minting of gold coin, resumed for the first time since the Mongol invasion, testified to certain economic ties with Europe through the intermediary of Persia.

And yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the Russian conquerors found in Turkestan nothing but barbarity and no cultural activity which they might foster. At the time of the conquest the economic welfare of the greater part of Turkestan was much higher than it had been a century earlier. Khiva and Samarqand were once more considerable cities. In the nineteenth, as compared with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the khanates of Khiva and Kokand could boast of a more animated activity in the fields of culture, literature (especially historiography) and architecture than Bukhara. For the first time *Farghana* had become the centre of a large state, which embraced nearly the entire basin of the Sīr-Darya. The khans of Kokand (*Khōkand*) succeeded in bringing under their sway part of the nomad population in the eastern part of the Sīr-Darya province and in the western part of the Semirechye. After an interval of several centuries, the colonising movement towards the steppe was revived and agriculture was resumed under the protection of the Kokand fortifications. In Farghana itself the Russians found the towns Kokand, Andijan and Namanghān<sup>1</sup>, entirely created by the exertions of the khans of Kokand. The khans had also developed vast irrigation plans utilising the waters of the Qara-Darya and the Narīn, such as Farghana had never had even at the zenith of Turkestan's cultural past. For the first time Farghana had achieved economic supremacy in Turkestan which it has retained under the Russians. Another inheritance from the period of the Uzbek khanates is the rise of Tashkent, which is now the principal town in Turkestan<sup>2</sup>, whereas under ʿAbdullāh khan it was of only secondary cultural importance and occupied a much smaller area than it does now.

The future of Turkestan, as of any other country, depends on its eventual participation in world trade. The commercial im-

<sup>1</sup> Namanghān was a new town which in the seventeenth century was only a village.

<sup>2</sup> [At present, the capital of the Uzbek republic.]

portance of Turkestan, as a capitalistic country <sup>1</sup>, depends entirely on the development of railways which have restored the bulk of trade carried overland, side by side with sea-trade. Turkestan will probably never play its former role in the transit trade with the Far East, and it is highly improbable that at any time a railway will be built across Turkestan to China alongside the Trans-Siberian Railway <sup>2</sup>. However, the question of a future Europe-India railway is still debatable, and one cannot yet say what part will be allotted to Turkestan in such a scheme. Therefore Russian Turkestan has not only a past, but also a future, whereas Eastern, or Chinese, Turkestan whose geographical features debar it from any development of railway traffic, is exclusively a country of the past <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Written in 1920.]

<sup>2</sup> [In addition to the "Turksib" which has linked Turkestan with Siberia, a railway is being built linking China (Lan-chou) with Alma-Ata in the Kazakh S.S.R. 1955].

<sup>3</sup> The principal literature on the archaeology and history of Turkestan is quoted in Prince V. I. Masalsky's *Turkestansky kray*, 1913 (published as vol. XIX of *Rossiia, Polnoye opisaniye nashego otechestva*), pp. 794 and ff.; *ibid.*, pp. 273 and ff., a short sketch of the history of Turkestan. See the review of this book in *ZVO*, 1913, XXII, 198-206. More recent works are: V. Barthold *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana* 1914; V. Barthold, *Ulugh-beg i yego vremia* 1918.

*Additional note to p. 58.*

It has been shown by Prof. A. Z. Togan that Chinghiz and Timur had a claim to one common ancestor, Buzanchar.

## APPENDIX

### THESES ADVANCED BY V. V. BARTHOLD

IN HIS DISSERTATION ON TURKESTAN PRESENTED TO  
THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. PETERSBURG IN 1900 <sup>1</sup>

1. During the period immediately preceding the Arab conquest, the power in Mawarannahr belonged to the landowners' class—the *dihqāns*—who lived in fortified castles and in war-time formed a cavalry of knights. Alongside the hereditary aristocracy there existed a moneyed aristocracy whose mode of life was not much different from that of the *dihqāns*. The term *dihqān* was also used with reference to local rulers who were only the first amongst the noblemen.

2. The Omayyads [A.D. 661-750] and their governors did not pursue any extensive administrative aims and limited themselves to maintaining their power over the Arabs, and to collecting taxes from the conquered population and tribute from their vassals. The governors followed one another in rapid succession but they took advantage of their short tenure of office, among other things, to acquire large estates which usually remained in the possession of their descendants.

3. In contrast to the Omayyads, the Abbasids [after 750] wished to create a state in which the provinces with a Persian population would be included on the same footing as the Arabs. They took for their model the state organisation of the Sasanian monarchy. The Caliphs gradually came to entrust the administration of the Eastern provinces to members of the local aristocracy, from whose ranks rose the dynasties of the Tahirids and the Samanids.

<sup>1</sup> This abstract of the dissertation was distributed among those present at the public debate at the University. It also figures in some copies of the Russian original of *Turkestan* (1900), but not in the English translation of it (1928).

4. The epoch of the Tāhirids [821-873] and the Sāmānids [874-999] might well be called the epoch of “enlightened absolutism”. The monarchs did not carry out any drastic social reforms, but strove to institute a firm rule and peace within their possessions, to protect the lower classes from oppression, and to encourage the development of industry, trade and education.

5. The more extreme democratic aspirations, hostile to the established order, were embodied in the Shī‘ite and Khārijite sects and the class of the “warriors for the faith”. The dynasty of the Ṣaffārids [867-903] rose to power by unifying these various democratic elements.

6. The administrative tendencies of the Samanids were resisted by the *dihqāns* and the Turkish guard. In the struggle between the military aristocracy and the throne the clergy sided with the former. The opposition of these classes facilitated the conquest of the country by the Turks.

7. The concept of the state was brought to its extreme expression under the Ghaznavids, and especially under Mahmūd [998-1030]. The population was divided into the *army* (mainly multi-national) which received a salary from the monarch, who in return demanded its faithful service, and the *subjects*, whom the monarch defended against foreign foes, while in return they had to pay the taxes without demur. The people were denied all right to any national and patriotic aspirations, even to resistance to foreign enemies.

8. Under the Seljuks [1038-1157] and the Qarakhānids [932-1165], there are symptoms indicating that the principle of unity of power was being weakened by the principle of clan ownership prevailing amongst the nomads. The first Turkish khans were essentially different from the Persian absolute rulers (*despots*). The most conspicuous changes were the abolition of the system of supervision of local rulers and the diminished importance of the office of court-executioner. Despite the good intentions

of individual monarchs, the domination of the nomads was fatal to the provinces subjected to them, because of the system of appanages (*udyels*) which they had introduced, and because of the system of military fiefs, which expanded enormously. The devaluation of landed property utterly ruined the landowners, and at the time of the Mongol invasion the *dihqāns* are no longer mentioned as a separate class.

9. The gradual transformation of the Turkish khans into Persian absolute rulers aroused the hostility of their clansmen, and this in turn rendered more acute the struggle between the throne and the military class. The clergy continued to side with the latter. In the Qarakhānid state the struggle between the secu'ar power and the clergy resulted in the execution of several influential shaykhs, and cost the life of a khan, on a verdict pronounced by the clergy.

10. The rise of the Ghūrids [1148-1215] and the Khwārazm-shāhs [1077-1231] was favoured by the nature of their basic dominions, which from the geographical and ethnical points of view, formed autonomous units. The Khwarazm-shahs were superior to their rivals in consistency and political skill, and they gradually rose to a paramount position in the eastern part of the Muslim world.

11. By his misrule the Khwārazm-shāh Muhammad [1200-1220] aroused the hostility of the military class and the clergy, as well as of the popular masses. By abolishing the office of imperial vazir he also undermined the importance of the bureaucracy. In his struggle against foreign foes, he could rely neither on any elements of the administrative system, nor on any class of the population.

12. The kernel of Chingiz-khan's army was constituted by the guards recruited by him from amongst the steppe aristocracy and endowed with a regular organisation. The frame-work of both the military forces and the civil administration of the empire was a personal achievement of Chingiz-khan [d. 1227]. The cultural counsellors, especially the representatives of Uyghur culture, were no more than his tools.

13. There are no grounds for doubting the sincerity of Chingiz-khan's desire to enter into trade relations with the Khwārazm-shāh's kingdom. Such a desire is fully accounted for by the interests both of the nomads and of the Muslim merchants living at the Mongol court. There was no such harmony between the Khwarazm-shah's ambition to conquer Eastern Asia, and the commercial interests of his subjects.

14. The report of an embassy from the Caliph Nāṣir's to Mongolia is not worthy of credit. In general, there are no grounds for assuming that the clash between the Mongols and the Muslims had been hastened by any influence from outside.

15. The ease with which the kingdom of the Khwarazm-shahs was conquered by the Mongols [1221] can be attributed both to the internal state of affairs in Khwārazm and to the superior organisation of the Mongol military forces. The strictly disciplined Mongol warriors did not seek opportunities to distinguish themselves before their comrades but faithfully carried out the will of their monarch, or of the chiefs appointed by him. The commanders were only obedient and able executors of the will of Chingiz-khan; as the occasion demanded, the latter divided or combined anew the different corps of his army, and swiftly took measures to cope with occasional failures. On the other hand, the Muslim leaders,—and in the particular the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-dīn,—were capable of miracles of valour achieved with a bare handful of men, but were utterly incapable of organising more important forces, or of holding in check the national passions within their multi-national army.

## II. HISTORY OF THE SEMIRECHYÉ

I have accepted with the greatest pleasure the invitation to write for the *Year Book*<sup>1</sup> a short sketch of the history of the Semirechyé and a chronological resumé of the more important events. The very fact that interest in the history of the Semirechyé has been aroused is immensely gratifying to a historian of Central Asia, who realises that no complete and comprehensive study of this subject can be achieved without the active co-operation of the people on the spot. Our written sources are often fragmentary and incomplete, and have to be supplemented by archaeological data. The collecting of such material by persons who, during their short visits to a country, are unable to establish reliable contacts with the local population, is fraught with almost insuperable difficulties. Only permanent residents can carry out local research on a sufficiently large scale, and enrich our knowledge with truly valuable finds. To this class belongs the discovery of Nestorian cemeteries in the Semirechyé near Pishpek and Toqmaq, but so far the exploration has proceeded in a more or less haphazard way. A considerable amount of archaeological material disappears before it has been studied. The inhabitants of Toqmaq used to find quantities of coins in the beds of ancient canals (*ariq*) near Burana, but I have been unable to trace any collection of such coins. Like any other undertaking, the study of local antiquities can be successfully pursued only when properly organised. I, therefore, allow myself to express the hope that, in due course, a society will be created in the Semirechyé, with definite aims and powers, similar to the society now operating in Turkestan, to which we owe such precious finds

<sup>1</sup> "Year Book of the Statistical Committee of the Semirechyé province for the year 1898", pp. 1-102 (74-175). [The Semirechyé, "the province of the Seven Rivers" is the Russian translation of the Turki term *Jiti-su*. It comprises the basins of the lakes Issik-kul and Balkhash, and lies between Turkestan and Siberia.]



as the Old-Turkish and Uyghur inscriptions <sup>1</sup> in the Talas valley.

Collecting archaeological material is not the only means by which local forces can advance the study of the history of their area. A personal acquaintance with the country is indispensable for identifying the ancient geographical names with the modern, as well as for a thorough understanding of the links connecting local history with the geographical background. There is no need to insist upon the importance for the historian of ethnographic data, and in this respect local students have particularly favourable opportunities.

We hope that the present sketch may be of some use to future workers in these fields. By utilising the accessible printed and manuscript sources, we have endeavoured to group together all the available facts bearing upon the history of the Semirechyé. In particular we have examined every item of information on the conditions of life which prevailed in the country at different periods of its existence. The time is not yet ripe for writing such a history of the Semirechyé as would be up to the standards of modern historiography. We have been able only to outline a number of questions on the solution of which will depend the understanding of the country's historical development, and for the moment we have refrained from suggesting any answers to them. Our outline is meant only to provide material for a future historian and to serve as a starting-point for further research. It is not for us to judge to what extent we have served that purpose.

#### THE WU-SUN <sup>2</sup>

The earliest historical information on the Semirechyé comes from Chinese sources. The ancient Greek and Roman authors give only a few names of the peoples living beyond the Sîr-Darya

<sup>1</sup> We draw the particular attention of our readers to this discovery, as the historical facts which will be quoted below give us every hope that similar inscriptions will be found also in the Semirechyé.

<sup>2</sup> According to Chinese sources collected in Father Iakinf (Hyacinth) Bichurin's book *Collection of data on the peoples who inhabited Central Asia in ancient times* (in Russian), in three parts, SPb. 1851. [Cf. now J. Charpentier in *ZDMG*, 71, 1917, pp. 347-88].

without defining their territories. Even to the Chinese the Semirechyé became known only at the end of the second century B.C., when the Chinese government, looking for allies against the powerful Huns, sent an embassy to the Western lands. Among the peoples conquered by the Huns were the Wu-sun, who originally led a nomad life between the Nan-Shan range and the river Bulungir. It was here that their king perished in a battle against the Huns. The Hun king took his newborn son and brought him up. Later, when he had distinguished himself as a warrior, he was put in charge of his father's people. The Wu-sun took part in the pursuit of the Yüeh-chih, their former neighbours, a people in all probability of Tibetan origin <sup>1</sup>, also defeated by the Huns. In their westward movement the Yüeh-chih dislodged the Sê from the Semirechyé. The Sê are generally identified with the Saka, who are often mentioned in Greek and Persian reports on Central Asia. This identification is, however, founded exclusively on similarity of sound. The Yüeh-chih were in their turn expelled by the Wu-sun who dominated the Semirechyé at the time of the Chinese embassies, though remnants of both the Sê and the Yüeh-chih remained in the country <sup>2</sup>. In the Semirechyé the Wu-sun king Lieh-chiao-mi, who bore the title of *k<sup>c</sup>un-mo*, soon became powerful enough to break off his allegiance to the Huns. In the East his possessions bordered on those of the Huns but the Chinese give no exact description of the boundaries of these two peoples. To the South of the Wu-sun dominions lay Eastern Turkestan with its long-established sedentary population. To the south-west, lay Farghāna and to the west the possessions of the nomad people K<sup>c</sup>ang-chü <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Very doubtful. See Barthold's later views in the *Short History of Turkestan*, above p. 5].

<sup>2</sup> The people Sê formed three states to which the Chinese give the names of Chi-pin (Kashmir), Hsiu-hsün and Kuan-tu. [Later note]. These three dominions were located not between the Semirechyé and Eastern Turkestan, but in the Hindukush mountains and in the Kabul valley. Greek authors call these dominions Indoscythian, so that the identity of the Sê with the Scythians, or Saka, can be regarded as doubtless.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the Turkish people Qangli. [Very doubtful in this form. V.M.]

As the Wu-sun lived to the north-east and the K<sup>c</sup>ang-chü to the north-west of Farghana<sup>1</sup>, the frontier dividing their territories coincided approximately with the present-day boundary between the Semirechyé and the Sir-Darya province. As far as the origins of the Wu-sun are concerned, only proper names and titles in their language have come down to us, and only in Chinese transcription. No philologist has studied them yet and we can only draw attention to the frequent recurrence in them of the ending *-mi*. What we know about their outward appearance comes from a later (seventh century A.D.) Chinese writer Yen Shih-ku<sup>2</sup>: "the Wu-sun differ greatly in their appearance from other foreigners of the Western lands. To-day the Turks<sup>3</sup> with blue eyes and red beards, resembling apes, are their descendants"<sup>4</sup>. This is not enough to allow one to judge whether the Wu-sun were Aryans, as earlier Orientalists beginning with Abel Rémusat and Klaproth were inclined to think, or Turks, which is the opinion of V. V. Radloff<sup>5</sup> and of N. A. Aristov<sup>6</sup>, author of the latest work on the Turks.

The grazing grounds of the Wu-sun extended mainly over the plains of the Semirechyé, for the Chinese describe their land as level and grassy. The cold and rainy climate of the country is also recorded. The mountains were covered with fir and pine forests. The population was estimated at 120,000 families, or 630,000 individuals. The Wu-sun could raise an army of 188,800 men. Ch<sup>c</sup>ih-ku, the capital, or rather the main camp of the Wu-sun, seems to have been situated on the south-eastern shore of the Issik-kul, for the Chinese locate it 610 li to the north-west of

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, *o.c.*, III, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 65.

<sup>3</sup> Iakinf constantly translates by "Turk" the Chinese term *huy* which means "barbarian".

<sup>4</sup> The French translator gives a slightly different version: "ils avaient les yeux bleus (ou verdâtres), la barbe rousse, et ressemblaient à des singes, dont ils tiraient leur origine" (Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Les Huns Blancs ou Ephtalites*, Paris 1849, p. 32).

<sup>5</sup> *On the question of the Uyghurs* (in Russian), SPb. 1893, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> *Remarks on the ethnical composition of the Turkish tribes* (in Russian), SPb. 1897, p. 17.

the Aqsu, 2,000 li to the north-east of the capital of Farghana and 5,000 li from the Chinese frontier <sup>1</sup>. The town of Ch<sup>c</sup>ih-ku is also mentioned in the seventh century Chinese itineraries and located 50 li from the Bedel pass, but this itinerary is on the whole unreliable, and needs checking afresh by a Sinologist <sup>2</sup>. We do not know what makes Aristov suppose that Ch<sup>c</sup>ih-ku was situated on the banks of the Qizil-su, but we agree with him that it would be pointless to look for traces of building by such a nomadic people as the Wu-sun <sup>3</sup>. Nor are there any grounds for ascribing to them, as it is sometimes done even now <sup>4</sup>, all the existing monuments on the shores and at the bottom of the Issik-kul. We shall see that there were towns and forts on the Issik-kul at a time when the very name of the Wu-sun had long been forgotten.

Towards the year 105 B.C. the Chinese ambassador Chang-Ch<sup>c</sup>ien came to the Wu-sun with the suggestion that they should return to the East and resume their struggle against the Huns, in alliance with the Chinese. The ambassador was coldly received at the k<sup>c</sup>un-mo's camp and his plan found no response. Only when the Wu-sun envoy, who accompanied Chang-Ch<sup>c</sup>ien to China, described to his monarch the splendour and might of the Chinese empire, did the prestige of that country recover somewhat. However, as the Chinese ambassadors who came after Chang-Ch<sup>c</sup>ien travelled to the west across Eastern Turkestan and Farghana, the Wu-sun no longer received the rich presents which the embassies carried with them. In consequence, the k<sup>c</sup>un-mo sent another embassy to China demanding a Chinese princess in marriage and sending 1000 horses as a betrothal present. His

<sup>1</sup> The latter figure is probably exaggerated for at another place (Iakinf, III, 6) the capital of the Kang-chü is located 2,000 li to the north-west of the capital of Farghana. The li is about  $\frac{2}{7}$  of a mile. The distance of 610 li from Aqsu does not confirm Iakinf's opinion, III, 100, that Ch<sup>c</sup>ih-ku lay to the north-east of the lake.

<sup>2</sup> ZVO, VIII, 31. [See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, SPb., 1903, p. 9].

<sup>3</sup> *Remarks*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> See Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Turkestan Society of Archeology, 28 August 1897, p. 12.

wish was granted but the princess became only his lesser wife, whereas the daughter of the *shan-yü* of the Huns, whom the elderly k<sup>c</sup>un-mo married at the same time, was proclaimed his principal wife. The princess accustomed to a very different way of life, was unhappy on the steppes and poured out her melancholy in verses where she complained of being wedded to "the Wu-sun king who lives in a round felt hut, eats meat and drinks milk" <sup>1</sup>.

During the Chinese expedition against Farghana (102 B.C.) the Wu-sun, at the request of the Chinese government, sent an auxiliary force of 2,000 men, though it remained merely in reserve for battle and took no part in the military operations <sup>2</sup>.

Before he died the k<sup>c</sup>un-mo desired the princess to marry, according to the custom prevailing on the steppes, his grandson and successor Chün-hsü-mi, who bore the title of *ch<sup>c</sup>ên-tsou*. The princess objected but the Chinese government persuaded her to submit to the native custom <sup>3</sup>. The *ch<sup>c</sup>ên-tsou* left only a young son Nimi (by the Hun princess). Until Nimi's coming of age the throne was temporarily occupied by the *ch<sup>c</sup>ên-tsou*'s cousin Wêng-kuei-mi, who married a Chinese princess, widow of his predecessor (this was another princess, married to the *ch<sup>c</sup>ên-tsou* for Lieh-chiao-mi's widow had died earlier). Wêng-kuei-mi seems to have been a gifted ruler who succeeded in raising the internal prosperity and the external power of his people. In 71 B.C. Wêng-kuei-mi, in agreement with the Chinese, undertook a successful expedition against the Huns, taking 4,000 prisoners and seizing 70,000 head of cattle. He also intervened in the affairs of Eastern Turkestan. His second son was made ruler of Yarkand, and his eldest daughter was married to the ruler of Kucha. Wêng-kuei-mi died at the end of the sixth decade B.C. He was succeeded by Nimi, called *K<sup>c</sup>uang-wang* "the Mad King".

The *K<sup>c</sup>uang-wang* married his predecessor's widow and had a son by her in spite of her advanced age (she was over fifty); he did not live on good terms with his wife and was unpopular with

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, III, 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 68.

his people. When a Chinese embassy came to Ch'ih-ku the queen persuaded the ambassadors to give a feast at which the *K'uang-wang* was to be killed, but the plan mis-fired. The *K'uang-wang* was only wounded and escaped on horseback. The king's son Hsi-shên-sou with his army besieged Ch'ih-ku which seems to have been held by the queen and the Chinese. The Chinese government hastened to make amends for the ambassadors' guilt: they were brought back to China and executed. Presents were sent to the king as well as a physician to treat his wound. The queen, when questioned, denied her guilt. Wu-chiu-t'u, Wêng-kuei-mi's son by the Hun princess, took advantage of the popular discontent with the *K'uang-wang*. He withdrew to the "Northern mountains" (the Ala-tau) and declared that he was expecting assistance from the Huns. When the people rallied to him, he made a surprise attack on the *K'uang-wang*, killed him and seized the throne. The Chinese who were not ready to tolerate the triumph of the Hun faction, made military preparations against the Semirechyé. Reconciliation was achieved, thanks to a Chinese lady married to a Wu-sun noble. Wu-chiu-t'u took the title of Lesser k'un-mo. Yüan-kuei-mi, son of Wêng-kuei-mi, was declared Chief k'un-mo. Sixty thousand families fell to the lot of the latter, and forty thousand to the lot of the former. As an ally of the Chinese Wu-chiu-t'u even made war on the Huns, but without success. He had better luck in his operations against the Chinese themselves <sup>1</sup>.

This division of power was bound to provoke troubles and feuds. For a time order was restored by the energetic action of the chief k'un-mo, Tz'ü-li-mi, Yüan-kuei-mi's grandson. His rule gave back to the country "the tranquillity and peace" of Wêng-kuei-mi's days. Among other regulations he "published an order that none should dare graze his cattle on his (Tz'ü-li-mi's) pastures" <sup>2</sup>. This edict suggests that there were in the Wu-sun country reserved grazing-grounds, or *qoruq* <sup>3</sup>, as they were later

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, I, 76-77.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 75.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Narshakhi, *History of Bukhara*, Russian transl. by N. Likoshin, Tashkent 1897, p. 40.

called by the Turks and Mongols. Tz'ü-li-mi perished at the hands of assassins sent by the Lesser k'un-mo. The Chinese then set upon the throne his grandson I-chih-mi, son of a Chinese princess. In the struggles between the Lesser and the Chief k'un-mo, the Chinese generally sided with the former. When the Lesser k'un-mo An-li-mi was deposed and killed by the Huns, with the consent of the Chinese government, and his place taken by a Chinese protégé (11 B.C.), his uncle Pei-yüan-chi with 80,000 men withdrew to the Chinese in the North, from whence he attacked both the k'un-mo. This led to a tightening up of the relations between the two k'un-mo and the Chinese. In the year 1 B.C. I-chih-mi visited the Chinese capital where he was received with great pomp. The shan-yü of the Huns was also in the capital at that time. Finally Pei-yüan-chi was killed by the Chinese governor "in an unexpected assault" (probably also by the hand of paid assassins).

About the year A.D. 8, Eastern Turkestan again passed under the Huns. Relations between China and the "Western lands" ceased and were not renewed until A.D. 73. In A.D. 97 a Chinese body of troops sent by the general Pan-ch'ao penetrated as far as the Caspian sea but these events do not seem to have affected the Semirechyé, for nothing is heard about it during this period. The only mention is that in the second century the Wu-sun "completely detached themselves" <sup>1</sup> from China. We also know nothing about the movement of the Huns across the Semirechyé, during their migration from Mongolia to the West which towards the end of the century grew to such formidable proportions. Troublous times came to China in the middle of the second century and relations with the Western lands were not resumed until the fifth century.

In Mongolia the place of the Huns was taken by the HSIEN-PI, a people most probably of Tunguz origin <sup>2</sup>. The Hsien-pi ruler T'an-shih-huai (d. 181 A.D.) conquered all the lands to the West up to the Wu-sun possessions <sup>3</sup>. In the fourth century the ruler

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, III, 108.

<sup>2</sup> [Mongols, according to Pelliot.]

<sup>3</sup> Iakinf, I, 169.

Yü-lü, a member of another Hsien-pi dynasty, conquered among others the "ancient Wu-sun lands" <sup>1</sup>. From the end of the fourth century to the middle of the sixth the paramount power in Central Asia belonged to the JOU-JAN who are usually regarded as a Tunguz people. The raids of the Jou-jan at length forced the Wu-sun to abandon the plains of the Semirechyé for the mountains of Tien-shan <sup>2</sup>. In 425 certain western rulers, including the ruler of the Wu-sun, sent ambassadors to Northern China, where the Hsien-pi dynasty Yüan-wei, or Pei-wei, held sway. Thus relations were re-established between China and the Western peoples. In 436 a Chinese embassy visited the Wu-sun, and the Wu-sun sent yearly embassies to China with presents.

After this, the name of the Wu-sun as an independent people disappears from history. As is well-known, their name has survived only in the name of the great Qirghiz-Qaysaq <sup>3</sup> horde (the *Uysun*).

#### THE TURKS <sup>4</sup>

In the sixth century A.D. a new nomad empire came into existence in Central Asia. The Turks, who came from the Altai, conquered, within a short time, all the peoples from the Pacific to the Black Sea. The founder of the empire, I-li k'o-han T'u-mên, died in 553. After the death of T'o-po khan (in 581) the empire broke up into two kingdoms—the Eastern and the Western. The Semirechyé, formerly the land of the Wu-sun,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 162.

<sup>3</sup> [Now called *Qazakh*. The identification is far from certain.]

<sup>4</sup> Information on the Turks, besides the Chinese historical data collected by Father Iakinf (see chapter I), is to be found in the relation of the journey of Hsüan-tsang (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, traduits par M. Stanislas Julien, 2 vls., Paris 1857-8), in the biography of this pilgrim (*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, trad. par Stanislas Julien, Paris 1853) and in the relations of Byzantine ambassadors (*Corpus scriptorum Hist. Byz.*, v. I). We need not dwell here on the latter as the ambassadors give no information on the Semirechyé although they crossed that country. The Byzantines provide some curious data on the manners and customs of the Turks. These are recounted in detail in D. I. Ilovaysky's book *Researches on the beginnings of Russia* (in Russian), Moscow 1876. [See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, St. Petersburg, 1903.]



became the centre of the Western kingdom, and as such remained in all the successive nomad states in the western part of Central Asia. The domination of the Turks plays an important part in the history of the Semirechyé.

The centre of a nomad empire was always a great attraction for the merchants of various countries. Here they found a good market for their wares, especially textiles, which were the main commodity imported into the nomad country both from China and Western Asia. This consideration, coupled with the disturbances which were taking place in Farghana in the seventh century, contributed to the displacing to the North of the principal trade route from Western Asia into China. To avoid Farghana and Kashghar, travellers from Samarqand took a north-easterly route *via* Tashkent and Auliyā-ata into the Semirechyé, down to the banks of the Chu; thence they followed the southern shore of the Issik-kul and crossed the Bedel pass into Aq-su. As far as we know, this route is first mentioned by the seventh century Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang and the Chinese "History of the T'ang dynasty". This latter work was written in the eleventh century but its information on the western lands belongs entirely to the seventh or eighth century. Chinese itineraries contain no detailed descriptions of the road across the Semirechyé, but they enable us to assume that agriculture, at least in the Chu valley, existed as early as the seventh century, and that it had been introduced by emigrants from Mawarannahr (i.e. the fertile region between the Amu-Darya and the Sir-Darya), exactly as was later done by colonists from the khanate of Kokand. In Hsüan-tsang's time the whole of the country between the Amu-Darya and the Chu was culturally uniform: clothing, alphabet and language were everywhere the same. The predominant religion was probably Manichaeism<sup>1</sup>. The alphabet, apparently of Syrian origin, contained 32 letters; the writing was vertical and some historical works were already in existence. Of the outward appearance of the natives it is said that they gathered their hair leaving the top of the head uncovered. Some shaved

<sup>1</sup> ZVO, VIII, 3-5. [See the German translation, *Zur Gesch. d. Christentums in Mittel-Asien*, Leipzig 1901].

their heads entirely and covered their foreheads with a piece of silk. Half of the inhabitants were agriculturists, the other half merchants. The trading centre was "the town on the river Suyeh" (the Chu) which in the later Muslim sources bears the name of Sūyāb and is located immediately to the south of the Qastek pass. Already in the seventh century merchants from various countries lived in Suyab. To the West of Suyab there were scores of towns, each having its own particular ruler, independent of his neighbours, but all of them recognising the sovereignty of the Turks.

In the environs of Suyab there usually stood the ordu of the qaghan<sup>1</sup> of the Western Turks. It was here that the meeting between Hsüan-tsang and one of the qaghans<sup>2</sup> took place. The qaghan wore a cloak of green silk; his hair was loose, his forehead covered, as was the custom of the local sedentary population, with a piece of silk ten feet long and wound several times round his head. In contrast to the qaghan, his suite wore their hair plaited. The qaghan lived in a large tent which contained many objects made of gold. Inside the tent the dignitaries clad in silk robes sat in two rows on felts (*qoshma*), and behind them stood the qaghan's bodyguard. "Although it was a barbarian king living in a felt tent, one could not fail to look at him with wonder and respect". When the hermit was still within twenty paces of the tent, the qaghan came out to meet him, saluted him, asked him several questions through an interpreter and ordered an iron arm-chair to be placed for him. The Turks used no wooden seats, which fact Hsüan-tsang explains by their worship of the fire supposed to be contained in the wood. Present in the tent were also ambassadors from China and Kao-ch'ang (i.e. [later] Uyghuria, the region where the towns of Urumchi, Turfan and Hami are now situated). Feasting began to the strains of music. Despite their wildness, the sounds "delighted the ear and trans-

<sup>1</sup> A Turkish title from which by way of contraction the word *khan* is derived. The correctness of the form *qaghan*, which occurs in Russian chronicles, is attested by the Orkhon inscriptions. Muslim authors usually write *khāqān*.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang*, pp. 55-8.

ported the soul and heart". The guests ate meat and drank wine, but the hermit was offered vegetable fare and milk. After the feast, at the qaghan's request, the hermit delivered a sermon in the spirit of Buddhist teachings. When the sermon was ended, the qaghan raised his arms, prostrated himself and declared that he accepted the teachings in good faith. When some days later the teacher prepared to depart, he was given for guide a young man who had spent several years in the town of Ch'ang-an (Hsian-fu) and spoke excellent Chinese.

Under the qaghan Sha-po-lo tieh-li-shih (A.D. 634-638) the Western Turks were divided into ten tribes, five to the West, and five to the East of the river Chu. The former were called *Nu-shih-pi*, the latter *Tu-lu*. Soon after, the empire of the Western Turks broke up and formed two separate states divided by the river Ili. The members of the reigning family were engaged in constant feuds in which the Chinese also took part. Several qaghans succeeded in restoring the unity of power, but for a short time only. Such was the qaghan A-shih-na Ho-lu in 651. In 657 the Chinese, who a quarter of a century previously had subdued the Eastern Turkish kingdom, brought likewise into submission the Western Turks whose princes were given Chinese titles and regarded as Chinese governors<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes the Turkish princes rebelled against the Chinese and allied themselves against them with the Tibetans who by that time had seized part of Chinese Turkestan. In 704 the qaghan A-shih-na Huai-tao became once more master of all ten clans. The death of his son and successor A-shih-na Hsin, killed in the town of Kulan<sup>2</sup> put an end to the Western Turkish dynasty (*circa* 740 A.D.).

Some time previously the TÜRGEŠH, a Tu-lu tribe leading a nomadic existence between the Chu and the Ili, had risen to power. The chief *ordu* of their prince was in Sūyāb, the lesser *ordu* on the banks of the Ili. The most powerful of the Türgesh

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, I, 360-1.

<sup>2</sup> Now the station Tartī (Lugovoye) in the Sīr-Darya province. Cf. V. A. Kallaur's article in the *Annex to the Proceedings of the Turkestan Society of Archaeology*, 5 May 1897, p. 7 (in Russian).

princes was SULU (d. in 738). His might eclipsed even that of the Western Turkish throne, at that time occupied by A-shih-na Huai-tao whose daughter was Sulu's wife. Sulu also formed ties of kinship with the Eastern Turkish qaghans and the rulers of Tibet. He was killed in 738 by a Türgesh prince who bore the title of Mo-ho ta-kan (\*Bagha-tarqan). Sulu's son was set upon the throne. Mo-ho ta-kan, in alliance with the rulers of Tashkent and Farghana, defeated him at Sūyāb and took him prisoner. In 740 Mo-ho ta-kan became ruler of the Türgesh and ordered the last of the Western Turkish qaghans to be put to death. But his own rule was short-lived and troublous times set in. In 748 the Chinese governor of Eastern Turkestan, Wang Chêng-hsien, took Suyab and razed it to the ground. Within the next ten years the Türgesh lost every vestige of power. The western part of the Semirechyé was now a dependency of the town of Talas, while Talas depended on the ruler of Tashkent. How much the entire country must have suffered from the ceaseless internecine strife can be judged from the account of the Chinese chronicler who says: "Here the tillers of the soil wear armour and take each other prisoner" <sup>1</sup>.

The disintegration of the Western Turkish empire greatly facilitated the advance of the ARABS into Mawarannahr. Arab chroniclers were bound to realise this position and they date the decadence of the Turks from the year 119/737. According to the Arabs <sup>2</sup>, the Eastern Turkish qaghan lived in the town of Navākat (in the Chu valley, to the East of Toqmaq), where he had a private pasture and a reserved mountain which none dared approach. The flocks grazing in this pasture and the game on this mountain were intended to supply military expeditions. The qaghan caused much trouble to the Arabs who in consequence nicknamed him Abū-Muzāhim ("the one who pushes, or gores", like a bull or an elephant). However, in a battle in the province of Tokharistan, which lay to the South of the Amu-Darya and to the East of Balkh, the Turks were defeated by the Arabs. On his return to his native country the qaghan was killed in a personal

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, III, 244-5.

<sup>2</sup> Tabari, *Annales*, II, 1593-1613, 1689-1691.

*vendetta* by the Türgesh prince *Kūr-şul*, which led to a complete dispersal of the Turks. In 739 *Kūr-şul*, who had reached an advanced age, was taken prisoner by the Arabs on the banks of the Sir-Darya. He offered a ransom of 1000 horses and 1000 camels, but the Arab governor Naşr ordered him to be put to death. His body was burned to prevent the Turks from taking his bones back to their country. According to Tabari, this grieved them more than the fact of *Kūr-şul*'s death. In view of the fragmentary and doubtful character both of Chinese and Arab information, we abstain from any comparisons between these sources <sup>1</sup>.

## THE QARLUQ <sup>2</sup>

Chinese, Arab and Persian sources enable us to draw a comparatively clear picture of the grouping of the Turkish tribes after the fall of the Western Turkish empire. The tribes which had founded that empire bore, both in the East and West, in addition to the name *Turk* the general appellation *Oghuz* or *Toquz-oghuz* (lit. "the Nine Oghuz"), although, according to Chinese information, the Western Turks were divided into ten tribes. The Sha-t'uo Turks (i.e. the "Steppe Turks"), who founded a kingdom in the remotest part of Eastern Turkestan, are said by the Chinese to have come originally from the Western

<sup>1</sup> [See H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 1923.]

<sup>2</sup> Chinese sources contain only some data on the events of the eighth century. Information on the situation obtaining in the Semirechyé in the the ninth and tenth centuries is to be found in the works of Arab geographers edited by the Dutch Orientalist de Goeje (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, 8 volumes; vol. VI is accompanied by a French translation). Several works containing the most detailed information on Central Asia, such as Jayhānī's 6 volume Geography and Ibn Khurdādhbih's original, have been lost. They had however been utilised by Persian authors, as for instance the anonymous author of the tenth century work discovered by A. G. Toumansky in Bukhara (see *Z.V.O.*, VIII, p. 121 sq.) and the ninth century historian Gardīzī, a fragment of whose work was published in the Annex to my *Report on a journey into Central Asia* (in Russian), SPb. 1897. [The Toumansky MS, or more exactly the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, was published in facsimile by Barthold (1930) and translated into English by V. Minorsky (1937).]

Turkish kingdom<sup>1</sup>. According to the Arabs it is these Turks who are known by the name Toghuzghuz, i.e. Toquz-Oghuz<sup>2</sup>. Another branch of the Oghuz drew away to the West and founded a kingdom whose centre lay on the lower course of the Sīr-Darya. Memories of the sojourn of the Oghuz in the Semirechyé have survived in the legend which places the residence of the mythical Turk, son of Japhet, on the shores of the Issik-kul<sup>3</sup>.

The Türgesh alone remained in the Semirechyé. They divided into two tribes: the Tukhshī (Tukhsi) and the Azī (the reading of these names is doubtful; the Azī may be identical with the people Az, mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions). In the second half of the eighth century supremacy in the Semirechyé passed to the Qarluq; by that time the bulk of that tribe had left the Altai, whereas their vanguard had reached the banks of the Amu-Darya at the beginning of the century. In 766 the Qarluq occupied Suyab and transferred their capital thither. Their ruler bore the title of *jabghu*, identical with the *yabghu*<sup>4</sup> which often occurs in the Orkhon inscriptions.

Thus the fall of the Turkish empire left the Semirechyé still in the possession of Turkish peoples, unconquered either by the Arabs or the Chinese. The intervention of the Chinese in the affairs of Western Turkestan ceased after their defeat in 751 by the Arab general Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ. The Arabs did no more than dislodge the Qarluq from Farghana. In the northwest, as is known, the Muslim conquerors never penetrated beyond the

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, I, 452.

<sup>2</sup> [Barthold's interpretation of the term *Toquz-oghuz* is controversial. See my article in *BSOAS*, 1948, XII/2, p. 289. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> *Aboul-Ghazi Béhadour Khan, Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares*, trad. par le Baron Desmaisons, St. Petersburg 1874, p. 9; *Abul Ghazi Bohadur Khan, Genealogies of the Turcomans*, translated into Russian by A. Toumansky, Askhabad 1897, p. 9. The oldest form of this legend is contained in the Persian twelfth century work *Mujmal al-tawārikh*, the only existing copy of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Ancien Fonds Persan, No. 62, f. 64. [Published in Tehran in 1939.]

<sup>4</sup> The Chinese use one word for both titles, on the correct reading of which see Thomsen, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, Helsingfors 1896, p. 59.

Talas. The peaceful penetration of Muslim culture by means of commercial relations played a far more important role in the destinies of the Turks than the success of Muslim arms. The population of Mawarannahr had always shown commercial enterprise, and in pre-Islamic times had founded factories in various parts of Central Asia. Soghdian colonies were to be found even in the Toquz-Oghuz country, the remotest region of Eastern Turkestan <sup>1</sup>. The fact that the SOGHDIANS had a part to play in the Semirechyé may be gathered from the report of a tenth century Persian geographer who says that the village Begligh or, according to another reading, Begliligh, situated north of the Qastak pass, was called in Soghdian *Samaknā* <sup>2</sup>. As usual the merchants were followed by missionaries of the various creeds professed in Mawarannahr, including CHRISTIANS of the Nestorian denomination. According to the testimony of Muslim writers many towns of Turkestan had Christian churches. It is said of the Jikil [Chigil], a nomad people of the Semirechyé living near the Issik-kul, that there were Christians among them <sup>3</sup>.

Muslim authors describe in detail the trade route from Western Asia to China across the Semirechyé, and mention several towns along it, though the reading of the majority of these names is doubtful <sup>4</sup>. The town of Jūl (perhaps from Turkish *chöl* "steppe") stood near Pishpek, probably on the site of the village of Alamadin. Here the road from Taraz (Talas, Auliya-ata) was joined by the road from Akhsīkat (i.e. from the Namanghān district, across the Qaraqol pass <sup>5</sup>. Navākat, or Navīkat, was a large commercial centre in the valley of the Chu. At this point the road divided into two branches: one ran through the Jil-ariq gorge on to the shores of the Issik-kul; the other led northwards

<sup>1</sup> *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, f. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Grigoryev, *On the Arab traveller Abū-Dulaf* (in Russian), SPb. 1872, pp. 27-28. On the territory of the Jikil see below. [Abu-Dulaf's report is definitely spurious. See Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf's second risāla*, Cairo, 1955.]

<sup>4</sup> On this route see my *Report*, pp. 30-2, 114; also *ZVO*, VIII, 15-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*, f. 18.

to Suyab. The distance between Jūl and Navākat was 15 farsakhs, i.e. about 50 miles. Navākat can therefore be located at the point where the road to Qarabulaq branches off from the road following the left bank of the Chu. The whole of this region belonged to the Qarluq, while the shores of the Issik-kul belonged mainly to the Jikil (\*Chigil), a clan that had detached itself from the Qarluq. Between Navākat and the gorge there was also a large commercial centre Karmīnkat (another reading: Kumbarkat), belonging to the Labān clan of the Qarluq. The ruler bore the title of Qutagīn-Labān<sup>1</sup>. The gorge was even then called Jil. According to the historian Gardizī, this word meant "narrow, tight". Twelve farsakhs to the south of the gorge was situated the town of Yār which could turn out 3,000 warriors. This was the capital of the Jil ruler who bore the title of *taksīn*. Judging by the distances quoted the town must have been situated on the shores of the Issik-kul, namely on its southern shore, as the lake remained to the left of the road. 5 farsakhs from Yār was the town of Ton, evidently in the valley of the homonymous small river, where considerable ruins are still extant. Three days' journey from Ton stood the town of Barskhān. Between these two towns only Jikil tents were to be found. The name of the town has probably survived in that of the small river Barskaun. According to the geographer Qudāma, Barskhan was formed by a whole group of villages, four large and five small ones. The ruler bore the title of *Managh*<sup>2</sup>, or *Tabīn-Barskhān*, according to another source. The town could turn out 6,000 warriors. According to the *Hudūd* the dihqān of Barskhān was of Qarluq origin, but the inhabitants went over to the Toquz-Oghuz<sup>3</sup>. The town enjoyed considerable importance as the centre of communications between Eastern and Western Turkestan. In

<sup>1</sup> *Mujmal*, f. 273. The word *Labān* is definitely of non-Turkish origin, though the author of the *Hudūd al-ʿAlam* considers this clan as Qarluq. [Possibly, \**Alban*. V. M.]

<sup>2</sup> *Mujmal*, *ibid.*, [\**Manaf*?].

<sup>3</sup> [Rather: although the *dihqān* is a Qarluq, the inhabitants are in sympathy with the Toquz-oghuz. See now Minorsky's commentary on the *Hudūd*, p. 15, and Minorsky, *Tamīm's journey to the Uyghurs*, BSOAS, 1948].



the genealogical legends of the Turks one of the sons of Turk bears the name of Barskhan <sup>1</sup>.

There also existed a direct route to Barskhan from Farghana, namely from Uzgend across the Yasī (Jasī) pass, the Arpa valley, the valleys of the rivers Qara-qoyin, Atbash and Narīn <sup>2</sup>. On a mound, near the confluence of the Qara-qoyin and the Atbash, stood the town of Atbash (now the ruins Qoshoy-Qurghan), equidistant (six days' journey) from Farghana, Barskhan and the frontier of the Tibetan possessions (in Eastern Turkestan). The road into the latter probably lay across the Turughart pass. There was not a single village between Atbash and Barskhan. The southern part of the Semirechyé was occupied by the Yaghmā people (the forward branch of the Toquz-Oghuz), to whom Kashghar also belonged. The Narīn <sup>3</sup> was regarded as the boundary between the Qarluq and Yaghmā possessions.

Lastly, the circuitous route from Navākat through Sūyāb was also connected with Barskhan. Sūyāb was situated to the north of the Chu in the Türgesh land, at the foot of the mountains and at a distance of 3 farsakhs from Navākat, i.e. apparently on the site of present day Qara-bulaq. The ruler was the brother of one of the Turkish khans, but he bore the Iranian title of Yalān-shāh, i.e. "King of Heroes". The town could turn out 20,000 warriors. On the road to Suyab, at 1 farsakh from Navākat, lay the town of Panjikat which could turn out 8,000 warriors. Near Suyab there were three villages, each having its own separate ruler. The mountains where the Qastek pass is situated were held sacred by the Turks, who believed them to be the abode of the deity. To the north of the pass lay the town of Begliligh, the ruler of which bore, according to one source, the title of *Badān-Sāngū*, and according to another, the Turkish title of *Yināltegīn*. He had 3,000 warriors, in addition to whom the town turned out 7,000 more <sup>4</sup>. Caravans covered the distance between Sūyāb and Barskhan in 15 days, the Turkish mail in three. This seems to be

<sup>1</sup> *Mujmal*, f. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See Barthold, *Report*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Hudūd*, ff. 9, 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 18. Barthold, *Report*, pp. 125-126. *Mujmal*, f. 273.

the route across the Qastak pass, through Verny [Alma-ata], along the northern slopes of the Trans-Ili Alatau and across the Qizil-qaya pass (on the plateau of San-Tash) into Qaraqol. The number of days quoted by the Arabs for the distance between Toqmaq and Qaraqol, along the northern shore of the Issik-kul, is too great. On the northern shore of the Issik-kul, in the Jikil country and on the border of the Qarluq possessions, lay the large trading town of Si-kul, probably identical with the town of Issik-kul, which still existed in the days of Timur <sup>1</sup>.

Of all the Turkish peoples, the Qarluq were naturally the most open to the influence of Muslim culture. The report on the conversion of the Qarluq-jabghu to Islam <sup>2</sup> under the Caliph Mahdi (775-785) is doubtful, but in the tenth century there were cathedral mosques in several towns to the east of Talas <sup>3</sup>. Muslim culture had affected the general way of life of the Qarluq, for among them there were not only hunters and nomads but also agriculturists <sup>4</sup>. The Qarluq suffered from frequent incursions by other Turkish peoples, especially the Toquz-Oghuz <sup>5</sup>, who in the tenth century were reputed to be the most powerful of all the Turks. The majority of the Toquz-Oghuz with their khan were Manichaeans, but there were also Christians, Buddhists and Muslims among them <sup>6</sup>. We have seen that Barskhān, which had formerly belonged to the Qarluq, was in the tenth century in the hands of the Toquz-Oghuz <sup>7</sup>. The town of Panchul (the reading is doubtful), or the present day Aq-su, is mentioned as belonging to the Qarluq though its ruler had been a dependant of the Toquz-Oghuz. Later the town was taken by the QIRGHIZ <sup>8</sup>. At that time the Qirghiz lived in the upper basin of the Yenisey, where, according to Chinese sources, they were visited every

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>2</sup> Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1883, II, 479.

<sup>3</sup> *BGA*, III, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Hudūd*, f. 17.

<sup>5</sup> [i.e. the Uyghurs of Eastern T'ien-shan. V. M.]

<sup>6</sup> G. Flügel, *Mani*, Leipzig 1862, pp. 105-108. *Report*, p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> [This seems to be a mistaken interpretation of the text, see above].

<sup>8</sup> *Hudūd*, f. 18. [See V. Minorsky's translation and commentary, § 15, 13.]

three years by Arab caravans carrying silk from Kucha. Trade brought the Qirghiz into closer relations with the Arabs, and the Qarluq with the Tibetans<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that the Qirghiz, having allied themselves with the Qarluq, took the field against the Toquz-Oghuz and occupied that part of the Semirechyé which is their present home. In any case, the bulk of the Qirghiz migrated into the Semirechyé considerably later. Had they lived in the Semirechyé at the time of the Qarakhanids, they would have been converted to Islam in the tenth or eleventh century. As it is, they were still looked upon as heathen in the sixteenth century.

Finally the valley of the Chu, the centre of the Qarluq possessions, also passed into the hands of their enemies. Towards 940 some "heathen Turks" seized the town of Balāsāghūn<sup>2</sup>, which played an important part in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Muqaddasi<sup>3</sup> is the only tenth century geographer to mention this town which he describes as "large, populous and rich". There are no precise data on the location of Balāsāghūn, but elsewhere<sup>4</sup> I have tried to show that it was situated in the Chu valley. The people which is said to have seized the Chu valley must have been identical with the people from which sprang up the Qarakhanid dynasty, under whose rule the western half of Central Asia was unified in the tenth century.

#### THE QARAKHANIDS<sup>5</sup>

The historians do not specify the Turkish people to which the Qarakhanids belonged. There are grounds for believing that this

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, I, 449.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *BGA*, III, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Report*, p. 33 sq. This is also the opinion of N. A. Aristov, *Notes* (in Russian), p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> This term was suggested by Grigoryev, *The Qarakhanids in Mawarannahr* (in Russian), SPb. 1874, and it seems to me the most suitable. Grigoryev and other scholars who wrote on the Qarakhanids relied principally on the work of Ibn al-Athīr, whose information is seldom confirmed by earlier and better informed authors, such as ʿUtbi (the Arabic text published in the East; I utilised the excellent MS. of the

was the Yaghmā, whose ruler bore the title of \*Boghrā-khan<sup>1</sup>, very common among the Qarakhanids. If such is the case, the invasion of the Chu valley must have come from the South. Here the Qarakhanids were soon converted to Islam but the available information on that event is purely legendary. According to the tradition quoted by Ibn al-Athīr<sup>2</sup>, the first to embrace Islam was Shabuq (or Satuq) Qara-khaqan. In a dream he saw a man who descended from the heavens and said to him in Turkish: "embrace Islam for your salvation in this world and the world to come". The oldest version of another legend is found in the work of Jamāl al-Qarshī<sup>3</sup> who says that the first of the khans of this dynasty to be converted to Islam was Satuq Boghra khan Abdul-Karīm who died in 344/955-6. Both legends undoubtedly refer to one and the same person, as both of them call this khan the great-grandfather of the *ilak* [*ilig*?], which was the Turkish title of khan Naṣr, conqueror of Mawarannahr. Abdul-Karīm's grandson Hārūn still bears the title of Boghra-khan in one of the contemporary authors<sup>4</sup>.

This Hārūn, whose capital was at Balāsāghūn, died in A.D. 992<sup>5</sup> on his way from Mawarannahr which he had been obliged to leave on account of ill-health. The conquest of Mawarannahr was completed in 999 by the *ilak* Naṣr. The advance of the Qarakhanids was halted by the GHAZNAVID Sultan Mahmūd (997-1030), the conqueror of Afghanistan, of the eastern half of Persia and

Asiatic Museum No. 510), Gardīzī (the unique MS. is in Oxford [a second MS. is in Cambridge]) and the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqi*, ed. Morley [new edition, Tehran, 1945]. All three wrote in the eleventh century. Valuable information is also to be found in Jamāl al-Qarshī who in 1282 translated into Persian from the Arabic the dictionary of al-Jauhari and in the beginning of the fourteenth century wrote his Addenda (*Mulḥaqāt*) to it, known until now only in one MS. which K. G. Salemann received from V. P. Nalivkin. Cf. *ZVO*, VIII. [Printed by Barthold in the Annex to the Russian edition of *Turkestan*.] [See now O. Prītsak's studies in *Oriens*, 1950, III/2, 209-28, and in *Der Islam*, B. 31/1, 18-68.]

<sup>1</sup> *Mujmal*, f. 273.      <sup>2</sup> Ed. Tornberg, XI, 54.

<sup>3</sup> Ff. 35-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, V-me série, t. III, p. 340.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in Gardīzī, f. 134, and Bayhaqi, p. 234. Wrong in Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 67-68.

part of India. On 4 January 1008 the Turks “with broad faces, small eyes, flat noses, sparse hair (in their beards), iron swords and black clothing”, as ‘Utbi <sup>1</sup> describes them, suffered a crushing defeat near Balkh. Since then they undertook no further expeditions beyond the Amu-Darya <sup>2</sup>.

Already in the eleventh century, the empire of the Qarakhanids was divided into fiefs, whose allegiance to the head of the empire was determined solely by the latter’s personal qualities. Internecine strife, inevitable under the system of *udiyels* <sup>3</sup>, soon broke out, especially between the two main branches of the Qarakhanids, represented by the descendants of Satuq Boghra khan’s grandsons, Ali (father of Nasr) and Hārūn. We possess only scanty, and in some cases contradictory, information on the stages of this struggle and on the identity of the rivals who in turn became masters of the Semirechyé. According to ‘Utbi, the *ilak* was on bad terms with his brother Tughan-khan of Kashghar, whom he suspected of intriguing with Mahmūd of Ghazna. The *ilak* died in 403/1012-3 and Tughan-khan succeeded to the throne <sup>4</sup>. It is doubtful whether he could have held Mawarannahr, but he certainly ruled in the Semirechyé, and probably also in Eastern Turkestan, from whence he was gradually ousted by Qadir-khan Yūsuf, son of Boghra-khan Hārūn. ‘Utbi and Ibn al-Athir call Qadir-khan ruler of Khotan. Numismatic evidence <sup>5</sup> shows that from 404/1013-4 he ruled in Yarkand and from 405/1014-5 in Kashghar as well.

In 408/1017-8 the Semirechyé was invaded by nomad peoples

<sup>1</sup> F. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athir’s report on the expedition of 410/1019-20 is not confirmed by other sources.

<sup>3</sup> [This old Russian term refers to the system under which the father’s possessions were divided between his descendants.]

<sup>4</sup> The history of the Qarakhanids according to Ibn al-Athir (who in his turn utilised for the greater part the work of ‘Utbi), has been set forth in V. V. Radloff’s book *On the question of the Uyghurs* (in Russian), pp. 122-125 (where Mahmūd, who bore the title of Yamīn al-daula, is mistakenly said to be a Samanid).

<sup>5</sup> I am utilising the still unpublished *Catalogue* of Muslim coins of the Imperial Hermitage by A. K. Markov, who kindly communicated it to me.

from the Far East. Among these were the KHITAY, who at that time lorded it over Northern China and the eastern part of Central Asia, and after whom, as we know, the Celestial empire was re-named <sup>1</sup>. The heathens <sup>2</sup> were eight days distant from Balāsāghūn when they heard that Tughan-khan was marching against them with a large army. They retreated, and the khan pursued them for three months, finally overtaking and utterly defeating them.

According to ‘Utbi, Tughan-khan died soon after this battle, and was succeeded by his brother Arslan-khan, but Bayhaqi avers that Tughan-khan ruled in the Semirechyé till 1025. Numismatic evidence suggests that Arslan-khan Muhammad b. ‘Ali ruled mainly in the north-eastern part of the Sir-Darya province, though coins in his name were also struck in Bukhara.

In 1025 Qadir-khan Yūsuf and Sultan Mahmud simultaneously invaded Mawarannahr where ruled Ali-tegin, brother of Nasr, Tughan-khan and Arslan-khan. The meeting of the head of the Qarakhanids with the sultan, which took place near Samargand, is described in detail in Gardīzī <sup>3</sup>. The exchange of courtesies between the two monarchs proceeded according to strict etiquette and with a meticulous observance of full equality. It is noteworthy that the Turkish khan showed himself a better Muslim than Mahmud by refusing to drink the wine offered him. A treaty was concluded by the terms of which Mahmud’s daughter was given to Yaghan-tegin <sup>4</sup>, Qadir-khan’s second son, and Qadir-khan’s daughter to Muhammad, Mahmud’s son. Mahmud pledged himself to help Yaghan-tegin to wrest Mawarannahr from Ali-tegin. On the pretext of an expedition to India, Mahmud evaded this obligation and this led to the breaking off of the projected marriages. Ali-tegin remained

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Their number varies in the different Muslim sources and the figures are evidently pure guess-work.

<sup>3</sup> F. 153. Bayhaqi, pp. 82, 255, 655, also speaks of the interview and its outcome.

<sup>4</sup> This is the Turkish word *yaghan* “elephant”. Cf. the titles Boghra (“dromedary”), Arslan (“lion”) [and Tughan (“falcon”)].

in possession of Mawarannahr, whereas his brother Tughan-khan was ousted from Balasaghun by Qadir-khan's army.

Qadir-khan Yūsuf's possessions, at the time of his death in 1031, or 1032<sup>1</sup>, included, besides Eastern Turkestan, the Semirechyé and the eastern part of the Sir-Darya province, namely the districts of Auliya-ata and Chimkant. His capital was Kashghar. Eastern Turkestan and the Semirechyé fell to the share of his eldest son, Boghra-tegin Sulayman, who took the title of Arslan-khan. Talas (now Auliya-ata) and Isfijāb (now Sayram, near Chimkant) fell to the second son, Yaghan-tegin Muhammad<sup>2</sup> who assumed the title of Boghra-khan. Both brothers entertained relations with the Ghaznavid Sultan Mas'ūd, son of Mahmud. The plan of taking Mawarannahr from Ali-tegin and giving it to Boghra-khan<sup>3</sup> was considered but once again not realised. A certain Lashkar-khan<sup>4</sup> is also mentioned as ruler of Sakmān(?), which could hardly be identical with Samaknā, the Soghdian name for Beglīgh (see above pp. 88, 90).

The relations between Arslan-khan and his brother soon became hostile. In 435/1043-4 Arslan-khan divided his possessions among his relatives keeping only Kashghar and Balasaghun, but retaining the suzerainty over all the other lands<sup>5</sup>. We know that by that time the *udyel* system (see above p. 94) had existed for at least half a century, but it is quite likely that the authority of the head of the empire was definitely lost through Arslan-khan's weakness. Towards 1056 Boghra-khan took Arslan-khan prisoner and seized his possessions. Fifteen months later he himself was poisoned by his wife. Ibn al-Athīr places Boghra-khan's death

<sup>1</sup> According to Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 211, in 423/1032; according to Jamāl Qarshi, f. 37, in the beginning of Moharram 424/1032; Bayhaqi at one place, p. 89, says that Qadir-khan died two years after Mas'ūd's accession, and at another, p. 656, that he died one year after that event.

<sup>2</sup> Bayhaqi, 525-6, 655-6. The names are in Ibn al-Athīr, where Muhammad is erroneously called Mahmud. The correct reading is on coins and in <sup>c</sup>Aufi, see below, p. 98, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Bayhaqi, 418.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 660.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 356, cf. *ZVO*, VIII, 23.

in 439/1047-8, but Bayhaqi<sup>1</sup>, who was a contemporary of these events, affirms that the khan died only in 449/1057-8. It was his wish to appoint his eldest son Chaghri-tegin Husayn as his successor that led to his assassination, for the queen favoured the candidature of her own infant son Ibrahim. The latter became khan but soon perished in the war against Yinal-tegin, the ruler of Barskhan, and for sixteen years (451-67/1059-74-5) Kashghar and Balāsāghūn were ruled jointly by Qadir-khan's sons, Toghril Qara-khan Yusuf and his brother, Boghra-khan Hārūn. They made war on Shams al-mulk Naṣr, ruler of Mawarannahr (and grandson of the first *ilak* Naṣr). By the peace which terminated the hostilities, Khojand, i.e. probably the river Sīr-Darya, was recognised as the boundary between Mawarannahr and the possessions of the Turkestan Qarakhanids. Toghril-khan was succeeded by his son Toghril-tegin who was deposed after two months, whereas Boghra-khan Harun ruled on for 29 years in Kashghar, Balāsāghūn and Khotan<sup>2</sup>. It was for this prince, when he was joint ruler with his brother, that the didactic poem *Qutadghu-bilik*, the first literary work in the Turkish language, was written in 462/1069. The author, who was a native of Balāsāghūn<sup>3</sup>, completed his poem in Kashghar.

In 1089 the SELJUK Sultan Malikshah took Samarqand and advanced as far as Uzgand. The khan of Kashghar (probably Harun) was obliged to acknowledge himself his vassal. After Malikshah's withdrawal, Turkish mercenaries of Jikil origin rebelled in Samarqand. The Jikils invited Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb-tegin, ruler of

<sup>1</sup> Bayhaqi, 230.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 211-213.

<sup>3</sup> Until quite lately only one MS. of this work was known — in Vienna. From this MS. Vambéry published his edition — with a very unreliable German translation (*Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku-Bilik*. Leipzig 1870), and so did V. V. Radloff — in facsimile (SPb. 1890) and transcription (1891). This year (1898) a second MS. has been discovered in Cairo. [A third copy of the book, in Arabic script, was found in Farghana. Now all the three copies have been reproduced photographically in Istanbul. In 1923 Barthold showed in BSOS, III/1, 151-8, that the dedicatee of the poem was Tafghach Boghra Qara-khan Abu<sup>c</sup>Ali Hasan, son of Sulayman Arslan Qara-khaqan, of whose time we possess a document dated A.H. 474, or 494. V. M.]



Atbash and brother of the khan of Kashghar. Yaqub seized Samargand but at Malikshah's approach fled to Atbash, where he was attacked by his brother's army. Atbash was plundered by the Kashghar troops, and Yaqub himself was taken prisoner. For a second time, Malikshah reached Uzgand and summoned the khan to deliver Yaqub to him. The khan was slow in complying with the request which went against his sense of honour. Finally he sent his son to Malikshah with orders to take Yaqub with him, blind him and leave him in a fortress. Only if this left the Sultan still unsatisfied, was the prince to take Yaqub to Uzgand. Meanwhile Kashghar was invested by another ruler, Toghril, son of Yinal, whose residence lay 80 farsakhs (about 300 miles) from Kashghar. This Toghril may have been the ruler of Barskhan and the son of the above-mentioned Yinal-tegin. The khan was taken prisoner, and when this news reached the khan's son and his companions, Yaqub persuaded them to let him go. Malikshah concluded a treaty with Yaqub and withdrew from Uzgand leaving Yaqub to carry on the war against Toghril<sup>1</sup>. There is no information as to the outcome of this struggle. Harun must have succeeded in freeing himself for, as we have seen, he ruled in Kashghar till the beginning of the twelfth century.

In 1102, i.e. immediately after the death of Boghra-khan Harun, Mawarannahr was invaded by the ruler of Balāsāghūn and Talas, Qadir-khan<sup>2</sup> Jibrail, son of Qara-khan Omar and grandson of Boghra-khan Muhammad<sup>3</sup>. In Qadir-khan's army there were infidels besides the Muslims. He seized the whole country up to the Amu-Darya, but on the banks of this river, he was defeated by the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar, taken prisoner and killed<sup>4</sup>. After that we hear no more of the Semirechyé until the invasion of the Qara-Khitay.

There exists but little information on the internal history of

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athir, X, 112-6.

<sup>2</sup> In one passage Ibn al-Athir, IX, 213, calls him Tughan-khan.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in 'Aufi, a thirteenth century writer, on whom see *ZVO*, IX, 262. Narshakhi calls him the grandson of Toghril-khan, see N. Likoshin's translation, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Athir, X, 239.

the country at the time of the Qarakhanids. As the first Muslim dynasty in the Turkish country, the Qarakhanids must have contributed to the spreading of Islam, and this gives great importance to their dominion in Central Asia. According to Ibn al-Athīr <sup>1</sup>, in 349/960 a Turkish people numbering 200,000 tents was converted to Islam. This report must certainly refer to the inhabitants of the Semirechyé or to those of Eastern Turkestan, but more probably to the former as the number of nomads in Eastern Turkestan was never large. In the autumn of 1043 the nomad Turks of the present day Qirghiz [now: *Qazakh*] steppes also embraced Islam. These Turks, numbering 10,000 tents, lived during the summer in the neighbourhood of the Bulghar country, and during the winter near Balāsāghūn <sup>2</sup>. Unfortunately the historians are silent on the struggle between Islam and other cultural elements. Eastern Turkestan had always been under the influence of Chinese culture. As late as the first half of the eleventh century some of the Qarakhanid rulers, even in Mawarannahr, used to adopt the title of Tabghach-khan or Tamghach-khan, which in the eighth century Orkhon inscription is applied to the Chinese emperors. Since 459/1067 the title *malik al-mashriq wa al-Şīn* ("king of the East and of China") <sup>3</sup> occurs on Qarakhanid coins. This can only be explained by the fascination of Chinese culture and of the Chinese court <sup>4</sup>. Even that part of Eastern Turkestan which bordered on China, with the towns of Urumchi, Turfan and Hami, to say nothing of China proper, could hardly have ever belonged to the Qarakhanid empire, for here Islam did not prevail before the fifteenth century. The legends on the coins of the Qarakhanid show that the Uyghur alphabet was used in their dominions side by side with the common Muslim (Arabic) alphabet. The Uyghur script was derived from the Syriac and it was the Nestorians who introduced it into Central Asia, as it is generally admitted. Some

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 396. See above p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *ZVO*, VIII, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Radlov, *On the question of the Uyghurs*, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> [Similar titles are sometimes meant to indicate that the ruler was on the border with some infidels. V. M.] See *ZVO*, VIII, 22.

of the cultural terms occurring in the *Qutadghu-bilik* and similar to those used by the Mongols were undoubtedly borrowed from the Uyghurs<sup>1</sup> both by the Qarakhanids and the Mongols. We shall see that under the Mongols the Christian and Buddhist Uyghurs were the most dangerous opponents of the Muslims. In Central Asia such rivalry must have existed even earlier, though positive evidence on this subject is lacking.

#### THE QARA-KHITAY<sup>2</sup>

In the beginning of the tenth century A.D., the Khitay, who are generally regarded as Tunguz with a certain admixture of Mongol elements<sup>3</sup>, founded a vast empire, stretching from the Pacific to Lake Baikal and the Tien-shan. The dynasty, which Chinese historians call Liao, resided in Northern China. Owing to its long sway over China the house of Liao was strongly influenced by Chinese culture. In 1125 another Tunguz people, the Jürchen, in alliance with the Southern-Chinese dynasty Sung, put an end to the domination of the Khitay. The remnants of the Khitay, headed by Ye-lü Ta-shih, a member of the royal family, migrated, to the West where they founded a new state.

<sup>1</sup> One branch of this Turkish people, which had settled down in the part of Eastern Turkestan bordering on China, had attained a considerable degree of culture about the fifth century A.D. [?]

<sup>2</sup> Very detailed information on the eastern empire of the Khitay is contained in Prof. V. P. Vasilyev's work, *History and antiquities of the Eastern part of Central Asia* (in Russian), SPb. 1857. Oppert, in his *Der Presbyter Johannes*, zweite Auflage, Berlin 1870, and Zarnke, in his *Fünf Abhandlungen über den Presbyter Johannes*, Leipzig 1874-5, have tried to survey the available reports on the Qara-Khitay empire. Mirkhond, the fifteenth century compiler, whose report is reproduced by Oppert, borrowed his information from Juvayni, a thirteenth century historian. The latter speaks of the Qara-Khitay with far more detail than the other Muslim writers, but his report contains many contradictions and must be used with great caution. I have used two MSS. of the Imperial Public Library — MS. IV, 2, 34, and MS. Khanikov 71. A French translation of Juvayni's chapter on the Qara-Khitay is given in the first volume of d'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols*, ed. 1834 and 1852, p 441 sq. *V.s.*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> [Nowadays, the language of the Khitay is taken to be a strongly palatalised Mongolian dialect. V. M.]

The movement of the Khitay followed two routes: part of them took the direction across Eastern Turkestan, but were defeated by Arslan-khan Ahmad of Kashghar, son of Tabghach-khan Hasan and grandson of Arslan-khan Sulaymān<sup>1</sup>. Ibn al-Athīr gives the year 522/1128 as the date of this battle in which the leader of the Khitay was killed. Actually it must have taken place several years later, for Sultan Sanjar's letter to the Baghdad government, written in July 1135, speaks of this battle as of a recent event<sup>2</sup>. The Chinese sources know only of this branch of the Khitay migration and connect with it the formation of the empire of the "Western Liao". It is therefore doubtful whether the founder of the Qara-Khitay state was actually identical with the Ye-lü Ta-shih of the Chinese sources.

All Muslim sources agree on the fact that the first Muslim ruler to submit to the Khitay was the khan of Balāsāghūn. According to Ibn al-Athīr<sup>3</sup>, part of the Khitay, numbering 10,000 tents, settled down in the Semirechyé already under Arslan-khan (probably Sulaymān). At first they were established on the frontier between China and the Qarakhanid possessions with the duty of defending the mountain passes. In return they received allotments of land and a regular salary. One day they stopped a rich caravan and requested the merchants to direct them to good grazing grounds. The merchants sent them towards Balāsāghūn, i.e. into the Semirechyé. We do not know the source of a sixteenth century compiler<sup>4</sup> according to whom this migration occurred in 433/1041-2. He adds that though Arslan-khan sum-

<sup>1</sup> Thus in Jamāl Qarshi. See *Turkestan*, p. 323, cf. above p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *ZVO*, X, 221.

<sup>3</sup> XI, 55-56.

<sup>4</sup> *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Mohammed Nerchakhy*, texte publié par Ch. Schéfer, Paris 1892, p. 234. The immigrants are said to have come from Tibet. The compilation mentioned, which Schéfer was unable to identify, is the *Tārīkh-i Haydari* by Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, who lived in Persia at the end of the sixteenth century. Until now this work has been known in a unique MS. in Berlin (Pertsch catalogue No. 418). On this MS. cf. Veliaminov-Zernov, *Research on the Kasimov tsars and princes* (in Russian), II, 271. The text published by Schéfer coincides literally with the corresponding chapters of the Berlin MS.

moned the newcomers to embrace Islam, they firmly refused to comply, but, as in everything else they fully submitted to the khan, the latter left them alone. Ibn al-Athīr only says that Arslan-khan often raided them, so that they held him in great fear. At the time of the invasion of the Semirechyé by the Khitay, the settlers joined their countrymen and together with them conquered Turkestan.

According to Juvayni, the Khitay, or Qara-Khitay (Black Khitay) as the Muslim writers call them, crossed the Qirghiz country and reached Emil where they built a town of which only faint traces remained in the thirteenth century. This suggests that they first settled in the region of present-day Chughuchaq. Here their number grew to 40,000 tents. The ruler of Balāsāghūn of the Qarakhanid dynasty (whose name is not given) invoked their aid against the Turkish tribes which were molesting him, namely the Qangli and the Qarluq. The Qara-Khitay occupied Balāsāghūn and, setting aside the weak ruler, founded their own state which stretched from the Yenisey to Talas. Then they conquered the QANGLI, brought into subjection Eastern Turkestan, in 531/1137 defeated near Khojand <sup>1</sup> Mahmud-khan, the ruler of Mawarannahr, and in 1141 completely routed the army of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar on the Qatvan steppe <sup>2</sup>. A special detachment was detailed to subdue Khwarazm.

Thus both the Semirechyé and Turkestan became part of the Qara-Khitay empire. The head of the empire bore the title of *gurkhan* (in Muslim interpretation "khan of khans"). Some European scholars following Grigoryev <sup>3</sup> have connected this title with the Turco-Mongol word *gūrkan* ("son-in-law"). As relatives of the Eastern Liao, the Qara-Khitay assumed such an appellation, which was later adopted by Timur and his successors. It is difficult to say how well-founded this view is and whether

<sup>1</sup> The most detailed account of the military operations in Mawarannahr and of the personality of the first gurkhan is in Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 55-57.

<sup>2</sup> To the North of Samarqand, between the "Stone bridge" and Yanī-qurghan.

<sup>3</sup> In his translation of Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Eastern or Chinese Turkestan, fasc. I, SPb. 1869, p. 398. [Grigoryev's explanation is untenable].

the difference between the two forms *gurkhan* and *gurkan* should be explained by the dialectal peculiarities of the Qara-Khitay language<sup>1</sup>. According to Ibn al-Athīr the first gurkhan professed the Manichæan religion; he was of handsome appearance, wore garments of Chinese silk and veiled his face, following the custom of the monarchs of his people. He enjoyed a great authority over his subjects and maintained strict discipline among his troops. It was strictly forbidden to plunder the country. When the Qara-Khitay occupied a town, they contented themselves with taking one dinar<sup>2</sup> from every house, which suggests that they had adopted the old Chinese system of taxation per house. However, rape committed by the soldiers, i.e. the violation of the family rights of the local population, was not punished. The gurkhan did not distribute fiefs among his subordinates and never, except on short expeditions, entrusted to anyone commands over more than 100 horsemen. Local rulers on submitting to the gurkhan wore a silver tablet on their belts as a sign of their vassalage. The number of such vassal rulers was considerable. As far as it is known, the territories under the direct administration of the gurkhans were only: the Qulja region, the southern part of the Semirechyé and the north-eastern part of the Sīr-Darya province. The gurkhan's headquarters were situated to the west of the Ili, on the banks of the Chu, probably not far from Balāsāghūn, and were called Khosun-ordu<sup>3</sup> (lit. "strong ordu"), or *Khoto* ("the house")<sup>4</sup>. Part of the Semirechyé to the north of the Ili belonged to the QARLUQ khans, whose capital was Qayalīq, situated on the plain somewhat to the west of Kopal<sup>5</sup>. The Qarakhanids continued to rule over Mawarannahr and Eastern Turkestan. In the state of the gurkhans, at least at the later stage, we find the same three degrees of vassalage as in

<sup>1</sup> [*Gür* is now considered to mean "general, universal"].

<sup>2</sup> The value of this gold coin was about 13 francs [or 9 shillings]. Cf. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte des Orients*, Wien 1875, v. I, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Report*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahān-nāma*, Paris MS., f. 204-6. On this thirteenth century work see *ZVO*, IX, 302-303.

<sup>5</sup> On the position of this town see Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruks Reise*, Berlin 1885, p. 44.

the history of the Mongol domination in Russia<sup>1</sup>: the Qarluq khan, like the ruler of Samargand, had to acquiesce in the presence of a permanent representative of the gurkhan; in the case of other rulers, as for instance the Khwarazmshah, only tax-collectors were periodically sent; others finally, like the head of the Bukhara clergy, who for a time had taken over the secular power, were given the right to collect themselves the taxes due to the Qara-Khitay<sup>2</sup>.

According to Ibn al-Athīr, the first gurkhan died in the beginning of 1143<sup>3</sup>. His daughter was set upon the throne, but she soon died. The power then passed to her mother, widow of the gurkhan, and to his son Muhammad. According to Chinese reports, the rule of the gurkhan Ye-lü i-lieh, son of the founder of the empire, and the regency of his mother, came before his sister's reign. This is confirmed by Juvayni, according to whom the gurkhan's daughter ruled the Qara-Khitay kingdom in the eleven-seventies. Ye-lü i-lieh ordered a census of his subjects whose number was found to be 84,500 families<sup>4</sup>. This figure seems to comprise only the nomad population of the territories under the gurkhan's direct rule. The Chinese call his sister P<sup>c</sup>u-su-wan (?), and a Muslim writer of the beginning of the thirteenth century<sup>5</sup> gives her the title of "khan of khans". According to Juvayni, her husband was the actual ruler during her reign, but the Chinese say that the queen killed her husband and began to live openly with her lover. A rising was fomented by the father of the murdered husband. When the mob surrounded the palace, the queen appeared before the people and under their eyes killed her lover, thus saving her life. In Juvayni's version, the gurkhan's widow was killed by the rebels together with her lover. The gurkhan's widow is probably named here by mistake for his daughter, whom Juvayni does not mention in his survey

<sup>1</sup> Solovyev, *History of Russia* (in Russian), ed. Obsch. Polza, book I, p. 1157 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 170.

<sup>3</sup> [See Marquart, *Ueber das Volkstum der Komanen*, 1914, p. 237.]

<sup>4</sup> Oppert, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux*, Paris 1886, pp. 21, 37. Schéfer's translation of this passage, as of many others, is faulty.

of the history of the Qara-Khitay, although in another passage he speaks of her reign. After the death of P<sup>c</sup>u-su-wan, the gurkhan Ye-lü i-lieh's second son, Ye-lü Chi-lu-ku (?), was set upon the throne. According to Juvayni, he killed his elder brother. In some Muslim sources the last gurkhan is called Mānī, in others Qūmān<sup>1</sup>.

The frequent periods of regency exercised by women, and especially the private life of the Mary Stuart of the Semirechyé, were bound to weaken the authority of the throne. Some Muslim reports suggest that several Qara-Khitay nobles nearly equalled the gurkhan in power. In such circumstances, it proved impossible to keep up for long the regime which distinguished the empire of the Qara-Khitay from the other nomad states, and which reflected the influence of the Chinese civilisation undergone by the Liao in their original home. Juvayni stresses the oppression of the Qara-Khitay tax-collectors "contrary to their former practice"; the arrogance of the gurkhan's envoys offended the vassal nobles, and generally speaking the domination of infidels shocked the feelings of the Muslims who possibly formed the majority of the empire's population. It is difficult to say to what religious creed the gurkhans belonged, and whether the first gurkhan was actually a Manichaeon, as Ibn al-Athīr asserts, or a Christian, as suggested by Oppert and Zarnke, who identify him with the "Prester John" of mediaeval European legends. There are no reliable data to support the latter supposition; even the statements of fifteenth century compilers that the daughter of the last gurkhan was a Christian are not confirmed by earlier sources. Islam suffered no persecutions, and Muslim authors extol the equity of the first gurkhans and their respect for Islam. Islam was only forced out of its dominant position to take its place alongside the other cults, which, for their part, took advantage of the new freedom to increase the number of their adherents. The Nestorian Patriarch Elias III (1176-1190) founded a metropoly in Kashghar. The local metropolitan bore the title of "Metropolitan of Kashghar and Navākat", which shows that the see of Kashghar controlled also the southern part

<sup>1</sup> ZVO, VIII, 27. [\*Fu-ma "son-in-law"? V. M.]



of the Semirechyé. The oldest Nestorian tombs in the Toqmaq and Pishpek cemeteries go back to the epoch of Qara-Khitay domination<sup>1</sup>. The Christian successes may have stirred up the religious fervour of the Muslims, which, in conjunction with the internal political conditions, provoked one of the most important Muslim movements in the history of Central Asia.

From the outset the gurkhan seems to have realised the danger and scope of this movement. It began with the revolt of the ruler of Khotan. The gurkhan immediately grew suspicious of his nearest Muslim vassal, Arslan-khan Qarluq, and requested him to send an auxiliary force. This move was intended to force him either to join openly in the revolt, or to taken part in the war against the Muslims. In the latter case, the gurkhan hoped to get rid of his dangerous vassal under some pretext. The khan complied with his sovereign's demand. He had a friend among the Qara-Khitay nobles, one Shamur-\*Tayangu, who warned him of the gurkhan's intentions, adding that if they came true, the gurkhan would exterminate the whole of his family; therefore, if he held dear the future of his descendants, he should forestall the gurkhan and take poison, thus making it possible for his son to inherit his throne. Seeing no alternative, Arslan-khan followed this advice, and Shamur-Tayangu actually succeeded in putting on the throne Arslan-khan's son, who was sent back to Qayaliq together with the gurkhan's representative<sup>2</sup>.

The Qara-Khitay government was at first completely successful in checking its rebellious Muslim vassals. The situation altered only when the eastern borders of the empire were invaded by bands of nomads ousted by Chingiz-khan from Mongolia. They were headed by Küchlük, son of the last of the khans of the NAYMAN, the most powerful Western-Mongolian tribe. According to one report, Küchlük, on his arrival in the Semirechyé (towards 1209), voluntarily gave himself up to the gurkhan. According to another report<sup>3</sup>, he was taken prisoner by the

<sup>1</sup> *ZVO*, VIII, 26, 29.

<sup>2</sup> As far as we know this typical anecdote in Juvayni [*GMS*, I, 56] has never yet been quoted by European scholars.

<sup>3</sup> Both traditions are quoted by Juvayni.

Qara-Khitay troops but succeeded in winning the gurkhan's favour. The latter gave him permission to gather the scattered forces of his tribe, and Küchlük took advantage of this favour to revolt against his benefactor. No credit can be attached to Juvayni's report about a treaty between Küchlük and the Khwarazmshah Muhammad, the most powerful among the rebel Muslim rulers: by virtue of this agreement Turkestan, the territory of Qulja and the Semirechyé were to go to whichever of them would first defeat the gurkhan. The historian Nasawi<sup>1</sup>, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Khwarazmian court and had had personal contact with one of Muhammad's envoys to Küchlük, says only that Küchlük concluded an alliance with Mamdu-khan Qarluq, son of Arslan-khan<sup>2</sup>, i.e. that he was aided by the Muslim rebels in the Semirechyé. Küchlük looted the gurkhan's treasure which was stored at Uzgand. At the same time (in 1210) the Khwarazmshah, in alliance with Othman, khan of Samarqand, fell upon the Qara-Khitay army on the plain of Ilamish near Talas. The outcome of the battle was indecisive, but as the Qara-Khitay commander-in-chief Tayangu-Taraz was taken prisoner, his army was compelled to retreat. The inhabitants of Balasaghun, fired by the success of Muslim arms, which rumour had exaggerated, and confident of the prompt arrival of the Khwarazmshah, closed the gates of the town before the Qara-Khitay. Mahmud-bay, a rich Muslim in the gurkhan's service, tried to persuade them to surrender, but in vain. After a sixteen days' siege the town was taken and plundered for three days, while forty seven thousand Muslims lost their lives. Thus the Khwarazmshah frustrated the hopes of the Semirechyé Muslims, doing no more than establish himself in Mawarannahr. Küchlük too was defeated by the Qara-Khitay near Balasaghun. The gurkhan's treasure was now in the hands of the Qara-Khitay army, and when the gurkhan demanded

<sup>1</sup> Nasawi's work was published in Arabic (*Publication de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, IIIe série, vol. IX, Paris 1891) and translated into French, *ibid.*, vol. X, Paris 1895, by the French Orientalist Houdas. [Text, p. 7, translation, p. 12].

<sup>2</sup> Nasawi, transl., pp. 12-13.

its restitution, the army revolted. Küchlük seized this opportunity to set himself at the head of the mutinous army and the gurkhan, abandoned by all, had to surrender to his enemy. Küchlük treated him with outward respect and allowed him to remain on the throne till his death, which occurred two years later. Meanwhile, the actual power was exercised by Küchlük himself.

All these events must have taken place in 1212. Somewhat earlier, in 1211, a Mongol detachment under the command of Khubilay-noyon, one of Chingiz-khan's generals, appeared in the northern part of the Semirechyé. Arslan-khan Qarluq (probably the son of the previously mentioned Arslan-khan and brother of Mamdu-khan) killed the Qara-Khitay governor of Qayaliq and proclaimed his loyalty to Chingiz-khan<sup>1</sup>. In the course of the Muslim movement a new state sprang up in the Qulja region. The Muslim Buzar<sup>2</sup>, formerly a chief of robbers and horse-thieves, became so powerful that he seized ALMALĪQ, the principal town of the region, where he took the title of Tughril-khan. He too recognized Chingiz-khan's suzerainty.

The success of the Mongols in the West was retarded by the war with China which began in 1211 and diverted their forces. This allowed Küchlük to establish his power on the ruins of the empire of the gurkhans. First of all he had to deal with the Muslim movement which, as we have seen, he had exploited to his own ends. From the religious point of view, Küchlük's sway was as distasteful to the Muslims as that of the gurkhans. Like the majority of the Naymans, Küchlük had been a Nestorian Christian, but later he married a noble Qara-Khitay lady, who formerly had been betrothed to the gurkhan<sup>3</sup>, and by her was converted to idolatry (i.e. probably to Buddhism). Moreover, the

<sup>1</sup> Rashīd al-dīn, transl. by Berezin, *Introduction* (in Russian), SPb. 1858, p. 132. *History of Chingiz-khan* (in Russian), *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arch. Obshch.*, part XV, p. 14. [On the Muslim movement see p. 106].

<sup>2</sup> Thus spelt by Jamāl Qarshi, who was closely associated with Buzar's descendants. Juvayni calls this khan Ozar, cf. *ZVO*, VIII, 28-29: the doubts concerning Ozar's being a Muslim are unfounded.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in Juvayni, [*GMS*, I, 48]. Jamāl Qarshi also calls Küchlük a Christian.

Khwarazmshah Muhammad, who led the Muslim movement, unjustly accused Küchlük of exploiting the Khwarazmian victories over the Qara-Khitay and of appropriating the spoils that should have gone to the Muslims. The embassies which the Khwarazmshah sent to Küchlük carried threats which, however, failed to materialise <sup>1</sup>. The Khwarazmshah had to leave to Küchlük the eastern part of the empire of the gurkhans and even to abandon his own possessions on the right bank of the Sïr-Darya <sup>2</sup>, after devastating them so that they should not benefit his rival.

Still less could Muhammad prevent Küchlük from establishing his power in Eastern Turkestan. Küchlük undertook no regular campaigns in that region, but for three or four consecutive years he raided it at harvest time, and finally the ruined population submitted to him. In view of the stubborn resistance of the Muslims, the conqueror took drastic measures against Islam. He summoned the Muslims to become either Christians or Buddhists, or at least outwardly renounce their faith and adopt Chinese dress. The better to attain his ends he had recourse to a measure similar to Louis XIV's *dragonnades*: Küchlük's soldiers were quartered on the Muslims and given a free hand to deal with the disobedient. Muslim public prayers and instruction were completely discontinued.

On the north-eastern frontier Küchlük succeeded in capturing Buzar during a hunting expedition. Having killed his enemy, Küchlük laid siege to Almaliq, but his plans were frustrated by the approach of the Mongols, whose westward movement was resumed in 1217. In 1218 a Mongol force of 20,000 men was sent against Küchlük, under the command of Jebe-noyon. Küchlük's army raised the siege of Almaliq and retreated. Jebe set up in Almaliq Suqnaq-tegin, son of Buzar. On setting foot in Küchlük's dominions the Mongol general proclaimed complete freedom of worship. This was enough to make the Muslims rise against the oppressor of their faith. Küchlük made a stand against the Mongols in a mountain pass in the Semirechyé, but was defeated

<sup>1</sup> Nasawi, transl., pp. 13-15, and Ibn al-Athîr, XII, 179, speak of these embassies.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception of some forts.

and fled to Kashgharia<sup>1</sup>. Balāsāghūn was occupied by the Mongols, apparently without any resistance, for they called the town *Gobaliq* "good town", a name reserved by them to towns which surrendered voluntarily<sup>2</sup>. In Kashgharia the Muslims massacred Küchlük's soldiers, who were quartered on them, and welcomed the Mongols as liberators. Thanks to the exceptional discipline of the Mongol army, the peaceful population suffered no harm. Küchlük fled to Sarīkol where he was overtaken by the Mongols and killed<sup>3</sup>.

#### THE MONGOLS, DOWN TO THE END OF THE CHAGHATAY KINGDOM<sup>4</sup>

We have seen that the Semirechyé, together with Eastern Turkestan, had voluntarily surrendered to the Mongols. Therefore, in contrast to China, Mawarannahr and Western Asia, it

<sup>1</sup> On this battle see Oppert, *o.c.*, p. 160 (founded on Plano Carpini).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ZVO*, VIII, 29-30. [Quz-baliq, or Ghuz-baliq?].

<sup>3</sup> In his report on these events Juvayni quotes the evidence of inhabitants of Kashgharia. Jamāl Qarshi also speaks of Küchlük's flight to Sarīkol. [Juvayni, I, 50, says that Küchlük was killed in Badakhshan. The name of Sarīkol is not in Jamāl, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, texts, p. 136.]

<sup>4</sup> The principal sources on the history of the Mongols are enumerated in the Preface to my *Report*. The best book on the subject remains d'Ohsson's work (see above p. 100). D'Ohsson deals mainly with the history of China and Persia and says little of the Central Asian Mongols. The latter are just as briefly mentioned in later works. Juvayni's chapter on Chaghatay and his successors has been published in the original and in French translation by Defrémery, *Journal Asiatique*, IVe série, t. XX. As for the contemporary Central Asian historical literature of that period, we possess, besides the already quoted work by Jamāl Qarshi (*v.s.*, p. 93), several extracts reproduced by fifteenth century authors, namely in the Introduction to Timur's history by Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī (omitted both in the French translation by Pétis de la Croix, and in the Calcutta edition of 1887-8), in the genealogical history of the Mongols, *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, composed anonymously in 1426 (I have used the Paris MS., Ancien Fonds Persan 67), in the work by Mūsawī, written in Persia towards 1414 (the MSS. are in London and Oxford; I have used a third MS. which was temporarily in the Asiatic Museum) and in the *History of the Four Ulus* by Ulugh-beg. This last work has come down to us only in its later abridged form, translated into English by Miles, *The Shajrat [sic] al-Atrāk*, London 1838. [In more detail, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 37-56.]

did not suffer from the Mongol invasion. Travellers <sup>1</sup> who visited the Semirechyé in the years following the coming of the Mongols, describe it as flourishing. One of these travellers was the Chinese minister YEH-LÜ CH<sup>c</sup>U-TS<sup>c</sup>AI who accompanied Chingiz-khan in 1219 on his western campaign. He mentions Almaliq with its dependencies consisting of eight or nine other towns. Fruit was plentiful everywhere; the inhabitants, like the Chinese, cultivated all five kinds of cereals. To the west of the Ili, on the road to Talas lay the capital of the Western Liao, the Hosun-ordu, under which were scores of other towns.

In 1220 WU-KU-SUN travelled to the West, as the Jürchen emperor's ambassador to Chingiz-khan. He reports that by that time there remained but few Qara-Khitays, and even these had adopted the dress and customs of the *Hui-h'o*. The Chinese applied this latter term sometimes to the Muslims, and sometimes to the Turks, especially the Uyghurs. Wu-ku-sun uses it probably in the former sense, for Islam found itself strengthened in the circumstances which accompanied the Mongol conquest. The Muslims of the Semirechyé were much more warlike than the other <sup>2</sup> representatives of local culture. Wu-ku-sun contrasts the greed and cruelty of the Muslim Hui-ho with the manners and customs of the Hui-ho who lived on the Ili. According to him, the latter were weak and gentle by nature, avoided taking life and strictly observed the fasts.

In 1221 Chingiz-khan invited the Chinese hermit CH<sup>c</sup>ANG-CH<sup>c</sup>UN, of the Tao sect, to come to Western Asia. Having crossed Uyghuria Ch<sup>c</sup>ang Ch<sup>c</sup>un arrived in the Qulja region. In Almaliq a representative of the Mongol power (*darughachi*) ruled alongside the local ruler. The peasants irrigated their fields by means of canals; "but the only method employed by the people for drawing water was to dip a pitcher and carry it on the head" <sup>3</sup>. Ch<sup>c</sup>ang Ch<sup>c</sup>un crossed the river Ili on 17 October in a

<sup>1</sup> On these travellers see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from Eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, I, 9-108, and *Memoirs [Trudi] by members of the Russian religious mission in Peking* (in Russian), t. IV.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Christians.

<sup>3</sup> [A. Waley, *The travels of an alchemist*, 1931, 86.]

boat, at a distance of four days journey from Almalīq (probably not far from the mouth of the Charīn). To the North of the mountains (Bogutī) and to the South of the river there was a small town. Here snow fell twelve inches deep, but it melted after the sun had risen. On 1 November the river Chu was crossed by a wooden bridge and the foot of the Alexandrovsky range was reached. In the country between the Chu and Talas, where the residence of the Western Liao had stood, the inhabitants, in addition to agriculture, were engaged in sericulture and vine-growing. The fruit grown there was the same as in China. Water was conveyed to the fields by means of channels. On his way back in 1223, Ch'ang Ch'un crossed the Ili at a distance of only 100 li (about 30 miles) from Almalīq. When he reached this town he was invited to Chaghatay's ordu, but did not accept the invitation, being in a hurry to return to his own country.

Ch'ang Ch'un's report shows that Chingiz-khan's sons had been allotted separate fiefs in their father's lifetime. The nomads looked upon the empire as the property of the whole of the khan's family, and each member had the right to a share in it. Therefore, Chingiz-khan gave each of his three eldest sons a separate appanage (*injū*) comprising a certain number of nomad hordes (*ulus*), bound to provide military detachments, and tracts of land (*yurt*) sufficient for their upkeep. The boundaries of the yurts were only vaguely defined. The first to receive his fief was the eldest son Juchi, to whom his father gave in 1207 the so-called "forest peoples" from the lower course of the Selenga up to the Irtish<sup>1</sup>. According to Rashid al-din the main *ordu* (camp) stood on the banks of the Irtish. Probably as a matter of custom, Chingiz-khan allotted to his eldest son the most distant part of his possessions, and he added to it by anticipation all the lands which would be conquered in the West. At the time of Chingiz-khan's death Juchi's yurt comprised the northern part of the Semirechye, all the present day Qirghiz [read: *Qazakh*] steppes, Khwarazm and even Mazandaran. Chaghatay's yurt stretched from Uyghuria to Samarqand and Bukhara, and from

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs [Trudi] of the Peking Mission*, IV, 132. [See above, p. 45].

the southern Altai to the Amu-Darya. Ögedey's main ordu stood in Tarbaghatay, on the banks of the Emil and the Qobuq; the boundaries of his yurt are not indicated<sup>1</sup>. Tuluy (Tuli), the youngest son, received no fief, for, according to the law of the steppe, he was the heir to his father's original yurt. Each of the three elder sons received 4,000 men of the regular Mongol troops. Moreover, they naturally had at their disposal considerable forces drawn from among the conquered peoples.

Thus, despite the vastness of the empire, the camps of Chingiz-khan's three eldest sons stood at first very close together. This is a sufficient illustration of the fact that in those days the fiefs were not the semi-independent states which they came to be later on. The lands allotted to individual members of the khan's family were only meant to serve as a source of income and remained subjected to the head of the empire. When cultivated lands were conquered, their revenue was not appropriated (*injü*) by any one prince, but was divided among them all<sup>2</sup>. The artisans of the conquered towns were also treated as a similar source of revenue: they were handed over to the princes who settled them where they wished and assigned special jobs to them<sup>3</sup>. The princes were forbidden to interfere with tax-collecting which was the task of the lieutenants whom the head of the empire put in charge of the sedentary population. Certainly, this organisation could not continue for any length of time, for the authority of the Great Khan's governors in outlying countries could not compete with the might of the local princes resting on military strength. Gradually the princes consolidated the power in their hands, and the empire broke up into several independent states.

During the reign of Chingiz-khan's successor ÖGEDEY (1229-1241), the unity of the empire was still intact, and the principle of

<sup>1</sup> The most detailed description of the division of the empire into fiefs is found in Juvayni [*GMS*, I, 31].

<sup>2</sup> A typical example is to be found in Iakinf, *History of the first four khans of the house of Chingiz* (in Russian), SPb. 1829, p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the report of Rubruquis on the German armourers belonging to prince Büri and settled by him in Talas. Later, after Büri's execution the Great Khan Mönke transferred them to the town of Pülād, in the Borotal valley, see Schmidt, *Ueber Rubruks Reise*, pp. 34, 40.



the joint domination of the family was maintained with the greatest consistency. When measures affecting the interests of the empire as a whole had to be worked out, the head of every ulus appointed his delegate. On military campaigns, a prince was delegated by each ulus. After the conquest of new regions, delegates of the prince were attached to the governor appointed by the Great Khan. Here we cannot go into the detail of the regulations, published with the assent of the members of the khan's family<sup>1</sup>, bearing chiefly on the establishing of the rates of assessment, the organisation of mail-services for the use of ambassadors and couriers, and the irrigation of waterless steppes (by means of wells) to increase the grazing area.

JUCHI's possessions were naturally the least closely linked with the empire. Juchi himself had manifested tendencies towards independence and his death alone prevented open war between him and his father. As already mentioned, Juchi's possessions included part of the Semirechyé. In 1246, when Plano Carpini visited this country, the camp (*ordu*) of Juchi's eldest son Orda still stood near Lake Alā-kul. The camp of his brother Shīban was further West, in the former Qara-Khitay country, perhaps also in the Semirechyé<sup>2</sup>.

Chingiz-khan's second son CHAGHATAY enjoyed a great authority in the whole empire, as the senior member of the family and as the guardian of the *yasa* (Mongol common law), a dignity to which he had been appointed by Chingiz-khan himself. His summer residence was Quyash (lit. "the sun") in the valley of the Ili river, near the high mountain Kök neighbouring on Al-maliq. In winter he lived in Maraurik (or Marauzik)-Īlā, also probably on the Ili. Near Quyash Chaghatay built the village which he called Qutlugh ("the happy one")<sup>3</sup>. From Ch'ang Ch'un's report we know that Chaghatay's *ordu* was on the southern bank of the Ili. The *ordu* of his successor, which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D'Ohsson, II, 63, and *Memoirs of the Peking Mission*, IV, 158-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Collection of travels among the Tatars* (in Russian), SPb. 1825. The editor, D. Yazikov, mistook the lake mentioned by Plano Carpini for Baykal.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Report*, p. 66.

Juvayni calls Ulugh-Īf ("the lofty house"?), stood probably at the same place. Jamāl Qarshi calls the region which formed the nucleus of Chaghatay's possessions Il-Alarghu<sup>1</sup>. The principal town was Almalīq.

The *yasa* gave often cause to frictions between Chaghatay and the Muslim population of Central Asia. Like all Shamanists, the Mongols were very tolerant in matters of religion and respected equally the clergy of all denominations. The latter, with the exception of rabbis, were exempted from taxes and various services. The fact that it proved impossible to preserve religious peace, founded upon a perfect equality of all the creeds professed within the empire, was due to the rivalry between the representatives of different religions, who, in their mutual hostility, tried to win over the Mongol khans by casting aspersions on their rivals. With a few exceptions only the Muslims (principally the Tajiks) and the Uyghurs, among the representatives of the civilised nations, took part in the administration outside their own countries and exerted some influence over the khans. The Uyghurs, who were partly Christians and partly Buddhists, were the fiercest enemies of the Muslims<sup>2</sup>. Religious antagonism and political rivalry between the different religious and cultural communities were particularly violent in Central Asia where the parties were practically of equal strength. At that time Islam was not the paramount religion in the country to the East of the Qulja region<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, many non-Muslims lived in the Muslim provinces, including also the Semirechyé. The cemeteries of Pishpek and Toqmaq bear witness to the existence of Nestorian villages in the Chu valley. In the northern part of the Semirechyé, at a distance of 3 French leagues (8 miles) to the north of Qayalīq, Rubruquis visited in 1253 a village in which all the inhabitants were Nestorians who had a church of their own<sup>4</sup>. Finally, in the fourteenth century there still existed on the shores of the Issik-kul, in the village of the

<sup>1</sup> The adjective *Il-Alarghavī* is also sometimes used.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Radloff, *On the question of the Uyghurs* (in Russian), p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Memoirs of the Peking Mission*, IV, 303.

<sup>4</sup> *Ueber Rubruks Reise*, p. 45.

same name, an Armenian monastery where, according to tradition, the relics of the Apostle Matthew were preserved<sup>1</sup>.

Chaghatay protected the Christians. Marco Polo<sup>2</sup> even quotes a legend according to which Chaghatay had himself become a Christian. On the other hand, the Muslims aroused his displeasure because some of the commandments of the Sharī'at were incompatible with the laws of the *yasa*. Thus the prohibition for Mongols to enter running water hindered Muslim ablutions. Similarly Mongol law forbade the slaughter of animals by cutting the throat. For this reason, Muslim authors ascribe to Chaghatay a great hate for Islam and the Muslims. In a poem on Chaghatay's death<sup>3</sup> it is said: "He, for fear of whom none dared enter the water, was drowned in the vast ocean (of death)". A contemporary<sup>4</sup> asserts that under Chaghatay none dared pronounce the name of a Muslim without accompanying it with some invective. According to another later author<sup>5</sup>, Chaghatay gave a *balish* of gold (i.e. 500 dinars, about £ 200) to whoever brought him the news of the execution of a Muslim. It was on Chaghatay's orders that the famous Muslim scholar Abū Ya'qūb Sakkākī was put to death in 626/1229<sup>6</sup>.

We know, however, that there were Muslims among Chaghatay's closest intimates. The most influential of these was Qutb al-din ḤABASH-<sup>c</sup>AMĪD, who probably belonged to that class of wealthy Muslim merchants which played an important part in the Mongol empire. The historian Waṣṣāf extols his great wealth. Even members of ruling dynasties contracted family ties with him<sup>7</sup>. According to Juvayni, the Mongols themselves gave him in

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1875, I, 191. *Marco Polo* (in Russian), SPb. 1873, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Juvayni.

<sup>4</sup> Jūzjānī (Raverty, *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri*, p. 1146).

<sup>5</sup> Isfizārī, author of the history of Herat written in the fifteenth century. I am using the MS. of the Asiatic Museum 574 agh.

<sup>6</sup> His tomb on the banks of the Tekes could still be seen in the sixteenth century. Cf. *Report*, pp. 71-72. The date of his death is given in Jamāl Qarshi.

<sup>7</sup> Qutb al-dīn of Kirman gave his sister in marriage to him, see Waṣṣāf.

marriage the daughter of the Khwarazmshah Muhammad, whose other daughter was married to Chaghatay. The Muslim clergy were dissatisfied with Ḥabash-<sup>c</sup>Amīd's government. The famous sūfī Sayf al-din Bākharzī, in a letter in verse addressed to the powerful minister <sup>1</sup> openly disapproved of the preference shown to inexperienced youths over old men famed for their learning and sanctity of life, and in general of the interference of the secular power in the affairs of the clergy: "when the palace becomes the *minbar* (the imam's pulpit), it is better there were no *minbars* at all".

Towards the end of Chaghatay's reign a certain Chinese became prominent at his court. He had started in the service of Chaghatay's Chinese physician, and later had worked as a shepherd for the Mongol dignitary Khoshuq-noyon. While in his service he had the occasion to demonstrate his thorough knowledge of Chingiz-khan's campaigns of which he had made a detailed record. Chaghatay, who greatly valued this kind of knowledge, attached him to his court. Noting his importance at Chaghatay's court, Ögedey gave him the name of Vazīr. Vazīr was short of stature and ill-favoured but possessed of exceptional courage, intelligence and eloquence. He was the most outspoken man in the council. On one occasion he shouted at Chaghatay's wife: "you are a woman; you have no say in this business". Another time he, on his own initiative, put to death Chaghatay's sister-in-law. To his master's reproaches he replied: "Should your sister-in-law be allowed to behave unworthily and disgrace the khan's wives?" and Chaghatay had to yield to this argument. The views of his contemporaries on his government are echoed in the words which he is supposed to have said to Chaghatay: "for your sake I have kept not a single friend, and when you are gone none will take pity on me" <sup>2</sup>.

Ögedey died in December 1241, and Chaghatay survived him

<sup>1</sup> It is quoted in the anthology *Butkhāna*, a copy of which is in the Bodleian Library (Cod. Elliot 32). [This text and the others quoted in the present survey have been published in Barthold, *Turkestan*, texts (Russian edition)].

<sup>2</sup> Rashid al-dīn. [Ed. Blochet, 193-7].

only by a few months <sup>1</sup>. Ögedey was far too much addicted to pleasure, but he was generous and humane, and knew how to mitigate his brother's rigid sternness and how to thwart the intrigues of the dignitaries seeking to ruin one another. His successors were completely overwhelmed by these intrigues. A series of abominable trials and executions began which made "going to the ordu" equivalent to going to a painful death. One cannot lay the blame for these horrors at the door of the barbarian Mongols. Historical evidence shows <sup>2</sup> that nearly all these trials were provoked by the intrigues of representatives of cultured nations. Often the Mongols only delivered the condemned man to his accusers, in which case he fared no better than those whom the Mongols tortured to death themselves.

With Ögedey's consent Chaghatay had appointed his grandson KHARA-HULAGU to be his successor and Chaghatay's wife Yesülün and Ḥabash-<sup>c</sup>Amīd proclaimed this prince head of the Chaghatay ulus. Thus Ḥabash-<sup>c</sup>Amīd retained his important position during the new reign which began with the execution of the physicians who had unsuccessfully treated Chaghatay, namely Vazīr and the Muslim Majd al-din. The Uyghur Kūrküz, a Buddhist, who for a long time had governed the Mongol possessions in Persia, was also executed in Khara-Hulagu's ordu for speaking disrespectfully of the queen Yesülün.

The throne of the Great Khan (*qaan*) remained vacant till 1246 when the *quriltay* (the diet of Princes) was assembled, at which Ögedey's eldest son GÜYÜK was proclaimed qaan. During the short reign of Güyük (1246-1248) who had received a Christian education and was as hostile to Islam as Chaghatay, the Christian had the upper hand throughout the empire. On Güyük's orders, Khara-Hulagu was deposed in the Chaghatay ulus and YESÜ-MÖNKE, son of Chaghatay and a personal friend of the qaan, was set upon the throne. According to Rashid al-din, Yesü-Mönke was so addicted to drink that he was unable to attend to

<sup>1</sup> According to Jamāl Qarshi he died in 642/1244-5.

<sup>2</sup> Similar conclusions with regard to Mongol domination in Russia were arrived at by S. M. Solovyev, *History of Russia*, ed. *Obshch. Polza*, book I, p. 833.

the affairs of his own ordu, let alone the administration of the state. The accession of the new khan brought about the fall of Habash-Amid, and all affairs were now run by Yesü-Mönke's wife, Tugashi.

During Chaghatay's lifetime, Habash-Amid had attached a son of his to each of the khan's sons with the evident intention to secure the power for himself and his family. To Yesü-Mönke he had attached his adopted son Bahā al-din Marghinānī, whose father was the hereditary Shaykh al-Islam of Farghāna and whose mother descended from the Qarakhanids. Yesü-Mönke, who hated Habash-Amid as Khara-Hulagu's adherent, appointed Bahā al-din in his stead. The latter accepted the appointment but did his best to mitigate the khan's animosity towards Habash-Amid and saved his life. Juvayni who personally met Bahā al-din says that he united in his person both secular and spiritual knowledge, that his house was the centre of all the outstanding scholars who had survived, and that in his time Muslim scholarship recovered its importance<sup>1</sup>.

BATU, Juchi's son and successor in the ulus, declined to swear allegiance to Güyük. In the spring of 1248, Güyük set out against him with a large army. To conceal his real intention the qaan gave out that he was proceeding to his native ordu on the banks of the Emil to restore his shattered health. Warned of Güyük's real intentions Batu in his turn set out towards the East with a numerous army, but on reaching Ala-qamāq, at seven days' distance from Qayaliq<sup>2</sup> he received the news of the qaan's death. Batu halted in Ala-qamāq, and as the senior member of the family, summoned all the other princes to discuss the question of succession. All agreed to abide by Batu's decision, and his choice fell upon MÖNKE, the eldest son of Tuluy. This provoked energetic protests from Ögedey's grandsons who considered themselves cheated of their rights. The majority of the Chaghatay princes, including Yesü-Mönke, sided with them. Only in 1251 was a quriltay assembled in Qaraqorum where Mönke's accession was solemnly celebrated. Ögedey's descendants with their ad-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Defrémery, *o.c.*, in *Journal Asiatique*, pp. 401-405. [Juvayni, I, 232].

<sup>2</sup> In the southern part of the Semirechyé, near the Ala-tau mountains.

herents arrived at the quriltay fully armed, intending to raise a revolt in their favour. Their conspiracy was discovered; the guilty men were arrested without resistance, and seventy-seven dignitaries were executed. The princes were sent to remote provinces where some of them were later secretly put to death. Yesü was still in his ordu. Emissaries from the qaan presented him with the demand that he, if not a party to the conspiracy, should appear in the qaan's camp and take the oath of allegiance. According to Jamāl Qarshi, Khara-Hulagu, who from the outset had sided with Mönke, brought his influence to bear on his brother Büri, who commanded the army of the Chaghatay ulus, to visit Mönke. When Tughashi and Büri arrived in the latter's camp, they were immediately arrested. Tughashi was delivered to Khara-Hulagu who, in the presence of her husband, tried her and condemned her to be trampled to death by horses. Yesü and Büri were sent to Batu's ordu, and Batu executed his old enemy Büri, but let Yesü go. Later Yesü fell victim to the vengeance of \*Orqina, the widow of Khara-Hulagu<sup>1</sup>. Mönke restored the latter in the Chaghatay ulus, but he died on the way back. The fall of Yesü-Mönke brought about the reinstatement of Habash-Amid. Khara-Hulagu delivered to him Bahā al-din with his whole family and property, and Habash-Amid barbarously executed his rival.

To complete the destruction of his enemies, Mönke sent a numerous army to the West to occupy the region between Qaraqorum and Bishbalıq and to establish a link with the forces of the Juchids, which had taken up position between Qayalıq and Otrar, under the command of Qung-qıran (or Qung-quran), son and successor of Orda. All the military chiefs of the Chaghatay ulus suspected of sympathising with the conspirators were put to death.

Thus the unity of the empire was preserved at the price of destroying two of the uluses, and to the domination of the khan's family as a whole, as it had been under Ögedey, a diarchy was substituted. Batu, as the senior member of the family and the

<sup>1</sup> Such details of these events as are not mentioned by d'Ohsson, II, 257-271, have been taken from Juvayni [II, 229-32].

principal author of Mönke's accession, enjoyed an equal importance with the qaan. Mönke himself said to Rubruquis: "as the sun spreads its rays everywhere, so mine and Batu's power spreads over all countries" <sup>1</sup>. To describe the complete understanding between himself and Batu, the qaan used the following comparison: "there are two eyes in one head, but though they are two, their sight is one, and whither one of them directs its gaze, the other does the same" <sup>2</sup>. The boundary between the "spheres of influence" of the qaan and Batu passed somewhat to the east of Talas. Rubruquis gathered the impression that there was less respect shown to the qaan's representatives in Batu's possession, than *vice versa* <sup>3</sup>. The Semirechyé was included in the qaan's sphere and the immediate administration of the Chaghatay ulus was confided to Khara-Hulagu's widow ORQİNA <sup>4</sup>, under whom Habash-Amid and his son Nasir al-din became pre-eminent. According to Wassaf <sup>5</sup>, Orqina was a Buddhist, though she accorded every protection to Islam; on the other hand Jamāl Qarshi calls her a Muslim. In 1254 she entertained in Almaliq the qaan's brother Hulagu who had been sent with an army to conquer Western Asia. Hulagu's army slowly crossed the Semirechyé and only in the autumn of 1255 reached Samarqand.

RUBRUQUIS, who passed through the Semirechyé in November 1253, gives some information on the state of that country in Mönke's reign <sup>6</sup>. After crossing the Ili he saw a ruined fort with clay walls. Near the ruins were ploughed fields. A little further on there was an important town to which Rubruquis gives the Latin name of Equius [*\*Iki-öküz* "two rivers"] and which was inhabited by Persian-speaking Muslims. It was probably identical with Ilibaliq often mentioned in Chinese sources. The Armenian king Haythou who visited the town in the beginning of 1255 calls

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil de voyages*, publié par la Société de Géographie, Paris 1839, IV, 307.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Ueber Rubruks Reise*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> [Barthold spells: *Ergene*(?). V. M.].

<sup>5</sup> Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte Wassafs*, Band I, Wien 1856, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Ueber Rubruks Reise*, pp. 42-45.



it Ilan-balekh <sup>1</sup>. On the next day, after crossing a small mountain range Rubruquis entered a magnificent valley, watered by numerous rivers, which flowed out of the mountains and emptied into Lake Balkhash. Here stood the large town of Cailac (Qayaliq) where lived many merchants. Formerly there had been many towns in this valley but by that time most of them had been destroyed by the Tatars attracted by the excellent grazing grounds.

Rubruquis's report bears witness to a certain decadence of agriculture and to the conversion of ploughed land into pastures. The fact that the Mongol nomads occupied northern Semirechyé is confirmed by Juvayni who states that qaan Mönke gave to the son of Arslan-khan Qarluq Uzgand (and not Qayaliq which was the original home of this family).

The part of the Semirechyé between the Ili and the Chu is described by the Chinese CHANG-TÊ who passed through this region in 1259 as the qaan's ambassador to Hulagu. This region which he calls I-tu, had a numerous population, but one could see in it many remains of earth ramparts and other ruins <sup>2</sup>. This again points to the process which gradually led to the disappearance of agriculture in the Semirechyé. The main explanation of this phenomenon lies in the excellence of the pastures which had always attracted the nomads to the Semirechyé. The cultivation of the land was resumed only in the nineteenth century by Sart and Russian colonists.

Mönke died in 1259 during his campaign against China. His two brothers sought his succession and in 1260, for the first time in the history of the Mongol empire, both candidates were simultaneously proclaimed qaan: the army stationed in China swore allegiance to KHUBILAY, while the younger brother, ARİQ-BÖGE proclaimed himself qaan in Qaraqorum. Orqina, head of the Chaghatay ulus, sided with Arıq-böge. To stir up a revolt in his own favour, Khubilay sent prince Abishqa, son of Büri, into the Chaghatay possessions, but on the way there the prince was captured and killed by Arıq-böge's partisans. Taking a leaf out

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, I, 129.

of his brother's book, Ariq-böge too sent to the west Alghuy, a grandson of Chaghatay and son of Baydar. According to Rashid al-din, Alghuy's mission was to organise the supply of corn from Turkestan to Mongolia, for Khubilay had cut off the supplies from China and the capital was beginning to feel the pinch.

ALGHUY acted in Turkestan with great energy, but not in Ariq-böge's interests. He won over to his side the members of the Chaghatay clan and their adherents. Sulayman-beg, son of Habash-Amid, entered his service<sup>1</sup>. Orqina withdrew to join ARIQ-BÖGE. Alghuy expelled the Juchid governors from the western part of the Chaghatay possessions and spread his sway even over regions which had never been under the house of Chaghatays, as for instance Khwarazm and northern Afghanistan. Soon he was in open war with Ariq-böge, who after having been ousted from Mongolia by Khubilay's army, had retreated to the banks of the Yenisey. Khubilay's further successes were held up by disturbances in China, and thus Ariq-böge was able to turn against Alghuy. In 1262 Alghuy defeated Ariq-böge's vanguard near Lake Sayram, but in the spring of 1263 he himself was defeated in the Ili valley and sought safety in Eastern Turkestan. Ariq-böge's army went into winter quarters in the Qulja region. The Semirechyé too must have been occupied, for Orqina who had accompanied Ariq-böge was able to spend the summer of 1263 in the mountains near Atbash<sup>2</sup>.

Ariq-böge's troops seized so much corn in the fertile Ili valley that throughout the winter the horses were fed on it. Such pillage caused a terrible famine in the country, and in the long run proved disastrous to the army, for in the spring of 1264 the horses, accustomed to corn, sickened and died from green fodder. In these circumstances Ariq-böge was abandoned by most of his generals who disliked him for his cruelty. On learning that Alghuy was marching against him, Ariq-böge left to make submission to Khubilay, and in the meantime sent Orqina to Alghuy whom she finally agreed to marry.

<sup>1</sup> Jamāl Qarshi says that Habash-Amid died in 1260, at the very beginning of Alghuy's reign.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, p. 45.

Khubilay was recognised as qaan of the whole empire, but only in name. HULAGU in Persia, ALGHUY in Central Asia and BERKE (Batu's brother) in the Juchid possessions, were practically independent rulers. The first two were at war with Berke, while the latter had an ally in Central Asia in the person of Khaydu, Ügedey's grandson.

Judging by the result of his activities, and by what the Muslim authors have to say about his personality, KHAYDU must have been one of the most remarkable Mongol rulers, but unfortunately our information on his life and reign is scanty. According to Jamāl Qarshi, he was born about 1235. His father Khashi died from excessive drinking in his youth, even before the birth of his son who was brought up in the qaan's ordu. On his mother's side he was descended from the Bekrin (Mekrin), a tribe of mountaineers of unknown origin. Rashid al-din<sup>1</sup> says of the Bekrin that they were "neither Mongols, nor Uyghurs". In outward appearance Khaydu was a true Mongol: Rashid al-din avers that there were only nine hairs in his beard.

During the troubled years between 1260 and 1264, Khaydu was with Ariq-böge's army. When the latter joined Khubilay, Khaydu did not follow suit but remained in Central Asia. In his opinion he had a better claim to the throne than Khubilay, on the strength of the Mongol legend according to which Chingiz-khan had enjoined his descendants to allow no one else to mount the throne, so long as a descendant of Ögedey was still alive. Khaydu had none of his grandfather's military forces at his disposal<sup>2</sup> and had to create one out of nothing. In this he succeeded so well that the courage and discipline of his army become proverbial<sup>3</sup>. In addition to his military genius, Khaydu was an able administrator and quick at taking the best advantage of circumstances. He did not sacrifice to the army the interests of the population whose prosperity reached a high standard during his reign. It is noteworthy that this son and grandson of drunkards was perhaps the only Chingizid who never touched wine or koumiss ("mare's milk fermented").

<sup>1</sup> Transl. by Berezin, *Introduction*, p. 129. [Text, p. 166].

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *History of Chingiz-khan*, II, 146.

<sup>3</sup> Hammer-Purgstall, *Wassaf*, p. 127.

Khaydu began by winning over his mother's tribe, the Bekrin, who were reputed as particularly useful in mountain warfare. Next he took advantage of the war between Alghuy and Berke to offer his services to the latter. Berke took counsel with his astrologers who foretold a great future for Khaydu. With the aid of the Juchids, Khaydu carved out a small fief for himself and defeated one of Alghuy's detachments. A large army was then sent against him and defeated him in the ensuing battle<sup>1</sup>, but he was saved by Alghuy's death.

Alghuy died at the end of 1265, or the beginning of 1266, and in March 1266<sup>2</sup>, MUBĀRAK-SHAH, son of Khara-Hulagu and Orqina, was proclaimed khan of the Chaghatays in Āhangarān<sup>3</sup>. He was the first of Chaghatay's descendants to become a Muslim. Thus for the first time a Mongol ruler ascended the throne without being nominated by the qaan. Khubilay could not assent to such issue and sent to Turkestan another Chaghatay prince, BORAQ, Mubārak-shah's first cousin. At first Boraq concealed the *yarliq* which he had received from Khubilay, and appeared in Central Asia in the guise of one seeking refuge. He asked for permission to gather his people, and with Mubārak-shah's consent he and his brother betook themselves to their family yurt in the Surkhān valley. Boraq gradually won over the Mongol troops which were in constant conflict with the local population, with which Mubārak-shah had invariably sided. In September 1266 Mubārak-shah was defeated and taken prisoner near Khojand, after which Boraq<sup>4</sup> proclaimed himself khan in Uzgand and seized the treasure of Alghuy and \*Orqina. The qaan, realising that Boraq was no longer his obedient tool, sent an army against him but Boraq was equally successful in his operations against this force in Eastern Turkestan<sup>5</sup>.

Khaydu took advantage of these troubles to seize the Semi-

<sup>1</sup> Mirkhond alone reports these events (I am using the Tehran lithographed edition).

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to Jamāl Qarshi. Both in Rashid al-din and Wassaf the chronology is confused and faulty.

<sup>3</sup> ["Angren", near Tashkent.]

<sup>4</sup> Hammer-Purgstall, Wassāf, p. 126. [Better: *Baraq*].

<sup>5</sup> Described by Rashid al-din.

rechyé and the eastern part of the Sîr-Darya province. He clashed with Boraq and protected the population from being pillaged by Boraq's soldiers acting with their master's consent. According to one report, quoted by Rashid al-din, in 1268 Khaydu defeated his rival on the Sîr-Darya with the help of Mangutimur, chief of the Juchids. He did not pursue Boraq but made him an offer to attend the quriltay in the following spring and settle the matter peacefully. In the spring of 1269 the first quriltay in Central Asia assembled on the banks of the Talas, and, under the leadership of Khaydu, an agreement was reached between the Central Asian Mongol rulers. Khaydu and Boraq hailed each other as *anda* — a term pointing to the closest friendship. Boraq's *yaylaq* and *qishlaq* (summer and winter camping grounds) were strictly defined. In general the princes pledged themselves to live in the mountains and on the steppes, to keep their horses out of the cultivated fields, and not to exact from the population anything beyond the legal taxes and the revenues accruing from the craftsmen whom they owned<sup>1</sup>.

In this way, a separate Mongol state came into being in Central Asia and special measures were taken to protect the population. There is no direct information as to the place where Khaydu resided, but the fact that he was buried between the Chu and the Ili suggests that his *ordu* stood in the Semirechyé. Muslim authors praise Khaydu's justice and the protection he gave to Islam. Wassâf<sup>2</sup> notes with astonishment that Khaydu, even though he possessed an excellent army, never undertook expeditions of conquest and contented himself with protecting his own possessions against the claims of the other three Mongol states. In this struggle he was successful, especially after he had restored order in his own dominions which had been suffering from the feuds among the Chaghatay princes. After the quriltay of 1269 Boraq did not mend his ways, but the disturbances which broke out after his death in 1271 were still more baneful for the population.

The first Chaghatay princes whom Khaydu set over their ulus

<sup>1</sup> Cf. d'Ohsson, III, 430-1.

<sup>2</sup> Wassâf, p. 128.

were unable to cope with the situation. Order was restored only after Khaydu's choice fell in 1282<sup>1</sup> on the gifted TUVa (or Duva), son of Boraq<sup>2</sup>. As long as Khaydu's reign lasted, Tuva remained his faithful ally and took part in his wars with the other Mongol states. The encounters with Khubilai's troops usually occurred in Mongolia. More important for the Semi-rechyé were the clashes with Juchi's *ulus*, principally with its eastern branch headed by Orda's great-grandson BAYAN. The khans of this so-called "White Horde" ("Blue", according to other sources) were entirely independent, and did not attend the quriltays of the khans of the Golden Horde, although nominally they recognised themselves as their vassals. Bayan's second cousin KÜYLÜK rebelled against him and expelled him with the aid of Khaydu and Tuva. Bayan sought the help of the head of the Juchids, TOKHTA (1290-1312). The latter could give him no active help as he was himself engaged in a war against the rebel general NOGHAY. He only gave Bayan a *yarliq* for Orda's *ulus* and sent envoys to Khaydu and Tuva requesting them to surrender Küylük, which demand they rejected. In the fourteenth century Bayan was still at war with Küylük and the allied armies of Khaydu and Tuva. Down to the first years of the fourteenth century they had fought eighteen battles<sup>3</sup>. Towards the very end of the thirteenth century envoys arrived in China at the court of Khubilai's successor TIMUR-qaan, to propose of coalition against Khaydu and Tuva. It was suggested that armies should be moved against them simultaneously: by Tokhta and Bayan from the north-west, by Ghazan-khan, ruler of Persia, from the south-west, by the ruler of Badakhshan from the south-east and by the Chinese Emperor from the east. On his mother's advice, Timur gave the envoys an evasive answer<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Thus according to Jamāl Qarshi (A.H. 681). This is confirmed by Rashid al-din and Wassāf (cf. d'Ohsson, III, 458) who say that Bukhara, ruined in A.H. 674, was restored *seven* years later.

<sup>2</sup> *Tuva*, according to the spelling in Wassāf and in a Mongol letter, on which cf. d'Ohsson, IV, 588.

<sup>3</sup> These events are reported by Rashid al-din in his survey of the Juchid genealogy. [Ed. Blochet, 96].

<sup>4</sup> Cf. d'Ohsson, II, 515. [Rashid, ed. Blochet, p. 611].

Following the example of Chingiz, Khaydu formed separate military divisions under the command of his sons. In the last years of his life he entrusted to them the defence of the marches of his kingdom. URUS was in command on the Chinese frontier, BAY-KECHER on the border of the Juchid possessions, and SARBAN in Afghanistan, from whence the troops of Khaydu and Tuva had gradually dislodged the forces of the Hulagids. We know nothing on the activities during Khaydu's lifetime of his eldest son and successor Chapar. Khaydu's daughter, KHUTULUN-CHAGHA, lived in the Chu valley where at that time there were still many settlements <sup>1</sup>. After her father's death, she became the custodian of his tomb. This courageous and energetic young woman personally took part in her father's expeditions and did not wish to marry. Finally the rumour spread among the people that Khaydu's love for her was more than paternal and therefore he did not wish to give her away in marriage. Then Khaydu told her to choose herself a husband. Previously the princess had promised the Persian king Ghazan to marry no one but him, but now she gave her hand to her father's chief butler, a man of Chinese origin <sup>2</sup>.

Reports on Khaydu's death are contradictory. According to Rashid al-din, news was received in Persia in the spring of 1303 that, a short time previously Khaydu's and Tuva's army had been defeated by the qaan's troops, and that Khaydu had been killed in battle and Tuva severely wounded, which left him an invalid. On the other hand, Jamāl Qarshi, the Central Asian contemporary of these events, says that Khaydu died in the autumn of 1301. Therefore the news from the eastern part of Central Asia must have taken a year and a half to reach Persia. This fact alone gives the measure of reliability of the details in Rashid al-din's story. Wassāf <sup>3</sup> gives a different version of Khaydu's death: it was Khaydu who defeated the qaan's army, but later he fell ill and entrusted to his son Urus the task of taking the

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Rashid al-din. [Ed. E. Blochet, p. 12, has only *shakhs-i Khitā'i*: "a man from Northern China". V. M.]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. d'Ohsson, II, 516 sq. [Ed. Bombay, p. 450].

army to some quarters where it could find sufficient water and fodder for the horses. During this march Khaydu died. Tuva, Khaydu's chief companion at arms, was now in authority, and according to Wassāf Khaydu had enjoined Urus to obey him in all things. After having assembled the princes around Khaydu's coffin, Tuva persuaded them to recognise as their sovereign the absent CHAPAR, Khaydu's eldest son. Khaydu's body was taken to the family yurt and buried on the high mountain Shivliq, between the Chu and the Ili <sup>1</sup>. Chapar took the name of Khaydu. According to Jamāl Qarshi, his accession to the throne was solemnly celebrated in Emil in the spring of 1303. The delay was probably caused by the fact that an important faction, to which Khutulun belonged, wished to set Urus upon the throne. During the first years of the fourteenth century, rumours circulated in Persia to the effect that the dissensions between Khaydu's sons had degenerated into an armed struggle.

We know little of Chapar's personality. Rashid al-din says that in his outward appearance he resembled a Russian or a Cherkes. He seems to have been entirely under the influence of Tuva, whose vigorous action belies Rashid al-din's report about his supposed incurable infirmity. Jamāl Qarshi describes Tuva as the mainstay of Chapar's power. The situation in the kingdom, weakened by the disturbances following Khaydu's death, was much strained. Tokhta reiterated his demands for Küylük's extradition, and on meeting with a refusal, sent two *tumans* (20,000 men) to help BAYAN. In the beginning of February 1303, Bayan's envoys <sup>2</sup> came to Baghdad and explained that their master intended to move against Chapar and Tuva in the same year, in order to join up with the qaan's army. To prevent such a juncture, Khaydu, in his time, had detailed his sons Bay-kecher and Shah, together with Tuda-Timur, Mönke qaan's grandson, and Malik-Timur, son of Ariq-böge. According to the envoys, part of Orda's ulus was still held by Bayan and not by Küylük, but incessant wars had weakened Bayan's army and not all of his soldiers had horses. These campaigns must have displaced the centre of Orda's ulus from Northern Semirechyé, where it was

<sup>1</sup> *Réport*, p. 38.      <sup>2</sup> According to Rashīd.



situated in the middle of the thirteenth century, to the lower course of the Sîr-Darya.

During the same years, on Tuva's initiative, the idea was taken up of restoring the unity of the Mongol empire in the form of a federation, the only possible plan under the circumstances. The heads of the separate states would undertake to live at peace with each other under the nominal suzerainty of the qaan; trade would be absolutely free within the whole area of the empire. The plan was first submitted to the qaan who gave his unqualified approval. In August 1304<sup>1</sup> the qaan's envoys arrived in Persia, together with those of Chapar and Tuva. Here too, as at the Juchid court, Tuva's plan met with no objections. The treaty was concluded but remained a dead letter in view of happenings in Central Asia<sup>2</sup>.

In 1305 Chapar's army clashed in Mawarannahr with some Chaghatay princes, who were defeated. Tuva sent envoys to Chapar to apologise for the "giddy youths" responsible for this unfortunate occurrence, and to suggest an arbitration for the settling of all disputes. The suggestion was accepted, and both sides appointed arbitrators bound to assemble in Tashkent. The truce was, however, broken by the rebel princes (including both Chaghatay's and Ögedey's descendants) who at Choqbalîq attacked the troops of Chapar's brother SHAH. When the latter saw how numerous were the enemy forces, he decided to cut his way through their ranks and attack them from the rear. At this point, his army was suddenly assailed from another quarter by Tuva's generals who were at their winter quarters in the valley of the Arpa in southern Semirechyé. Shah fled with the remnants of his army (7,000 men) and joined his brother Bay-kecher. The victors sacked Shah's "Golden horde" in the Talas valley and plundered the neighbouring towns. At that moment Chapar was near the Irtish and the Altai, fighting the generals of the qaan whom Tuva had persuaded to open hostilities. Betrayed by his

<sup>1</sup> The date is in Rashid al-din's anonymous continuator. On him see d'Ohsson, I, *Exposition*, p. XLII.

<sup>2</sup> These events are described in detail by Wassaf, MS. Public Library V, 3, 24, f. 355 sq. D'Ohsson, II, 519, only briefly refers to them.

army and the princes, and left with only 300 faithful horsemen, Chapar was obliged to seek out Tuva, who received him kindly and assigned to him a special yurt. His brothers also submitted to the victor. Chapar's personal domains (*injü*) were given to Bay-kecher; Tükme, great-grandson of Güyük qaan, received his great-grandfather's yurt; Khaydu's troops, with the exception of those which had gone over to the qaan with Malik-Timur, were divided between Tükme, Bay-kecher and Shah. The latter was treated with particular esteem.

Wassāf remarks that all these events took place within one year and that Tuva died in 1307 from apoplexy. Rashid al-din's continuator says that he died of brain-fever, and that news of his death reached Persia in the last days of 1306. The princes set upon the throne his son KÜNJEK who was summoned from Barkul (now Bars-kul, i.e. "Lake of the Panther") and enthroned in Sebkün-Bala, near Almalīq. He died in 1308 in Yulduz <sup>1</sup>. Under him another revolt of the princes took place. In the battle near Büri-bashi <sup>2</sup> the rebels were at first victorious but later defeated owing to the defection of their troops. Their leader KÜRSEBE (a descendant of Ögedey) was killed while seeking safety in flight.

The throne was now seized by Prince TALİQU (grandson of Büri, killed in 1251), a man of advanced age <sup>3</sup>. Son of a Kirman princess, he professed Islam, his Muslim name being Khizr <sup>4</sup>. He displeased the princes by his too obvious patronising of Islam and by his action against the sons of Tuva and their amirs, while there were many who regarded Tuva's descendants as rightful heirs to the throne. On their side were another of Büri's grand-

<sup>1</sup> These facts, which are not in Wassāf [Bombay ed. p. 509-21], are taken from Rashid al-din's continuator.

<sup>2</sup> A place of this name is mentioned in the history of Timur's campaigns see Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de Timour-bec*, II, 35. It was situated in the eastern part of the Sīr-Darya province, or in western Semirechyé.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Wassāf. Chronologically it is hardly possible. It is very likely that, in conformity with the oldest MSS. of Rashid al-din, and contrary to the testimony of other sources, Taliqu's father was not the son of Büri, but of Chaghatay himself. [But see Rashīd, ed. Blochet, 165].

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in the genealogical history [*Muʿizz al-ansāb*].

sons, Ürük, and Chapar's brother Shah. There were even rumours that Chapar himself was behind them. When Taliqu invited the princes to a *toy* ("wedding feast")<sup>1</sup>, Ürük and Shah refused to come and raised a revolt. Ürük and his sons were killed in a battle, and Shah was taken prisoner. Taliqu's forces were equally successful in their encounters with the other rebels. Unable to oppose the khan in the open field, the partisans of Tuva's sons came to the *toy* and hatched a plot against the khan. During the night Tuva's son, KEBEK, accompanied by 300 horsemen, suddenly broke into the khan's tent and killed him. According to Wassāf this happened in 708/1308-9, but the author of the genealogical history of the Mongols places Taliqu's accession in 709/1309-10, and his death in A.H. 710.

The disturbances in the Chaghatay ulus kindled Chapar's hopes to recover the lost power. In alliance with Tükme, Bay-kecher and the sons of Urus, he marched against Kebek, but was defeated to the South of the river Ili. With Tükme's consent, Chapar crossed the Ili and entered Tükme's possessions. Soon however they quarrelled, and Chapar defeated Tükme, plundered his yurt and marched eastwards to join the qaan. During his flight, Tükme met Kebek's detachment and was killed in the ensuing encounter. The country suffered severely under these feuds which affected both agriculture and trade<sup>2</sup>. Kebek summoned the princes to a quriltay (in the beginning of A.H. 709 according to Wassāf), and it was decided to set upon the throne Kebek's elder brother ESEN-BUQA, who at that time was in the

<sup>1</sup> I.e. a quriltay. On the importance of the *toy* in the Chaghatay state see *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, texte et traduction par Defrémery et Sanguinetti, Paris 1855, t. II, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to Wassāf. The greater part of the ruins mentioned in the *Tarikh-i Rashīdī* (cf. Report, pp. 17, 38) must belong to this period. 'Omari, a writer of the first half of the fourteenth century, quotes the impressions of a man who visited the country: "In Turkestan one finds now only ruins, more or less well preserved. One sees in the distance a well-built village surrounded by flourishing vegetation. One approaches in the hope of meeting the inhabitants only to find the houses quite empty. The entire population is nomad and does not cultivate the land". *Notices et Extraits*, XIII, par I, pp. 257-258.

East, in the qaan's dominions. The greater part of Khaydu's lands passed now into the hands of the Chaghatay princes. Of Khaydu's sons, only Shah received a special thousand and a separate yurt.

Esen-buqa succeeded, to some degree, in re-establishing peace and order within his possessions, but the unfortunate foreign wars, which filled his reign, were bound to have repercussions on the prosperity of the country. A clash with a frontier detachment of the qaan's troops, whose winter quarters were on the banks of the Qobuq and summer quarters on the Eſen-müren (a tributary of the Irtysh), led to open war<sup>1</sup>. The commander of the detachment devastated an area of 3 month's journey, and another of the qaan's armies an area of 40 days' journey. The qaan's troops even plundered Eſen-buqa's own camps, his winter camp near the Issik-kul, and his summer camp near Talas. Eſen-buqa's first attempts to conclude an alliance against the qaan with ÖZBEK, head of the Juchid ulus since 1312, were abortive. Only in 1315 did they reach a certain understanding on the grounds of their common hostility to Öljejtü, the ruler of Persia<sup>2</sup>. In Persia too the Chaghatay troops gained nothing, owing to the treason of Prince YASAVUR<sup>3</sup>.

The historians do not quote the exact date of Eſen-buqa's death<sup>4</sup>. He must have died about 1318 for, according to numismatic evidence, his brother KEBEK, who ruled 8 years, died in 726/1326. When the Arab traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was in Central Asia in 1333, he heard some reports about Kebek. He was described as a just monarch, who cared for the well-being of his subjects and protected the Muslims, although he himself remained a Shamanist<sup>5</sup>. Historians also mention Kebek's concern for his subjects' welfare and in this respect Mūsawī sets him off against Eſen-buqa. Yet this solicitude was almost exclusively directed to Mawarannahr and Afghanistan. Kebek's capital was

<sup>1</sup> Described by Rashid al-din's continuator, MS. As. Mus. a 566, f. 473 sq.

<sup>2</sup> D'Ohsson, IV, 574.

<sup>3</sup> Id., IV, 563 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Some historian erroneously place it in A.H. 721.

<sup>5</sup> *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, III, 31-32.

the town of Nakhshab which from that time became known as Qarshi, i.e. "the palace" <sup>1</sup>.

According to the historians, Kebek died a natural death, but Ibn Baṭṭūṭa <sup>2</sup> alleges that he was killed by his brother Tarmashirin <sup>3</sup>. The fact is that Kebek's death was separated from Tarmashirin's accession by the reigns of two other sons of Tuva, Ilchigedey and Durra-Timur. Under ILCHIGEDEY the Dominican Thomas Mancasola <sup>4</sup> launched a successful Catholic propaganda in Central Asia. In 1329 Thomas returned to Avignon. Pope John XXII sent him back to Central Asia as Bishop of Samarqand <sup>5</sup>, with a letter to Ilchigedey who, judging by numismatic evidence, was already dead by that time.

Before his accession DURRA-TIMUR apparently had an appanage in one of the eastern provinces. Chinese chronicles contain a record of the pecuniary aid sent to him from China in 1315, in view of the drought from which his country was suffering <sup>6</sup>.

TARMASHIRIN, who must have ascended the throne by the end of 1326, embraced Islam and received the Muslim appellation of 'Alā al-dīn ("Greatness of the Faith") <sup>7</sup>. His conversion to Islam and his indifference to popular customs aroused the discontent of the Mongols. Tarmashirin did not convoke the princes to *toys*, which formerly were held every year. He warred in Afghanistan and led an expedition into India <sup>8</sup>, but utterly neglected the

<sup>1</sup> Kebek built himself a palace at 2½ farsakhs' distance from the town. See Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de Timour-bec*, I, 95.

<sup>2</sup> III, 42.

<sup>3</sup> [Apparently a name of Sanskrit and Buddhist origin: *Dharma-srī*.]

<sup>4</sup> *Moshemii Historia Tartarorum ecclesiastica*, pp. 110-1, Appendix No. LXIV.

<sup>5</sup> Under Kebek and Ilchigedey Mawarannahr was the principal part of the state.

<sup>6</sup> *Mediaeval researches*, II, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Tarmāshirīn's conversion to Islam led to a considerable extension of commercial relations with Western Asia (*Notices et extraits*, XIII, part I, p. 238).

<sup>8</sup> [Records of this expedition are somewhat contradictory. See Mahdi Husain, *The rise and fall of Muhammad b. Tughlug*, 1938, pp. 100-7.]

eastern part of his dominions. In the course of the last four years of his reign he never once visited Almaliq and the Eastern provinces. From what has been quoted above about Mubarakshah and several other khans, it can be gathered that the Mongols' resentment against those khans who showed too great a partiality for Muslim culture was connected with the economic struggle between the nomad and the sedentary populations. In 1334 a revolt broke out <sup>1</sup> against Tarmashirin, accused of infringing the *yasa*. The movement was headed by BUZAN, son of Durra-Timurkhan. Ibn Battuta affirms that Buzan <sup>2</sup> too was a Muslim but that he had a greater respect for popular customs. Tarmashirin was compelled to flee to Ghazni, on the border of his domains, but on the way he was captured by Yāngi, son of Kebek, handed over to Buzan and put to death.

Ibn Battuta says of Buzan that he was an iniquitous ruler and that he oppressed the Muslims, while allowing the Jews and Christians to restore their temples. According to Sharaf al-din <sup>3</sup> and Mūsawī, he executed many princes and amirs. Judging by the coins, his reign was short and in the same year (1334) he was succeeded by JENKSHI, son of Ebügen and grandson of Tuva. Jenkshi was also no friend of Islam. Mūsawī says that he was a protector of Buddhist priests. Already in 1332, before his accession, Jenkshi had entertained relations with the Chinese government. In that year he sent 172 Russian prisoners to China, for which he received a pecuniary reward <sup>4</sup>. The khan seems to have lived mostly in Almaliq. During his reign the Catholic propaganda was transferred to this town <sup>5</sup>. The Franciscan Nicholas, appointed archbishop in China, was well received at Jenkshi's court. The nobles Carasmon and Iohanan (evidently Nestorians) presented the bishop appointed by the Pope with a large estate

<sup>1</sup> A comparatively detailed account on Tarmāshīrīn and subsequent events is found in Ibn Battūta, III, 39-43, and 47-51.

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the records of Sharaf al-din and Ulugh-beg, cf. Miles, *The Shajrat al-Atrak*, p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> I am using the MS. of the Asiatic Museum No. 568, ff. 167-8.

<sup>4</sup> Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, II, 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Tartar. eccles.*, pp. 114-5, Appendix, Nos. LXXIX and LXXX, XCII.

near Almaliq where a handsome church was built. Soon after we hear of the presence in Almaliq of the Bishop Richard of Bourgogne, of the monks Francis and Raymond Rufus of Alexandria, of the priest Paschalis of Spain, and of the lay brothers Provence and Laurence of Alexandria. As a reward for successfully healing the khan, they were allowed to baptise his seven year old son. In 1338 it took Paschalis 5 months to travel from Kuhna-Urganch to Almaliq. He was frequently obliged to interrupt his journey by the disturbances which racked the country and during which Jenkshi was killed by his brother. According to Mūsawī, Jenkshi was killed in the night by an unknown assassin, but the version of Paschalis is confirmed by Ulugh-beg who says that Jenkshi was killed by his brother YESÜN-TIMUR<sup>1</sup>. The latter was finally driven insane by remorse and cut off his mother's breasts because she had been the instigator of his crime.

Neither Paschalis, nor any of the historical sources speak of the plague which, according to Nestorian inscriptions, ravaged the Semirechyé in 1338 and 1339<sup>2</sup>.

Yesün-Timur was deposed by ALI-SULTAN, a descendant of Ögedey and a Muslim. During his reign a savage persecution of the Christians took place in which the Muslim mob took part. All the Catholic missionaries who have been mentioned above suffered martyrdom in 1339. The Nestorians of the Semirechyé, many of whom occupied important administrative posts<sup>3</sup>, must have been affected also by this persecution. Ali-Sultan's cruelty seems to have had other victims besides the Christians, for Muslim authors also call him an inhuman tyrant. He was succeeded by Yasavur's son QAZAN.

Ibn Battuta names none of these khans. According to him Yasavur's son, KHALİL, revolted against Buzan khan with the help of MALIK-HUSAYN [Kart], king of Herat. His ally and vazir was ʿAlā al-mulk Khudāvand-zāda of Tirmidh. During the battle Buzan was betrayed by his men and delivered to his enemy

<sup>1</sup> *The Shajrat al-Atrak*, pp. 372-373.

<sup>2</sup> *ZVO*, I, 305. D. Chwolson, *Syrisch-Nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie*, Neue Folge, SPb. 1897, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *ZVO*, I, 307. *Grabinschriften*, Neue Folge, p. 53.

who had him strangled. Khalil occupied Mawarannahr and marched on Almaliq. The Tatars elected another khan and attacked Khalil, but were defeated. Khalil occupied Almaliq, reached the frontiers of China and took the towns of Qaraqorum and Bishbaliq. The Chinese Emperor sent an army against Khalil, but later made peace with him. Leaving Khudāvand-zāda with a strong force in Bishbaliq, Khalil returned to Samarqand. Envious schemers aroused his suspicions against Khudāvand-zāda, whom he recalled and put to death. Then Khalil and Malik-Husayn fell out; Khalil was defeated and brought to the king of Herat who granted him his life and a generous pension. Khalil was still in Herat when Ibn Battuta passed through that town in the spring of 1347 on his way back from India.

It is not easy to ascertain how much truth this story contains. Judging by the facts related above, Khalil was not identical with Qazan. He is not mentioned by the historians, but there exist coins struck in his name in 743/1342 and 744/1344. The quarrel and reconciliation with Husayn are attributed by the historians to the intrigues of the Turkish amir QAZAGHAN.

In an attempt to restore the khan's authority undermined by the feuds, Qazan engaged in a struggle against the Turkish amirs. He had no success and in 1347 was killed in a battle against the above-mentioned Qazaghan. From then onwards the khans of Mawarannahr were merely figure-heads. The real power had passed entirely to the Turkish amirs.

#### MOGHULISTAN <sup>1</sup>

The complete triumph in the West of the Turkish amirs, i.e. of the Muslim faction, impelled the Mongol amirs of the eastern

<sup>1</sup> The principal source for this period is the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, by Muhammad Haydar Dughlat, written in the middle of the fourteenth century and lately published in English translation: *The Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat*, ed. by N. Elias, transl. by E. Denison Ross, London 1895. Extensive extracts from this work are to be found in Russian in Part II of V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov's book ("Izsledovaniye") on the kings and princes of Kasimov (in Russian), SPb. 1864. Many



part of the kingdom to set their own khan upon the throne. The most powerful of the Mongol amirs was PULADCHI, whose fief bordering on the domains of the Turkish amirs now received the name of *Manghalay-suba* (lit. "vanguard province"). It included part of Eastern Turkestan from Kashghar to Kucha, and part of the Semirechyé to the South of Lake Issik-kul. In 1348 he brought out of the Qulja region to Aqsu <sup>1</sup> the eighteen year old prince TUGHLUQ-TIMUR. He proclaimed him as Tuva's grandson and forced everybody to recognize him as khan. Until then Tughluq-Timur was thought to be the son of a Mongol amir, but it was now given out that his mother, who had been married to Tuva's son Emil-Khoja, was pregnant at the time of the prince's death and had given birth to Tughluq-Timur in the house of her second husband, for which reason he had been taken for the latter's son <sup>2</sup>.

Although the legitimacy of the prince set upon the throne by the Mongols was more than doubtful, the choice proved a happy one. In 1360 Tughluq-Timur brought into submission even the Turkish amirs, and only after his death in 764/1362-3, was the army of his son Ilyas-Khoja driven out of Mawarannahr. Tughluq-Timur lies buried in Almalīq and his tomb can still be seen four miles from Alimtu, and less than a mile from the village of Khorin-Mazar <sup>3</sup>.

substantial addenda and corrections to Muhammad Haydar are found in *Memoirs of Zahir ed-din Muhammad Baber*, translated partly by J. Leyden, partly by W. Erskine, London 1826 [latest translation by Annette S. Beveridge 1922], and in the historians of Timur and the Timurids: Mūsawī, Sharaf al-din Yazdī, Hāfiẓi-Abrū (Oxford MSS. Fraser 115 and Elliot 422) and Abd al-Razzāq of Samarqand (MS. SPb. Univ. No. 157); some passages of the latter's work are given in French translation (partly also in the original) by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, part I. The Chinese reports are quoted by Dr. Bretschneider in his *Mediaeval researches*.

<sup>1</sup> Across the Muzart pass.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to the *Muʿizz al-ansāb*, ch. V. Another record tells how Puladchi found this scion of the khan's family; see *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 6. Muh. Haydar and Babur (Erskine, p. 11) call Tughluq-Timur Esenbuqa's son, which is chronologically impossible.

<sup>3</sup> See *Report*, p. 65.

Besides Eastern Turkestan, a cultural region from time immemorial, the state founded by Puladchi and Tughluq-Timur included a vast country inhabited by nomads and stretching from north to south and from east to west to a distance of seven or eight months' travel<sup>1</sup>, from the Irtysh and the Emil to the Tien-shan, and from Barkul to Farghana and Lake Balkhash. Lake Balkhash called Kōkche-Tengiz, was regarded as a frontier between Moghulistan and Uzbekistan, i.e. the Juchid dominions. From the ethnological point of view, it would be difficult to formulate exactly the difference which existed between this country and the western half of the Chaghatay possessions; in other words, to say how much here too the Mongols had undergone the influence of Turkish elements. In any case the difference between the mode of life of the nomad East and that of the sedentary Muslim West, was so great that even Timur was unable to re-establish the unity of the Chaghatay kingdom. The dislike for Islam and Islamic culture was much stronger in the people than in its rulers. Already Tughluq-Timur had embraced Islam and his successors bore Muslim names. On the other hand, the greater part of their subjects remained heathens, and only in the second half of the fifteenth century did their western neighbours accept them as Muslims<sup>2</sup>. In the kingdom of Timur and his descendants, the inhabitants of Moghulistan were referred to by the pejorative term *jätä*<sup>3</sup> "robbers". The expression "the Jätä country" is often used by the historians as a synonym of Moghulistan.

Puladchi died before Tughluq-Timur, and his young son KHUDĀYDĀD became his heir. QAMAR AL-DIN, Puladchi's brother, rebelled against Tughluq Timur's successor, ILYĀS-KHOJA and killed him. His reign was so short that it was not even mentioned in Mongol tradition<sup>4</sup>. Qamar al-din seized the power and strove

<sup>1</sup> See the description in *TR*, p. 360 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 75. [The meaning is still doubtful. This nickname can hardly have any connection with the Hephthalites. In Turkish *chete* means "a band". V. M.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

to exterminate all the relatives of Tughluq-Timur. Taking advantage of these troubles, the amir TIMUR, who had brought into submission the western kingdom of the Chaghatayids, led an expedition against Moghulistan. According to Mūsawī, he raided Qochqar already in 772/1370. In the beginning of 1375<sup>1</sup> he set out from Sayram and reached the Charīn. Qamar al-din's camp was situated in the Kōk-tepe mountains. He retreated to Berke-yi Ghūriyān<sup>2</sup>, a place of very difficult access, for it consisted of three narrow gorges along which flowed three large rivers. Yet even there he was overtaken and defeated by Timur who then proceeded to Baytaq. On his orders, three amirs pursued the enemy along the banks of the Ili. Timur spent fifty three days in Baytaq. Meanwhile, his son Jahangir was pursuing Qamar al-din in the mountains and defeating one by one the Mongol detachments in the Ūch-Farmān region (in Eastern Turkestan). He even succeeded in capturing Qamar al-din's wife and daughter. From Baytaq Timur marched across the Qara-Qasmaq (Qastek) pass to Atbash in the Arpa valley, where he celebrated his marriage with Qamar al-din's daughter, and then across the Yasī (Jasī) pass he returned to Uzgand.

In the next year 1376<sup>3</sup> while Timur was away on an expedition to Khwarazm, Qamar al-din invaded Farghana, but on hearing of Timur's approach, he retreated to Atbash. Timur followed him. Qamar al-din laid an ambush, but was again defeated and wounded at Sekiz-Yigach<sup>4</sup>. By way of Ata-Qum,

<sup>1</sup> On this expedition see Pétis de la Croix, I, 252 sq. The reading of the names in the history of Timur's campaigns could not always be satisfactorily established, though, in addition to the translation of Pétis de la Croix, I have used the original in the printed (Calcutta) edition and in three MSS. of the Asiatic Museum, the Turkish translation of the *Zafar-nama* (in a MS. belonging to me) and the translation of the *TR*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Turkish MS. Berke-yi Quzghan. The Turkish translation of the *TR* (p. 41) has Arshal-Atar. On Renat's map (cf. below chapter on the Qalmuq) the name Bangharban-Benke is borne by two small rivers flowing into the Charīn near the point where the latter turns northwards.

<sup>3</sup> Pétis de la Croix, I, 265 sq. [*ZN*, I, 268]. *AR*, f. 69, places this expedition in 1377.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. "eight trees [or farsakhs]". Persian MSS. have, however, *Sangar*. Also in Pétis de la Croix and in the *TR*.

Timur returned to the banks of the Amu-Darya and thence continued to Samarqand.

In 1377<sup>1</sup> Timur again sent an army against Qamar al-din, who was overtaken and defeated on the Quratu steppe. In the same year Timur invaded the Semirechyé with another army. The vanguard defeated Qamar al-din in the Buam gorge. Timur reached Qochqar and through a place called Oynaghu returned to Uzgand.

Timur's next expedition took place in 1383<sup>2</sup>. Several detachments were sent into the Semirechyé. The vanguard defeated the enemy and returned to Ata-Qum even before the main forces had reached that place. The combined forces then marched into the mountains beyond the Issik-kul, but failing to come up with Qamar al-din, returned to Samarqand.

All these reverses were bound to weaken Qamar al-din. His nephew Khudaydad, who was then ruling in Kashghar, had saved from his uncle's wrath Tughluq-Timur's son KHIZR-KHOJA, who, in the year of his father's death, had been a babe in arms. At the time when Qamar al-din's power was at its zenith, the prince was secretly brought up in the mountains between Kashghar and Badakhshan. For the next twelve years he lived in the extreme south-east of the kingdom, near Lake Lob-Nor. One cannot assess the accuracy of these facts<sup>3</sup> and discard the idea the prince had been discovered by Khudāydād just as Tughluq-Timur had been discovered by Khudāydād's father. In any case, the prince was recognised as khan in 1389.

In 1389<sup>4</sup> Timur undertook another expedition against Moghulistan. From Al-Qoshun, across Büri-Bashi and Tüpelik-Qaraq he reached the mountain pass Ornaq (or Oznaq). After this the following places are mentioned on his road: Atqan-Suri<sup>5</sup> (where there was snow and ice, although it was summer), Targha-

<sup>1</sup> P. de la Croix, I, 274 ZN, I, 273. According to AR, f. 70, in 1378.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 363.

<sup>3</sup> According to the TR, p. 54, Khizr-khoja was born in A.H. 770, i.e. six years after Tughluq-Timur's death.

<sup>4</sup> Pétis de la Croix, II, 35 sq.

<sup>5</sup> In the Turkish translation of the ZN: Atin.

Otlagh, the plain of Ayghir-yali ("the stallion's mane"), the plain of Ulan-Charligh, and Chapar-Ayghir ("the galloping stallion"). Here the Mongol cavalry, commanded by Anga-Türe, one of Khizr-khoja's generals, was defeated. The vanguard had been sent against Anga-Türe who was then in Urung-Yar. On the next day Timur's main army realised that it was off the right road, but through Qiyan-Qazi it worked its way back into the proper direction to reach Kök-Sali in the evening, and Ayaghuz on the next day<sup>1</sup>. As three days had thus been lost, Timur thought that the enemy must have got wind of his coming and dispersed. He therefore divided his army into two forces. He himself proceeded by way of Shira, Shibertü<sup>2</sup>, Qoy-Maragh, Quraghan and Buyurlaghu to Qara-Ghuchur (on Renat's map such a name is shown in the western part of the Tarbaghatay range). His son, Omar-Shaykh, at the head of another body of troops overtook Anga-Türe on the banks of the Qobuq and defeated him. Anga-Türe fled to Qaqma-burji. Omar-Shaykh rejoined Timur in the region of Akhta-diktur. Timur went on across the Ala-kul plain, which was also called It-ichmes ("the dog does not drink"), and then returned to Qara-Ghuchur. Here Timur allowed his troops to recuperate before sending a detachment on to the Irtish. The prisoners were sent off to Samarqand, while Timur proceeded to Emil-Ghuchur where he rested in Saray-Ordam, the khan's camp. From Emil he gave orders that troops from different parts of his kingdom should march to devastate the southern part of Moghulistan and then converge on the Yulduz whither Timur himself now proceeded. The route of the amirs stationed in Turkestan, on the border between the Mongol and Uzbek possessions, lay across [the pass] Ur-daban, the river Ili, past the lake Süt-kul (Sayram) and along the places called Chicheklik ("flower-garden") and Balay-Qaz. As

<sup>1</sup> The first point of this route which can be located with any precision. The study of the road followed by Timur is complicated by the fact that Sharaf al-din does not mention his crossing such large rivers as the Chu and the Ili.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "clayey place", a geographical name very common with the Mongols [ZN, I, 472].

they continued their march to the Yulduz, they encountered Khizr-Khoja's army. After a two days' indecisive battle, the armies agreed to separate. From Emil, Timur marched through Ulugh-Qul ("main centre"; possibly the camp of the main Mongol army), the Sïchqan-daban pass (lit. "gate of the mouse") and across the river Küngez to Yulduz. From thence he pursued Khizr-Khoja for some distance beyond Chalish (Qarashar) and in the meantime directed Omar-Shaykh <sup>1</sup> to proceed to Farghana across Eastern Turkestan. After that, on 8 August 1389, he set out from Great Yulduz on a rapid march homewards and on 30 August arrived in Samarqand, whereas caravans took usually two months to make this journey.

In 1390 <sup>2</sup> Timur again sent an army to devastate Moghulistan and pursue Qamar al-din who had fled beyond the Irtish. The army marched from Tashkent to Issik-kul, then into the Kōktepe mountains, across the mountain pass Arjatu <sup>3</sup> into Almalïq (probably the town of Alma-Ata, now Verny), across the rivers Ili and Qaratal, and the plains of Ichni-Buchni and Üker-Kitichi. When the army reached the Irtish, Qamar al-din had already gone farther north, into the Töles country [Altai] where there were many sables and ermines. On its way home the army marched *via* Altun-Kürge [Küverge?] and past the large lake Atrak-kul (Balkhash).

After these events Qamar al-din probably never returned to Moghulistan. According to a Mongol tradition <sup>4</sup>, towards the end of his life he suffered from dropsy and during one of Timur's invasions disappeared in some woods. As Timur was engaged in wars in the West, he did not stand in Khizr-Khoja's way when the latter established himself in Moghulistan. In 1397 <sup>5</sup> Khizr-Khoja sent his eldest son Sham'i-Jahān ("the Light of

<sup>1</sup> [Who apparently had advanced as far as Turfan (Qara-Khoja, Khara-Khocho), *ZN*, I, 477.]

<sup>2</sup> Pétis de la Croix, II, 66sq. [*ZN*, I, 494.]

<sup>3</sup> I.e. *Arshatu*, lit. "place of warm springs", a common geographical name.

<sup>4</sup> Recorded in *TR*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>5</sup> Pétis de la Croix, II, 421, 427.

the World”) as ambassador to Timur. Through him Timur asked for the hand of his sister Tavakkul [Tükäl?]-agha who was sent to him and received at his court the title of “Lesser Lady” (*Kichik-khanım*) <sup>1</sup>.

Khizr died in 1399. His death was followed by feuds among his four sons, Sham<sup>c</sup>i-Jahān, Muhammad-Oghlan, Shīr-Ali and Shāh-Jahān. This situation was taken advantage of by Mirza Iskandar, son of Omar-Shaykh, who plundered Eastern Turkestan <sup>2</sup>. When he besieged Aqsu the inhabitants bought him off by handing over to him the rich Chinese merchants residing in the town, with all their property. This fact shows that, despite the troubled times, trade with the East had not been interrupted.

We know nothing of Timur’s relations with Khizr-Khoja’s sons <sup>3</sup>. After Khizr’s death, part of Moghulistan seems to have submitted to Timur. Timur settled the tribe of the Black Tatars, whom he had brought out of Asia Minor, on the shores of the Issik-kul, but no sooner did he die than they hastened to leave that country. It was there too that Timur sent one of the dignitaries who had fallen into disgrace. During his preparations for the campaign against China in 1404, Timur put northern Moghulistan under the administration of Tashkent, which was nominally ruled by his grandson Ulugh-beg, and Eastern Turkestan under the administration of Farghana <sup>4</sup>.

After Timur’s death, SHAM<sup>c</sup>I-JAHĀN, Khizr-Khoja’s eldest son, appealed to the Chinese for help, in the hope of conquering Mawarannahr <sup>5</sup>. This happened in 1407, and in the next year he died and was succeeded by his brother MUHAMMAD KHAN. After his accession the new khan sent an embassy to Timur’s son Shahrukh expressing his submission, which did not prevent him, however, from interfering in the feuds in Mawarannahr and supporting the rebel amirs. This led to his losing Kashghar <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus according to the *Mu<sup>c</sup>izz al-ansāb*.

<sup>2</sup> Pétis de la Croix, III, 215 sq. [ZN, II, 218]. Mūsawī and AR place this expedition in 1377 and attribute it to Omar-Shaykh.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *TR*, p. 54, Khizr-Khoja survived Timur.

<sup>4</sup> Pétis de la Croix, IV, 203-4. [ZN, II, 633.]

<sup>5</sup> Bretschneider, *o.c.* II, 239.

<sup>6</sup> *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, part. I, p. 296.

in 1416. According to Muhammad Haydar <sup>1</sup> Muhammad khan zealously propagated Islam in his dominions: all the Mongols were obliged to wear turbans, horse-shoe nails being driven into the heads of those who disobeyed the order. The building of the famous Tash-rabat on the northern bank of Lake Chatir-kul is ascribed to him.

In 1416 the new Mongol khan, NAQSHI-JAHĀN, son <sup>2</sup> of Shamʿi-Jahān, sent embassies to Shahrukh and to China. The Chinese place the death of Muhammad khan in the same year, but according to Abd al-Razzaq <sup>3</sup>, he died earlier in 1415. In 1418 Naqshi-Jahān was killed by Shir-Ali's son <sup>4</sup> Vays-Oghlan. In 1420 a feud broke out in Moghulistan between VAYS-KHAN and SHIR-MUHAMAD-OGHLAN <sup>5</sup>. It is uncertain on whose side was Khudaydad, head of the Mongol amirs. In any case, he was in touch with Ulugh-beg, who at the time ruled in Mawarannahr in his father's name. Probably at his instigation, Ulugh-beg undertook an expedition against Moghulistan. On his way thither the Mongol amirs met him with assurances of submission, and the campaign was called off <sup>6</sup>. In the same year SHAHRUKH sent his famous embassy to China. The ambassadors reached Moghulistan in the beginning of May. They feared for their safety because of the struggle which was going on between Vays-khan and Shir-Muhammad's adherents, but their fears were allayed by Khudāydād whom they saw on their way to Vays. On 4 June the envoys crossed the Küngez, on the 5th they met the local ruler Muhammad-beg and on the 8th they reached Yulduz. On the 20th they learnt that Muhammad-beg's sons had robbed Vays-khan's ambassadors, which made them hasten on their way <sup>7</sup>. Finally Shir-Muhammad fled to Samarqand where

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> According to Muhammad Haydar, p. 57, his brother.

<sup>3</sup> *Notices et Extraits*, p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> The *Muʿizz al-ansāb* and Sharaf al-din say that Shir-Ali was Muhammad khan's brother. Babur and Muhammad Haydar call him his son.

<sup>5</sup> Son of Shah-Jahan, according to the *Muʿizz al-ansāb*; son of Muhammad khan, according to *TR*.

<sup>6</sup> *AR*, f. 218.

<sup>7</sup> *Notices et Extraits*, pp. 388-389.



he remained in honourable captivity. In October he made an unsuccessful attempt to escape, but in December ULUGH-BEG himself allowed him to leave, and he returned to Moghulistan, where in 1421 he overcame his enemies and became sole ruler <sup>1</sup>. Because he refused to submit to Ulugh-beg, the latter invaded the Semirechyé in 1425 <sup>2</sup> and defeated the Mongol troops near the Aqsu (a tributary of the Chu). When Ulugh-beg had crossed the Chu and the Charin, Khudāydād came to him expressing his submission. In May Shir-Muhammad was defeated in the same region, and Ulugh-beg's troops pursued the enemy as far as the Ili. Ulugh-beg proceeded to Yulduz, the chief summer-quarters (*yaylaq*) of Moghulistan. On the way back, at a place called Qarshi, Ulugh-beg got hold of the "blue stone" (*kök-tash*) which Timur had unsuccessfully tried to remove to Samarqand. [The stone now lies on Timur's grave.]

According to Muhammad Haydar <sup>3</sup>, Shir-Muhammad died a natural death. Once again Vays-khan came into power, but in 1428 he was killed on the shores of the Issik-kul in a battle with Satuq-khan. The latter bore the title of khan in Samarqand, where the actual power belonged to Ulugh-beg. Finally he was deposed by Ulugh-beg who sent him to Moghulistan <sup>4</sup>.

During the reign of Vays-khan Moghulistan suffered from the incursions of the Eastern HEATHEN MONGOLS. In the fourteenth century a league of four tribes (Choros, Khoshot, Torghot and Khoyt) came into being. In 1399 the Oyrat leader Ügechi-Khashagha killed the Mongol qaan Elbek. The latest historian of the Eastern Mongols, D. Pokotilov <sup>5</sup>, dates from this event the beginning of the Oyrat hegemony. In 1408 a new qaan, ÖLJEY-TIMUR, was set upon the throne in Bish-baliq <sup>6</sup>, which usually belonged to the Moghulistan khans but by that

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 230-231.

<sup>3</sup> TR, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *History of the Eastern Mongols during the epoch of the Ming dynasty* (in Russian), SPb. 1893, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

time must have been occupied by the Eastern Mongols. Already in Shir-Muhammad's time preparations were being made for war with the Oyrat, or Qalmuq (Qalmaq), as the Muslims called them. The Qalmuqs turned to the Chinese government, and the latter sent envoys to dissuade Shir-Muhammad from carrying out this project<sup>1</sup>. According to Chinese sources, Vays-khan moved his main camp from Eastern Turkestan westward to Ili-baliq, i.e. to the banks of the Ili, in the Semirechyé. The contemporary Chinese descriptions of the country no longer speak of the towns and flourishing villages which had struck the 13th century travellers. In the fifteenth century the Semirechyé was peopled exclusively by nomads who lived in felt tents and fed on meat and *qumis* (koumiss). In their clothing they resembled partly the Oyrat, and partly the Muslims<sup>2</sup>. On the banks of the Ili, Vays-khan often clashed with the military chief Esen-Tayji, who was the son of Toghon, the principal Oyrat leader of the time<sup>3</sup>. Vays-khan fought sixty-one battles with the Qalmuqs, and of these won only one. Twice he was taken prisoner, and, against his will, had to give his sister in marriage to Esen-Tayji<sup>4</sup>.

Satuq-khan failed to establish his sway over Moghulistan and was soon killed in Kashghar. After his death, the Mongol amirs became divided into two factions: one wished to set upon the throne Vays-khan's eldest son YŪNUS, the other his second son ESEN-BUQA, both princes being still children. Esen-buqa's party prevailed, and YŪnus was taken by his adherents to Mawaran-nahr from whence Ulugh-beg sent him on to Persia. According to Babur<sup>5</sup> this happened in 1434. The youthful Esen-buqa had little authority over his tribesmen and, during the first half of his reign, the Mongol amirs ruled their respective provinces in

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, Introduction, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Bretschneider, *o.c.*, II, 241-242.

<sup>3</sup> Pokotilov, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *TR*, pp. 65-67.

<sup>5</sup> Babur, *Memoirs*, p. 11, says that YŪnus arrived in Shiraz five or six months before the death of Shahrūkh's son Ibrahim, which happened in Shawwal 838/May 1435, see *AR*, f. 245. [A. Beveridge's translation I. 19-24.]

complete independence. One of these amirs was MIR MUHAMMAD-SHAH, son of Khudāyḍād, of Atbash. Another amir, MIR KARĪM-BERDI, built himself a stronghold on the Ala-bugha, and from thence raided Farghana. A third amir, MIR HAQQ-BERDI BEKICHEK, built a fort at Qoy-su, on an island in the Issik-kul, whither he brought his family for fear of Qalmuq raids, while he himself began raiding Turkestan and Sayram <sup>1</sup>. Khudāyḍād's grandson, SA'ĪD-ALI wrested Kashghar from the Timurids <sup>2</sup>.

Consequently, even in those early days the Qalmuqs raided the country up to the Issik-kul; some years later, they penetrated as far as the Sīr-Darya province. After Esen's death, which occurred in 1455, the power of the Oyrat in the East declined, and for the next two centuries they are no longer mentioned in the Chinese sources. Muslim sources mention Esen's son AMASANJI-TAYJI <sup>3</sup> and another chief UZ-TIMUR-TAYJI. The latter defeated the Uzbeks on the Sīr-Darya between the years 1452 and 1455 <sup>4</sup>, or, according to another source <sup>5</sup>, in 1457. At the end of 1459 SULTAN ABU-SA'ĪD received a Qalmuq embassy in Herat <sup>6</sup>.

Somewhat earlier, in the 1540-ies, Esen-buqa returned to power and strove to acquire popularity through leniency. To the Timurids he remained an awkward neighbour and often raided their states. Finally Sultan Abu-Sa'īd marched against Moghulistan and defeated the Mongols at Ashpara <sup>7</sup>. He summoned Yūnus from Persia and, after obtaining from him the pledge that he would give up all claims to Mawarannahr, sent him to Mo-

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, pp. 78-79. *Report*, pp. 42, 49.

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>3</sup> *TR*, pp. 79, 91.

<sup>4</sup> Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, II, 688. Aristov, *Notes* (in Russian, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> The author of the *Nusrat-nāma*, written in the beginning of the sixteenth century (MS. As. Mus. No. 590, f. 66) says that prince Mahmūd-Sultan (b. in 858/1454) was captured by the Qalmuqs when he was three years old and remained with them for seven years.

<sup>6</sup> *AR*, f. 322.

<sup>7</sup> Thus according to Babur, pp. 11-12. According to Muhammad Haydar, p. 78, the battle took place near Talas.

ghulistan<sup>1</sup>. Some amirs, like Mir Karīm-berdi and Mir Ibrahim (Haqq-berdi's successor), joined Yūnus, but they were too much accustomed to independence to serve him well. Yūnus was defeated in a battle with the Khan, after which he retired to live in the town of Jiti-kand, on the border between Farghana and the Semirechyé, which Abu-Sa'īd had assigned to him<sup>2</sup>.

Esen-buqa died in 1462. A remarkable event of his reign was the appearance in the Semirechyé, and in particular on the banks of the Chu, of the QAZAKHS, the present day inhabitants of the greater part of this country<sup>3</sup>. Muhammad Haydar puts their number at 200,000. Their chiefs Giray and Janibeg who had quarrelled with the Uzbek khan Abul-Khayr, were welcomed by Esen-buqa<sup>4</sup>.

After Esen-buqa's death western Moghulistan passed under Yunus. The town of Aqsu (in Chinese Turkestan) and the region to the west of it were ruled, down to 873/1468-9, by Esen-buqa's son DOST-MUHAMMAD, after whose death Yunus occupied Aqsu. Kebek-Sultan, Dost-Muhammad's son, withdrew to Turfan where he ruled for four years. He was killed by his own subjects and his head was sent to Yunus.

In 1472 the whole country was united under YUNUS. Even more than his predecessors, the new khan differed from his subjects, and consequently he was still less popular with them. He was born in A.H. 818<sup>5</sup> or 819<sup>6</sup> (A.D. 1415-7); during the years which he spent in Persia he received a thorough Muslim education under the guidance of the famous historian Sharaf al-din Yazdi. A cadi from Mawarannahr, who had an audience with Yunus, was expecting to meet "a beardless man with the ways and manners of any other Turk of the desert" and found instead "a person of elegant deportment with a full beard and a Tajik

<sup>1</sup> According to the *TR*, pp. 83-84, in 1456, but earlier according to Babur, for Yūnus spent in Persia 17-18 years.

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>3</sup> [Before the Russian revolution they were incorrectly called: Qirghiz-Qazakh, or Qaysaq. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> V. Zernov, II, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Thus according to the *TR*, p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> *TR*, p. 84.

face and such refined speech and manners, as is seldom found even in a Tajik”<sup>1</sup>. Such a man could not have become resigned to a nomad existence. All his life he tried to establish his residence in some town and to persuade at least some of his subjects to follow his example. According to Muhammad Haydar, his motives were partly religious, for he realised that his subjects would never become true Muslims “until they settled down in cultivated countries”<sup>2</sup>. All his efforts were fruitless, because for a Mongol town life was worse than a prison. More than once the khan had to leave the town for the steppe, so as not to be abandoned by his people.

As already mentioned, in 1472 the Semirechyé was invaded by the Qalmuq military chief AMASANJI-TAYJI, who had been driven out of his country by internal struggles. Yunus was defeated on the banks of the Ili and fled to the Sīr-Darya where he spent the winter. Here he defeated the Uzbek khan BURUCH-OGHLAN, but in the next spring was taken prisoner by the governor of Tashkent. A year later this governor was killed, and Yunus recovered his freedom and was sent back to Moghulistan which the Qalmuqs had evacuated by that time<sup>3</sup>.

Even before Abu-Saʿīd's death in 1469, Yunus had resumed his raids upon the Timurid possessions in a vain attempt to seize Farghana<sup>4</sup>. Later he took a hand in the feuds which broke out among Abu-Saʿīd's sons, Ahmad-mirza and Omar-Shaykh, and as a result added Sayram to his possessions in 1492, and Tashkent in 1485. So strong had his preference for town life become that he stayed on in the towns of Mawarannahr even when the majority of his subjects had left him and proclaimed his second son Ahmad, who had been brought up on the steppes. In Eastern Turkestan, the amir ABU-BAKR formed an independent state and successfully resisted all attacks by Yunus<sup>5</sup>.

Yunus died in 1487 from a stroke. His eldest son MAHMŪD,

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *TR*, pp. 91-95; V. Zernov, II, 143.

<sup>4</sup> *AR*, f. 349.

<sup>5</sup> *TR*, pp. 104-114.

born in 868/1463-4, succeeded him as ruler of the western part of the country and nominal sovereign of the whole state. Like his father, he was a man of culture and a poet, though an inferior one <sup>1</sup>. Babur <sup>2</sup> admits his many merits but denies him any military talent. Nor does he seem to have had any gift for ruling his subjects <sup>3</sup>.

Mahmud remained in Mawarannahr and made every effort to expand his dominions. He had some success until in 1500 there began the rapid rise of the Uzbek khan MUHAMMAD SHIBANI, Abul-Khayr's grandson. According to Muhammad Haydar <sup>4</sup>, the khan at first supported Shibani, and in 1488 ceded Turkestan to him, though this decision spoilt his relations with the Qazakhs. In 1500 he helped Shibani to seize Bukhara and Samarqand, but his newly-found friend soon turned his arms against him, and he was obliged to invoke the aid of his younger brother.

AHMAD, born in 870/1465-6, was totally unlike Mahmud. His nephew Babur describes <sup>5</sup> him as a true son of the steppes—a man of powerful physique, a stern and brave soldier, who preferred the sword to any other weapon. He wore Mongol dress, and his arms and the harness of his horse were all in keeping with Mongol custom. Ahmad defeated the Qalmuq chief TAYJI-ESEN in two battles and his exploits put such fear into the Qalmuqs that they nicknamed him *Alacha* or *Alachi*, "the Killer". He also fought the rebel amirs and the Qazakhs, who had risen against his brother and had defeated him in two battles. Thrice Ahmad defeated the Qazakhs. His only reverse was the unsuccessful attempt to reconquer Kashghar and Yarkand.

In response to his brother's appeal, Ahmad left his nineteen-year-old son Mansūr in Moghulistan and set off for Tashkent with two of his other sons. In 1503 Shibani took the Mongol army by surprise and made both brothers prisoner. He allowed

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 102. [It seems that he only took some liberties with Turkish rhymes, see A. Beveridge's translation I, 154.]

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 59, 97.

<sup>3</sup> *TR*. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *TR*, 118-120.

<sup>5</sup> Babur, pp. 106, 112.

them to return to Moghulistan, but took Tashkent and Sayram from Mahmud. The brothers spent the next winter together in Aqsu where Ahmad died from a stroke<sup>1</sup>. Mahmud left Aqsu and Eastern Moghulistan to his nephews and retired to Jiti-kand. MANSUR-KHAN remained in Aqsu, whereas his brother KHALĪL-KHAN withdrew to the Semirechyé, where he became the head of the Qirghiz tribe<sup>2</sup>.

This seems to be the earliest mention of the QIRGHIZ (i.e. the Qara-Qirghiz) in their present day territory, although, as we have seen, some of them must have moved into it before the tenth century<sup>3</sup>. Muhammad Haydar<sup>4</sup> sees no ethnic difference between the Qirghiz and the Mongols, and regards the former as a branch of the Mongol people which had separated from the main body. In his opinion the reason for their mutual hostility lay in the fact that the Mongols had been converted to Islam, whereas the Qirghiz had remained heathens.

Khalīl was soon joined by his brother SAʿĪD, who had been with his father in Mawarannahr<sup>5</sup> and had escaped from Uzbek captivity. He spent some time with his uncle in Jiti-kand, but, disgusted by the latter's misrule, fled to his brother. Khalīl and Saʿīd spent four years together, during which time they lived in open hostility with their uncle. To bring about their reconciliation, Mansūr came from Moghulistan and arranged a meeting between the uncle and the nephews, but the feud soon broke out anew. Mahmud was so hard pressed by his opponents that he returned to Mawarannahr and gave himself up to Shibani, on whose orders in 1508 he was killed together with his sons on the banks of the Sīr-Darya. After this Mansur gave

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, pp. 121-123. Cf. *Memoirs of Baber*, pp. 124-125. V. Zernov, II, 223.

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, pp. 181-182. [These are the true Qirghiz who before the Russian revolution were called Qara-Qirghiz.]

<sup>3</sup> [In his work *The Qirghiz*, published in Frunze in 1927 (reprinted in 1943) Barthold has put together the data on that people in more detail. On that occasion he also used the history of Kashgharia by Mahmūd Chūras, written before 1682. V. M.]

<sup>4</sup> *TR*, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> *TR*, p. 148. *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 106. As at that time he was 13-14 years old, he must have been born towards 1490.

battle to his two brothers at Alma-Ata, i.e. near Verny<sup>1</sup>, and defeated them. Khalīl fled to Farghana where the Uzbek governor Janibek had him killed. Saʿīd spent several months in the forest near the Narīn. There was nothing unusual in this step: according to Mongol ideas, a brave warrior was expected to spend some time in his youth roaming alone through mountains and forests, at a distance of one or two months' journey from inhabited places, living on game and dressing in the skins of the wild beasts he killed. The region chosen by Saʿīd was suffering badly from raiding parties sent out by Abu-Bakr of Kashghar. At the instance of his companions but against his own wishes, Saʿīd went to Farghana, which he reached two months after Mahmud's death and one month before Khalīl's. He too was imprisoned, but later escaped and arrived safely in Kabul where he entered Babur's service<sup>2</sup> at the end of the same year (1508).

So successful were the operations of Abu-Bakr's forces in the Semirechye, under the command of Amir Valī, that Mansur khan had to leave the country taking the Qirghiz with him to Chalish (Qarashar). A considerable number of them were killed, but some succeeded in returning to Moghulistan where Abu-Bakr allowed them to continue their nomad life on the southern shore of the Issik-kul<sup>3</sup>. Northern Semirechye was ruled by the Qazakh khan QĀSIM who died in 924/1518. His winter camp was on the Qaratal. About 1510 he defeated Shibani. In 1512 he took Talas and Sayram and plundered the neighbourhood of Tashkent. Muhammad Haydar estimates the number of the Qazakhs at that time at one million. According to Babur, Qāsim had 300,000 troops. In the autumn of 1513, a meeting took place on the banks of the Chu between Qāsim khan and Saʿīd who was then in Babur's service. Qāsim, who was over sixty-five, received Saʿīd with great honours, and the latter remembered to the end of his days this reception in the camp of the steppe chief<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In another passage the battle is said to have taken place at Charīn-Chalaq near the Charīn river.

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, pp. 125, 181-191, 222.

<sup>3</sup> *TR*, pp. 125, 319-320.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 273-277. V. Zernov, II, 150-167. 230-260.



In 1514 SAʿĪD left Babur and resolved to conquer Kashgharia. With only 4,700 men he invaded that country from the Semirechyé (apparently by the Turughart pass) and opened hostilities against the powerful Abu-Bakr. Despite the incredible audacity of his enterprise, he was completely successful<sup>1</sup>, and his conquest of Kashghar and Yarkand brought peace to Eastern Turkestan. A final reconciliation between Mansur and Saʿīd took place in 1516, in Arbat, between Aqsu and Kucha. Mansur continued to rule Turfan and Qarashar while remaining the suzerain of the whole of Eastern Turkestan. Another brother, EMIL-KHOJA<sup>2</sup>, received Uch-Turfan and Aqsu; the third brother, BABAJAQ-SULTAN, received Bahi and Kucha. Thus trade relations were rendered safe, and no taxes were levied from the merchants<sup>3</sup>, on the entire stretch between the towns of Hami (in China) and Andijān (in Farghana).

From Kashghar Saʿīd extended his sway over Southern Semirechyé. The Qirghiz MUHAMMAD, who had rendered important services to the khan during his war with Abu-Bakr, was put at the head of his people. Before his meeting with Mansur, Saʿīd, whose health was impaired by immoderate feasting, spent the summer in Moghulistan, on the advice of his physicians. In the autumn of 1516 he marched into the Semirechyé to resume the war with the Uzbeks in Farghana. On the shores of the Chatīrkul he met his brother Babajaq. In the Arpa valley all the brothers, with the exception of Mansur, organised a great hunt and spent the winter in ceaseless feasting. Saʿīd seemed to have forgotten the original aim of his expedition.

Meanwhile, the Qirghiz under the command of Muhammad were constantly raiding Turkestan, Tashkent and Sayram. Muhammad made prisoner Shibani's cousin Abdullah, the ruler of Turkestan, but later released him with presents. This incident led to a war between him and Saʿīd, although elsewhere<sup>4</sup> Mu-

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, p. 304 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in all probability instead of *Aiman Khoja* of the English translation. The final *l* and *n* in Muslim MSS. are often confused.

<sup>3</sup> *TR*, pp. 126-127, 134, 343.

<sup>4</sup> *TR*, p. 134.

hammad Haydar argues that Saʿīd was acting as the protector of the Muslims against Muhammad who had devastated Muslim lands. In the autumn of 1517, Saʿīd marched out of Kashghar, while Ēmil-Khoja proceeded from Aqsu across the Sarigh-At-Akhur pass (lit. "manger of the yellow horse"). The two forces linked up in the region of Kāfir-Yarī, from whence Saʿīd continued down the Barskaun valley, and Ēmil-Khoja down the Juuki valley. Muhammad was encamped near the mouth of the Barskaun; his men betrayed him and he was taken to Eastern Turkestan. His herds of horses and camels and flocks of sheep became the booty of the soldiers. All the Qirghiz captives were freed. By the beginning of the winter the khan was back in Kashghar <sup>1</sup>.

A new expedition was undertaken in 1552. This time again Muhammad Haydar ascribes to the khan the intention of putting an end to the Qirghiz raids on Muslim lands, but in the same breath he explains the real aim of the expedition: the grazing grounds of Eastern Turkestan could not feed the herds and flocks of the Mongols. The khan's thirteen year old son RASHĪD (Abd al-Rashīd) was nominally appointed to lead the army. He was accompanied by Muhammad, who by then had been set free and put in charge of his Qirghiz. To consolidate their power, the Mongols established a permanent camp in the Qochqar valley. The majority of the Qirghiz submitted to Muhammad, though some of them fled to the remotest corners of the country. In winter, the khan in person arrived in Qochqar and on his orders Rashid and Muhammad went "to the farthest confines of Moghulistan" where they succeeded in gathering the scattered clans of the Qirghiz. From that time onwards the khan yearly made a short stay in Qochqar to uphold his son's authority. During one of these visits, in 1524, he received in Qochqar the ruler of Northern Semirechyé, the Qazakh khan TĀHIR, nephew and second successor of Qāsim <sup>2</sup>. The latter was seeking the friendship of the Mongols against his own subjects who hated him for his cruelty, as well as against the Uzbeks and the NOGHAYS

<sup>1</sup> *TR.* pp. 341-351.

<sup>2</sup> His immediate successor had been his son Mumash-khan.

(Mangīts). The reception awarded him in the Mongol camp surpassed all his expectations. He gave his sister in marriage to Rashīd.

Muhammad was again accused of intriguing with the Uzbeks, and sent to Kashghar where he remained till Saʿīd's death. The task of maintaining order in the country was entrusted to the historian MUHAMMAD HAYDAR who admits that his efforts were unavailing, and that the majority of the Qirghiz went over to Tāhir. By the end of the summer of 1525 the khan, who was then on the shores of the Issik-kul, heard that the Qalmuqs were approaching the frontiers of Moghulistan. Somewhat earlier, in the winter of 1523-4, Rashīd had led a successful expedition against them and thereby earned the honour of being called *ghāzī* (i.e. warrior against the infidels). Now the khan, leaving his family on the Issik-kul<sup>1</sup>, set forth against the Qalmuqs and reached Qābilqālār (or \*Qabilqalqa), at ten marches from the Issik-kul. Here he received the news of the death of SUYUNCHUQ, the khan of Tashkent. This event opened up possibilities of renewing the war against the Uzbeks, and Saʿīd-khan hastened back to the Issik-kul. Through Qonur-Ölen he invaded Farghana, but having achieved no marked success turned away to Moghulistan. He joined his family at Utluq and soon after was in Kashghar.

During the next winter, Tāhir established his camp near Qochqar where he was immediately joined by half the Qirghiz. Rashīd was compelled to withdraw to Atbash, and in the beginning of 1526 was joined there by Saʿīd-khan in person. The Qazakhs crossed the whole of the Semirechyé unopposed, as far as Qash and Küngez. The remaining Qirghiz, who were at their winter quarters near Qochqar and Jumghal, and had not had time to join Tahir, were taken by the Mongols to Atbash. The daughter of Yūnus, who was Tahir's step-mother and was living in Kashghar, was sent to negotiate with him, but the result of her embassy is unknown. When Saʿīd-khan, who was on the Aq-say, learnt about a dispute between the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz, he set out against them, reached Aq-Quyash and from

<sup>1</sup> Probably on the above mentioned island [more likely a peninsula].

there went on to Arīshlar. Further on, the Mongols came across the dead bodies of the army of Babajaq of Kucha, defeated by the Qirghiz. It was probably this event that moved the Mongols to evacuate the Semirechyé and to content themselves with driving away 100,000 Qirghiz sheep. The expedition got the name of "the sheep campaign" (*qoy cheriki*). Early in the spring of 1527, Tāhir appeared on the Atbash and led away the Qirghiz together with the herds of horses left behind by the Mongols <sup>1</sup>.

After the withdrawal of the Mongols, the Semirechyé remained in the possession of the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz. The good understanding between the two peoples was short-lived. Already in 1526 the Qazakhs abandoned Tahir after he had killed his brother Abd al-Qāsim, but the Qirghiz remained faithful to him. By 1529 about 20,000 or 30,000 Qazakhs had again gathered round Tāhir. The date of his death is unknown; according to Muhammad Haydar, he died in poor circumstances. After him it is unlikely that any other khan held sway over the whole of the Qazakh people, although Muhammad Haydar names Tāhir's brother BOYDASH as his successor <sup>2</sup>.

Mongol power in the Semirechyé was re-established for a short time under Sa'īd's successor RASHĪD (1533-1570). In order to fight the common foe, Rashīd concluded an alliance with the Uzbeks of Mawarannahr, who were also warring with the Qazakhs because of their raids on Tashkent. From the north-west too, the Qazakhs were attacked by the MANGĪTS (Noghays). In 944/1537-8, Rashīd inflicted a crushing defeat on the Qazakhs, in which TUGHUM khan, Tahir's brother, and thirty-seven sultans were killed. In the more remote countries the rumour spread that the Qazakh people had been completely exterminated. Following his father's example, Rashīd left his son ABD AL-LATĪF in the Semirechyé. The Mongols continued to act in close alliance with the Uzbeks, and in 951/1544-5 a meeting took place on the shores of the Issik-kul between Rashīd and NAURŪZ-AHMAD (Baraq), khan of Tashkent.

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, pp. 367-379. V.-Zernov, II, 192-202.

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, pp. 273, 379, 388. V.-Zernov, II, 201. 219.

Nevertheless the Qazakhs soon regained the upper hand in the Semirechyé. Rashīd died in 978/1570-1 and was succeeded by his son Abd al-Latīf. The latter was killed<sup>1</sup> in a battle with the then khan of the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz, HAQQ-NAZAR, son of Qāsim. A. Jenkinson reports that about 1558 the Qazakhs were again treating Tashkent, while the Qirghiz were threatening Kashghar. Between them, these two peoples cut off all overland trade routes between China and Western Asia<sup>2</sup>.

### THE QALMUQS<sup>3</sup>

Very little is known of the situation in the Semirechyé in the second half of the sixteenth century, after the final overthrow of Mongol domination, though some interesting records are found in a Turkish work written in 990/1582, the unique copy of which belongs to the library of the University of Leyden and has not yet been properly studied<sup>4</sup>. The author, Sayfi, states that the Qalmuqs were still developing their successes in Central Asia. He calls their chief ALTAN-KHAN. This is probably the powerful ruler of the Tūmet tribe who by that time had created a vast empire in the eastern part of Central Asia

<sup>1</sup> Abd al-Latīf was then 29 years old, but the exact date of his death is not known.

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, pp. 146, 273; V.-Zernov. II, 220, 274, 330-333. *Notices et extraits*, XIII, part. I, p. 228, and XIV, part. I, p. 487. [A. Jenkinson was Chief Factor of the Muscovy Company. With the support of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, he visited (1558-9) Khiva and Bukhara to explore opportunities for trade. V. M.]

<sup>3</sup> Principal sources: Iakinf. *Historical survey of the Oyrats, or Qalmuqs* (in Russian), SPb. 1854; *Carte de la Dzoungarie dressée par le Suédois Renat*, SPb. 1881 (ed. Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc.); Zapiski of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, ethnographical section, X, 1882-88, which contains the Travel diary of Unkovsky, with foreword and notes by Prof. N. I. Veselovsky, and an article by Prof. A. M. Pozdneyev, *Notes on the history of the Zungar Qalmuqs* (in Russian); Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part I, London 1876.

<sup>4</sup> MS. No. 917, ff. 12, 14-16, 21-23. (Selections from Sayfi were published in French translation by Schéfer, as an Annex to *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, par Abdul-Kerim Boukhary. trad. par Ch. Schéfer, Paris 1876, p. 292. [Cf. P. Kahle, *Eine islamische Quelle über China um 1500*, in *Acta Orientalia*, 1933, XII, p. 91-110].

and conquered the Oyrats<sup>1</sup>. The Qazakh khan TEVEKKÜL<sup>2</sup>, son of Shighay and nephew of Tāhir<sup>3</sup>, raided the Qalmuq country. This led to a devastating irruption of the infidels into the Qazakh country. Tevekkül fled to Tashkent, where Naurüz was still khan (d. 1556), and offered him an alliance against the enemy, but Naurüz-Ahmad replied that even ten kings like themselves would be unable to cope with the Qalmuqs.

The author goes on to give a short description of the Qirghiz and the Qazakhs. "The Qirghiz, he writes, are related to the Mongols. They have no king, but only begs whom they call *qashqa*. They are neither infidels, nor Muslims. They live among steep mountains in which there are passes. If some king leads an army against them, they send their families into the heart of the mountains and then occupy the passes to let no one through. By using the yada<sup>4</sup> stone they make snow fall on the attacking army and produce such cold that the warriors can move neither arms, nor legs. Then they launch their attack and defeat their enemies. They do not bury their dead, but place the bodies in coffins on tall trees. There the bones remain until they rot and fall apart<sup>5</sup>. The neighbours of the Qirghiz are the Qazakhs; they number 200,000 families. They are Muslims and follow the rite of the Imam-Aḥmad (Abū-Ḥanīfa). They have many sheep and camels. Their dwellings are placed on carts. Their coats are made of sheep's wool, which is dyed in various colours and becomes like satin. These coats are sent to Bukhara and are bought there at the price of satin ones, so handsome and fine are they. Raincoats are made from the same wool. The wool is quite water-proof. This quality is due to the properties of some herbs that grow there, on which the sheep feed".

<sup>1</sup> Howorth, *o.c.*, p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> [Possibly some Turkish name given an Islamic appearance. In Russian: *Tefkel*].

<sup>3</sup> V.-Zernov, II, 367.

<sup>4</sup> This stone, according to the general belief of the Turks, could produce snow, rain and storms.

<sup>5</sup> This information must have been borrowed by the author from written sources (cf. *Report*, p. 111) and could hardly apply to the Qirghiz of his day.

In 1594 Tevekkül sent an ambassador to Moscow offering his allegiance to TSAR FEODOR. In the files relating to this embassy, the khan is called "Qazakh and Qalmuq king", from which it can be inferred that some Qalmuq tribes<sup>1</sup> had submitted to him. In 1598, the year of his death, Tevekkül took the towns of Tashkent and Yasï (or Turkestan), which remained in the possession of the Qazakhs down to 1723. According to Veliaminov-Zernov, the division of the Qazakhs into three hordes<sup>2</sup> is connected with this event. In the seventeenth century, Yasï and Tashkent<sup>3</sup> were the principal centres of the Qazakhs, while in the mean time they were being gradually pushed out of the Semirechyé by the Qalmuqs. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the latter invaded Khwarazm<sup>4</sup>, and reached the banks of the Volga<sup>5</sup>. Meanwhile the khan of the Choros, KHARA-KHULA, was endeavouring to reunite the whole of the Oyrat league; towards the end of his life he succeeded in this plan in spite of the stubborn resistance of the feudal princes (*tayji*, properly *tayiji*). He was succeeded in 1634 by his son BATUR, who took the title of *khung-tayji*. Under him the Oyrats, or Dzungar ("those of the left wing") received an appropriate organisation. In 1610 a quriltay was convened in his ordu, and it was attended even by the rulers of those Qalmuqs who had migrated into Russia<sup>6</sup>. At this quriltay the famous Qalmuq "code of the steppe" was proclaimed. The grazing grounds of the khung-tayji were originally situated near the upper Irtish, somewhat above Lake Zaysan<sup>7</sup>. Batur made war, persistently but with varying success, on the Qazakh khan ISHIM, brother and successor of Tevekkül<sup>8</sup>.

Batur's death in 1653 weakened the unity of the Oyrat league. Russian sources name as his successor his son SENGE, but

<sup>1</sup> V.-Zernov, II, 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 345 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 382 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghazi, trad. Desmaisons, p. 296.

<sup>5</sup> ZVO, III, 369.

<sup>6</sup> Iakinf, pp. 50, 62.

<sup>7</sup> *Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Ethnogr.*, X, fasc. I, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> V.-Zernov, II, 378-379.

according to A. M. Pozdneyev <sup>1</sup>, "unlike his father he never was the suzerain of the Oyrat league. Some six or seven years after Batur khung-tayji's death he may have become the ruler of the Dzungar tribes, but never more than that". Several other princes bore the title of khung-tayji simultaneously with Senge. Batur's eldest son, SETSEN KHAN, led a nomad life on the upper reaches of the Irtish.

In 1671 Senge was killed <sup>2</sup>. His brother GHALDAN-BOSHOQTU arrived from Tibet, and soon hostilities broke out between him and his brother Setsen khan. In 1676 Setsen khan was defeated near the Talqi pass and Lake Sayram, and forced to submit to Ghaldan. Ghaldan, like his predecessor, made war on the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz. In 1681 and 1683 he led an expedition against Sayram, and in 1682, 1684 and 1685 fought the Qirghiz and Farghanians. In 1684 the town of Sayram was captured and destroyed by his general RABDAN <sup>3</sup>. From then onwards the domination of the Qalmuqs in the Semirechyé remained uncontested, and their numerous wars with the Qazakhs, Mongols and Chinese had no connection with that province. Ghaldan was apparently the first Qalmuq khan to pitch his tents mainly in the Ili valley, though he sometimes spent the winter on the banks of the Irtish. Probably from that time, the present-day districts of the Ili and Qur-qara-usu came to be regarded as the khung-tayji's private domain <sup>4</sup>. According to Unkovsky's account <sup>5</sup>, the Burut (Qirghiz) were the only Turkish people still leading a nomad life near the Issik-kul in the eighteenth century.

In his desire to unify his kingdom, Ghaldan persecuted his relatives, but his nephew, TSEVAN-RABDAN, managed to escape to Turfan in 1678. When Ghaldan set out on an expedition against Mongolia in 1688, Tsevan-Rabdan returned to his country, either in that year or the next. He settled down in the Borotal valley, but gradually extended his power over the whole

<sup>1</sup> *Zap. G.O.E.*, X, fasc. II, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to Pozdneyev, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *Zap. G.O.*, X, fasc. II, pp. 248-250.

<sup>4</sup> Iakinf, p. 135.

<sup>5</sup> P. 193.



country <sup>1</sup>. Ghaldan never returned to his kingdom; his military operations in Mongolia were so disastrous that in 1697 he committed suicide <sup>2</sup>.

After Ghaldan's death Tsevan-Rabdan, now sole ruler of the kingdom, became as formidable an enemy to the Chinese, as his uncle had been in his day. Peace with China was outwardly maintained down to 1714, when Tsevan-Rabdan opened hostilities by sacking Hami <sup>3</sup>. In the same year, the Emperor KANG-HSI promulgated an edict, in which he enumerated Tsevan-Rabdan's offences and summoned him to restore to the Dzungar princes all the rights and lands of which he had robbed them, and for that purpose to convoke them to a diet, in which Chinese delegates should take part. Among other things, the Emperor insisted that the "grazing grounds of Alaq" (Ala-tau) should be handed over to the Khoyt, and proposed for the khung-tayji's share "a small tract of land on the Irtish". Tsevan-Rabdan could not possibly accede to these demands, and so he opened hostilities. The Chinese were well aware of the weak spots in the Qalmuq kingdom and knew that it was constantly threatened by the Qazakhs and the Buruts (Qirghiz), for which reason strong forces had to be concentrated on the frontiers with these peoples. The Chinese envoys claimed in their reports that the Qalmuqs, for fear of the Chinese attack, were migrating in large numbers down the Ili <sup>4</sup>.

The Russian government, availing itself of the difficulties of the Qalmuqs, sought to win them over to Russian allegiance. This offer was brought to the Qalmuqs by the Cossack chief IVAN CHEREDOV who visited them in 1719 <sup>5</sup>. Somewhat earlier, in 1717, the Tobol nobleman VELYANOV paid his respects to Tsevan-Rabdan on the banks of the Kharkir, near Muzart, taking leave of him only in the following year when the khung-tayji's camp stood at its usual winter quarters near Khorghos, at

<sup>1</sup> *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. III, pp. 251-253.

<sup>2</sup> *Iakinf*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. III, pp. 260-263.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

the foot of the Talqi mountain <sup>1</sup>. We possess far more detailed information on the embassy of CAPTAIN UNKOVSKY. In November 1722, this officer arrived at the camp of the khung-tayji, on the southern bank of the Ili, a few miles East of the Charin. He stayed at the court of the Qalmuq ruler till September 1723, accompanying him from one camping place to another up to the rivers Tüp and Jarghalan. This embassy produced no political results, especially as the death of the Emperor K'ang-hsi in 1722 had lessened the threat from the Chinese side. Moreover, in 1723 the Qalmuqs gained an important victory over the Qazakhs and occupied Sayram, Tashkent and Yasī (Turkestan) <sup>2</sup>.

According to Unkovsky, the Qalmuqs were able to muster 100,000 warriors. The khung-tayji, who was very popular with his subjects, undertook nothing without consulting the *zaysangs*, i.e. the heads of the different clans. TSEREN-DUNDUQ, chief *zay-sang* and cousin of the khung-tayji, camped on the banks of the Lepsa and the Qaratal. Some thirty years previously the Qalmuqs had had no agriculture, but at the time of Unkovsky's visit, not only the captive Bukharans (Sarts), but also many Qalmuqs tilled the soil, and the cultivated area was constantly growing. The Sarts had a small town near the mouth of the Khorghos. The Qalmuqs traded with the Russians, the Chinese (in peace time) and the Tanguts, as well as with India and Mawarannahr <sup>3</sup>.

The Qalmuqs owed much of their military and cultural successes to the Swedish sergeant RENAT <sup>4</sup>, captured by them in the winter of 1715-6, together with the escort intended for the expedition of BUCHHOLZ, which in 1715 had been sent up the Irtish. Renat remained in the Qalmuq country till 1733. He taught them the art of casting cannon and various handicrafts, and even organised a printing shop <sup>5</sup>. On his return to his country he compiled a map of Dzungharia on which are marked

<sup>1</sup> Renat, *Carte de la Dzoungarie*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. III, p. 193. Levshin, *Description of the Qirghiz-Qaysaq hordes and steppes* (in Russian), SPb. 1832, II, 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. III, pp. 30, 194-196.

<sup>4</sup> [Renat had been taken prisoner by the Russians at Poltava.]

<sup>5</sup> *Carte de Renat*, p. 5.

in detail all the camping sites of the nomads. These, as could be expected, were mostly situated in foot-hills, on the upper courses of rivers. In the Semirechye such camping sites were: 1. along the Ala-tau of the Semirechye and the upper courses of the rivers flowing into Lake Balkhash; 2. between Altin-Emil and Qoybın, to the North of the Ili between Kök-tal and Kök-terek; 3. along the northern bank of the Kegen and from the Charın to the East along the northern slope of the Ketmen mountains; 4. on the upper course of the Chılıq and its tributaries; 5. along the banks of the Tüp and the southern shore of the Issik-kul; near the western corner of the lake and on its northern shore, between the rivers Qoy-su and Aq-su; 6. in the valley of the Great Kebin and on the upper course of the rivers flowing into the Chu, up to Qaraghata. Renat places the principal camp of the khung-tayji to the South-East of the Talqi pass, near the present day Qulja.

Tsevan-Rabdan was succeeded by his son GHALDAN-TSEREN (1727-1745), who carried on the war with the Chinese and, by the peace treaty of 1732, lost nearly half of his possessions<sup>1</sup>. In the West he succeeded in extending his power over the Qazakhs, although they were nominally regarded as Russian subjects<sup>2</sup>. The affairs of the Qazakhs caused the Russians to send several envoys to Ghaldan-Tseren. One of these, the *platz-major* UGRYUMOV (1732-3) accompanied Ghaldan-Tseren from camp to camp. In April and May they moved from Kojiger down the river Ili; at the end of May and during the summer months, along the Temirlik, Kegen, Qarqara and Tekes; and from September down to the last days of March, along the river Ili; "at first downstream, then again upstream, to Kochigir (Kojiger) where it is his custom to remain till May"<sup>3</sup>.

Ghaldan was succeeded by his son TSEVAN-DORJI (1745-50), who was killed by his brother LAMA-DORJI. Amidst the disturbances that followed, Ghaldan-Tseren's nephew AMURSANA rose to eminence. With the help of the Qazakhs, he occupied the

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Levshin, II, 145-157.

<sup>3</sup> *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. II, p. 234.

banks of the Emil and the upper Irtish, and in 1754 submitted to the Chinese and invoked their protection against his enemies. In 1755 two great Chinese armies were sent to the West. Practically without any bloodshed, they subjugated the whole of the Qalmuq kingdom. Amursana revolted in the same year, but was defeated by the Chinese, and fled to the Qazakhs. For a short time in 1757 he reappeared on the Ili, but was compelled to flee because the Qazakh khan ABLAY intended to betray him to the Chinese. He finally sought refuge on Russian territory where he died in the same year from small-pox. Thus ended the existence of the last nomad empire in Central Asia. In 1758 the Chinese sent another army into the country which wrought hideous slaughter among the Qalmuqs <sup>1</sup>.

After the fall of the Dzunghar kingdom, the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz returned to the Semirechye, where for some time they were looked upon as Chinese subjects. The fortified line of the Chinese roughly corresponded to the present-day frontier between China and Russia, and until Russia had established her power in the country, the Qazakhs and the Qirghiz were in effect independent <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Zap. G.O.*, fasc. II, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Iakinf, pp. 109-125.

## APPENDIX

### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- Second century B.C. The Wu-sun occupy the Semirechyé and the Sê people withdraw to the south.
- Circa 105 B.C. Chinese embassy to the Wu-sun.
- Circa 51 B.C. The Wu-sun split up into two states.
- 11 B.C. Part of the Wu-sun migrate to the North-West.
- 1 B.C. The Wu-sun king Ichimi arrives at the Chinese capital.
- Beginning of the fifth century A.D. The Wu-sun ousted from the plains of the Semirechyé by the Jou-jan.
425. A Wu-sun embassy to China.
436. A Chinese embassy to the Wu-sun.
- Sixth century. The Semirechyé conquered by the Turks.
581. The Turkish empire breaks up into two states.
- Seventh century. Journey of Hsüan-tsang. Oldest reports on agriculture in the Semirechyé.
657. The Semirechyé submits to the Chinese.
- Circa 740. Fall of the Western Turkish kingdom.
748. Suyab destroyed by the Chinese.
751. The Chinese defeated on the Talas.
766. Suyab occupied by the Qarluq.
- Circa 940. The Chu valley conquered by the Qarakhanids.
960. The Semirechyé Turks converted to Islam.
992. Death of Boghra-khan Harun.
- 1017-1018. The Semirechyé invaded by eastern nomads.
1025. Tughan-khan dislodged from the Semirechyé.
- 1031-1032. Death of Qadir-khan Yusuf. Arslan-khan Sulayman.
1043. Conversion to Islam of the nomads on the Qirghiz (Qazakh) steppes.
1056. Arslan-khan deposed.
- 1057-1058. Death of Boghra-khan Muhammad.
- 1059-1074/5. Toghril Qara-khan Yusuf.
1080. The first poem in Turkish, the *Qutadghu-bilik*, composed.
- 1074/5-1102/3. Boghra-khan Harun.

- 1090. Atbash plundered by the Kashgharians.
- 1102. Defeat and death of Qadir-khan Jibrail.
- 1125. The Qara-Khitay migrate to the West.
- Circa 1130. Their defeat in Eastern Turkestan.
- 1137. Their victory at Khojand.
- 1141. Victory on the Qatvan steppe.
- 1142. Death of the first gurkhan.
- 1176-1190. Patriarch Elias III: Nestorian metropoly in Kash-  
ghar and the Semirechyé.
- 1208-1209. Küchlük arrives in the Semirechyé.
- 1210. Defeat of the Qara-Khitay at Uzgand and at Talas.
- 1211. The northern part of the Semirechyé submits to the Mon-  
gols.
- 1212. The gurkhan deposed. Accession of Küchlük.
- 1218. Conquest of the Semirechye by the Mongols.
- 1219. Journey of Ye-lé Ch<sup>c</sup>u-t<sup>c</sup>sai.
- 1220. Journey of Wu-ku-sun.
- 1221-1223. Journey of Ch<sup>c</sup>ang Ch<sup>c</sup>un.
- 1227. Death of Chingiz-khan.
- 1229-1241. Ögedey.
- 1229. Abu-Yaqub Yusuf Sakkāki killed.
- 1242. Death of Chaghatay.
- 1242-1246. Khara-Hulagu.
- 1246-1248. Güyük.
- 1246-1251. Yesü-Mönke.
- 1246. Journey of Plano Carpini.
- 1248. Batu in the Semirechyé.
- 1251-1259. Mönke.
- 1251. Destruction of the Chaghatay ulus.
- 1251-1260. \*Orqina's government.
- 1253. Journey of Rubruquis.
- 1254-1255. Hulagu's campaign.
- 1255. Journey of King Haython.
- 1259. Embassy of Chang-tê.
- 1260. Election of Khubilay and Ariq-böge.
- 1260-1265/6. Alghuy.
- 1260. Death of the minister Habash-<sup>c</sup>Amid.

- 1262. Victory of Alghuy near Lake Sayram.
- 1263. His defeat in the Ili valley.
- 1264. Ariq-böge's retreat.
- 1266. Election of Mubārak-shah. Arrival of Boraq (\*Baraq).  
Defeat and deposition of Mubārak-shah.
- 1268. Victory of Khaydu over Boraq on the Sīr-Darya.
- 1269. Quriltay on the Talas.
- 1271. Death of Boraq.
- 1282. Peace in the Chaghatay possessions restored.
- 1301. Death of Khaydu.
- 1303. Chapar proclaimed khan. Ambassador of Bayan in Baghdad.
- 1304. Plan of federation of the Mongol states.
- 1305. War between Chapar and Tuva.
- 1306-1307. Death of Tuva.
- 1308. Death of Künjek.
- 1308-1309. Taliqu.
- 1310-1318. Esen-buqa.
- 1315. Closer relations between Esen-buqa and Uzbek.
- 1318-1326. Kebek.
- 1326. Ilchigedey. Successes of Catholic propaganda in Central Asia. Durra-Timur.
- 1326-1334. Tarmashirin.
- 1333. Journey of Ibn-Battūta.
- 1334. Buzan.
- 1334-1338. Jenkshi. Catholic missionaries in Almaliq.
- 1338-1339. Plague in the Semirechyé.
- 1339. Persecution of Christians.
- 1347. Power of the Chaghatay khans in Mawarannahr destroyed.
- 1348-1362/3. Tuqluq-Timur.
- 1360 He conquers Mawarannahr.
- 1370-1371. Timur reaches Qochqar.
- 1375. Timur's expedition against the Semirechyé.
- 1376. New expedition of Timur. Defeat of Qamar al-din.
- 1377. New expedition of Timur. Qamar al-din defeated in the Buam gorge.
- 1383. Invasion by Turkish amirs.

- 1389-1399. Khizr-khoja.
1389. Timur's expedition to the Irtish and Yulduz.
1390. Expedition of Turkish amirs to the Irtish.
1397. Timur marries Khizr-khoja's daughter.
1399. Internecine strife in Moghulistan.
- 1399-1408. Sham'ci-Jahān.
1404. A part of the Semirechyé subjected by Timur.
1405. Timur's death.
1407. Embassy of Sham'ci-Jahān to China.
- 1408-1416. Muhammad-khan.
- 1416-1418. Naqshi-Jahān.
- 1418-1421. Vays-khan.
1420. Internecine strife in Moghulistan. Shahrukh's ambassadors cross the Semirechyé.
1421. Accession of Shir Muhammad-khan.
1425. Ulugh-beg's invasion.
1428. Death of Vays-khan in the battle with Satuq-khan.
- 1428-1434. Feuds in Moghulistan.
- 1434-1462. Esen-buqa.
- 1434-1456. Yunus-khan's residence in Persia.
- 1456-1462. Yunus-khan in Jitikand.
1462. Yunus-khan's accession in the western part of Moghulistan.
1469. Death of Sultan Abu-Sa'īd.
- Circa 1472. Unification of Moghulistan under Yunus.
1472. The Qalmuq invade the Semirechyé.
1482. Defection of the majority of the Mongols from Yunus.
- 1487-1508. Mahmud-khan.
1503. Defeat of Mahmud-khan and his brother Ahmad-khan in the battle with Shībani. Death of Ahmad.
- 1504-1508. Khalil as the chief of the Qirghiz.
1508. Battle at Alma-ata between Mansur and his brothers Khalil and Sa'īd.
1513. Meeting between Sa'īd-khan and Qāsim-khan Qazaq on the banks of the Chu.
1514. Conquest of Kashgharia by Sa'īd-khan.
1516. Peace in Eastern Turkestan restored. First expedition of Sa'īd-khan into the Semirechyé.



1517. Expedition of Saʿīd-khan and his brother Emil-khoja against Muhammad Qirghiz.
1522. The Semirechyé submits to the Mongols. The Mongol camp in the Qochqar valley.
1524. Meeting between Saʿīd-khan and Tāhir-khan Qazakh.
1525. The Qalmuqs invade the Semirechyé. Saʿīd-khan's expedition against them. Retreat of the Mongols towards Atbash.
1526. Retreat of the Mongols from the Semirechyé. Tāhir-khan abandoned by the Qazakhs.
1525. Tahir-khan on the Atbash.
1529. Reconciliation of part of the Qazakhs with Tahir-khan.
- 1533-1565/6. Rashīd-khan the Mongol.
- 1537-1538. His victory over the Qazakhs. Mongol domination in the Semirechyé restored.
- 1544-1545. Meetings between Rashid-khan and Naurūz-Ahmad of Tashkent on the shores of the Issik-kul.
1552. Conquest of the Oyrats by Altan-khan.
- 1552-1556. Victory of the Qalmuqs over Tevekkül-khan Qazakh.
1594. Tevekkül-khan's embassy to Moscow.
1598. Conquest by him of Turkestan and Tashkent. His death.
- 1634-1653. Batur-khung-tayji.
1640. Publication of the Qalmuq code.
1671. Senge assassinated.
1676. Victory of Ghaldan-Boshogtu-khan over Setsen-khan.
1681. Ghaldan Boshoktu-khan's expedition against Sayram.
1683. His expedition against Sayram. Expedition against the Qirghiz and Farghana.
- 1684-1685. Destruction of Sayram. Expeditions against the Qirghiz and Farghana.
1688. Expedition into Mongolia. Tsevan-Rabdan in Dzungharia.
1697. Death of Ghaldan.
- 1697-1727. Tsevan-Rabdan.
1714. War between the Qalmuqs and the Chinese. Edict of the Emperor K'ang-hsi.
- 1716-1733. The Swede Renat in Dzungharia.

- 1717-1718. The nobleman Velyanov at the khung-tayji's court.  
1719. Cheredov's embassy.  
1722. Death of the Emperor K<sup>c</sup>ang-hsi.  
1722-1723. Embassy of Captain Unkovsky.  
1723. Conquest by the Qalmuqs of Sayram, Turkestan and Tashkent.  
1727-1745. Ghaldan-Tseren.  
1732-1733. Ugryumov at the khung-tayji's court.  
1739. Peace between the Qalmuqs and the Chinese.  
1745-1750. Tsevan-Dorji.  
1754. Amursana submits to the Chinese.  
1755. Amursana's revolt. His flight to the Qazakh.  
1757. Death of Amursana in Tobolsk.  
1758. Devastation of Dzungharia by the Chinese. Extermination of the Qalmuqs.

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V. V. BARTHOLD

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FOUR STUDIES ON THE  
HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

BY

V. AND T. MINORSKY

VOLUME II

ULUGH-BEG



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Ulugh-beg's likeness from the monument erected to him  
in Samarqand.

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## FOREWORD

The avowed purpose of Barthold's monograph on Ulugh-beg<sup>1</sup> was to represent Tamerlane's grandson not as a detached king-astronomer, but as a son of his time with the background of his family relations, political strife and military expeditions. The death of Ulugh-beg by the order of his son marks the end of a period in the history of the Timurids, on the eve of the interminable series of divisions and struggles among the later princes hard pressed by the Qara-quyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu Turcomans from the West and by the Uzbeks from the East.

While Barthold turned his attention to historical realities, an interesting attempt has been made by a countryman of Ulugh-beg's Professor T. N. Karī-Niyazov (Member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences), to revive and complete the picture of Ulugh-beg's achievements as a promoter of science and especially of astronomy. The Uzbek mathematician's book on Ulugh-beg's astronomical school<sup>2</sup> contains a full description of the remains of Ulugh-beg's observatory, of the tables known by his name and the biographies of his scientific collaborators. From this book we reproduce, with proper acknowledgment, four photographs: that of the idealised image of Ulugh-beg on the monument erected to his memory in Samarqand, representing him as a meditative star-gazer (*frontispiece*); that of the Gūr-i Mīr, the mausoleum of the Timurids (p. 124); that of Ulugh-beg's quadrant, as unearthed in 1908 amid the ruins of Ulugh-beg's observatory (p. 132); that of the skull of Ulugh-beg, as retrieved in 1941 (p. 180)<sup>3</sup>; that of his likeness, as reconstructed from his remains by the sculptor M. M. Gerasimov (p. 180).

<sup>1</sup> V. V. Barthold, *Ulughbek i yego vremya, Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, VIII-e série, vol. XIII, No. 5, Pétrograd 1918.

<sup>2</sup> Published in Russian under the title *Astronomicheskaya shkola Ulugh-beka*, Moscow 1950, 330 pp.

<sup>3</sup> On 17 June 1941 Ulugh-beg's tomb in Samarqand was opened by a committee of specialists and his head, severed by the executioner's sword, was found beside his body.

Barthold (see below p. 14) considered as spurious the official pedigree of Ulugh-beg's grandfather Tamerlane, which gives him an ancestor (Tumenay) in common with Chingiz-khan. A Turkish scholar <sup>1</sup> by patiently re-examining Mongol genealogies has recently sought to reaffirm Timur's claim to nobility <sup>2</sup>. The fact remains that Timur himself did not aspire to any higher distinction than the appellation *küräkän* (in Persian read *gūrgān*), i.e. "son-in-law" (cf. Chinese *fu-ma*), which points to his matrimonial link with the family of akhan. The transformation of the *Mongol* tribe of Barulas into the *Turkic* clan of Barlas, to which Timur belonged, needs also further elucidation.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. A. Z. V. Togan in his article contributed to the Presentation volume to Prof. M. Shafi, Lahore 1955, pp. 105-114.

<sup>2</sup> As claimed by the inscription on the stone erected over Timur's tomb by Ulugh-beg. In it the genealogy goes up to the fabulous Alan-goat, who conceived from a sunbeam (Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezine, VII, 173), and it adds that the sunbeam was "a descendant of 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib"!

V. MINORSKY

## INTRODUCTION

In an article written after the discovery of the ruins of Ulugh-beg's observatory attention was drawn to the extreme paucity of our "information on Ulugh-beg's personality and his part in the work of the Samarqand observatory" <sup>1</sup>. Ulugh-beg's personality and reign have never yet been the subject of a monograph by a European student of Oriental history. Astronomers who wrote about Ulugh-beg were naturally far more interested in him as the author of astronomical tables, than as a ruler and historical personage. The astronomers' pen turned Timur's grandson, — an ambitious ruler who, according to a Persian annalist, united in his person "the learning of Plato with the magnificence of Faridun" <sup>2</sup>, — into a scholarly idealist who from the first years of his reign abandoned politics and devoted all his time to mathematics and astronomy <sup>3</sup>. The madrasa which he founded became by virtue of a free translation by one of the earlier Orientalists, a "school organised on the lines of the Museon of Alexandria" <sup>4</sup>. Few persons know that for Ulugh-beg's epoch the student has at his disposal several independent chronicles, a fact which lessens the scope for guesses and hypotheses far more than the astronomers who wrote on Ulugh-beg had believed.

It is true that our information on Ulugh-beg is much scantier than that on his father and grandfather. We have no historical works written at Ulugh-beg's court, nor any accounts by travellers who had seen Ulugh-beg, his court and his capital. The

<sup>1</sup> V. Milovanov, in *PTKLA*, XVIII, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Mirkhond, *L*, p. 1290.

<sup>3</sup> Sédillot, *Prolégomènes*, Introd., p. CXXV: "entraîné par l'amour de l'étude, il abandonna promptement le terrain de la politique pour se livrer tout entier à sa passion pour les mathématiques et l'astronomie". A contemporary Russian scholar is still more categorical: Ulugh-beg was "an idealist scholar who had entirely consecrated himself to science, a man not of this world" (I. I. Sikora in *ITOIRGO*, IX, 1913, p. 82).

<sup>4</sup> Humboldt, *Kosmos*, II, 161; in Th. Hyde's translation "a gymnasium"; cf. Sédillot, Introd., pp. CXXVI and CXXVIII.



reports of men who lived in Mawarānnahr in Ulugh-beg's time have come to us only at second-hand. The sources are completely silent on his outward appearance, whereas we have sufficiently full descriptions of the appearance of Timur<sup>1</sup> and even of Chingiz-khan<sup>2</sup>. Portraits of Ulugh-beg will probably come to light in illustrated MSS., but up till now the problem has not been investigated and it is even doubtful whether a good likeness can be expected from such illustrations<sup>3</sup>. We shall see, however, that Timur's activities, on which we possess very detailed information, largely predetermined the subsequent destinies of his empire. In the events of his reign we can find a key to many of Ulugh-beg's actions, successes and failures. An outline of the life and rule of Ulugh-beg must therefore begin with a brief description of the legacy which he received from his grandfather.

<sup>1</sup> Clavijo, 249; IAr., p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Jūzjānī and Meng-Hung, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, GMS, 457.

<sup>3</sup> [See below p. VII].

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ‘Ālam-ārā — Iskandar-munshi, ‘Ālam-ārā, Tehran 1314.
- An. Isk. — Anonymous history of Iskandar. MS. Asiatic Museum 566bc; MS. British Mus. Or. 1566 (Rieu, p. 1062). Cf. IAN 1915, p. 1365, DAN 1927, 115-6; IAN 1929, 165-80.
- An. Sh. — Anonymous history of Shāhrukh. MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 159 (Rieu, p. 1365). See *Dnevnik*, I, p. XXXIII, and XVO, XXIII, 20. Identified by H. R. Roemer as Shams al-Ḥusn, *Tāj-i Salmānī*, Wiesbaden 1956.
- AR — ‘Abd-al-Razzāq, *Matla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, MS. University of Petrograd, No. 157. See the new edition by M. Shafi, Lahore 1941, 1949.
- Babur — *Bābur-nāma*, ed. A. Beveridge, GMS, 1905.
- Barthold, *Irrigation* — Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914.
- Barthold, *Report* — Barthold, *Otchet o poyezdke* (Report on a mission to Central Asia in 1893-4). *Zap. Akad. Nauk*, SPb. 1897.
- Barthold, *Semirechye* — Barthold, *Ocherk istorii Semirechya*, 1898. See translated in part I of the present edition.
- Blochét — Blochet, *Introduction à l’histoire des Mongols*, 1900.
- Clavijo — Clavijo, *La vida y hazañas del gran Tamorlan*, ed. Sreznevsky, St. Petersburg 1881.
- DAN — *Dokladi Akademii Nauk*.
- Daulatshah — Daulatshah, *The Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā*, ed. E. G. Browne, 1901.
- Dnevnik* — Ghiyāth ad-dīn Alī, *Dnevnik pokhoda Timura v Indiyu*, ed. L. Zimin, SPb. 1915 (*Teksti po istorii Sredney Azii*, I), SPb. 1915.
- E.I. — Encyclopedia of Islam, first edition.
- Faṣīḥ, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*, MS. Musée Asiatique 581.
- H. Abru, *Shahr*. — Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *A history of Shahrukh*, MS. India Office, Ethé, p. 76, No. 171.
- H. Abru, Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-tavarikh*, MS. Zub., Bodleian, Elliot 422.
- IĀN — Izvestiya Akad. Nauk (Bull. de l’Acad. des Sciences).
- IAr. — Ibn ‘Arabshāh, *‘Ajāib al-maqdūr*, Cairo 1285.
- I. Bat. — Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, *Voyages*, ed. Defrémery.
- ITOIRGO — Izvestiya of the Turkestan branch of the Imp. Russian Geogr. Society.
- HS — Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1271; for part III/3 see Indian edition 1847.
- Lerch — P. Lerch, *Archeological journey to Turkestan* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1860.

- Mirkhond — Mirkhond, *Rauḍat al-Safā*, Lucknow 1883.
- Musavi, *Khayrāt* — Musavi, *Tārīkh-i khayrāt*, MS. Br. Mus. Or. 4898 (Rieu Suppl., p. 270, No. 423); *Aṣaḥḥ al-tavārikh*, MS. Bodleian, Elliot 2 (Sachau-Ethé, No. 32)-the different titles belong to the copies of the same work, see IAN, 1915, p. 1365.
- Nizam al-din — Nizām al-dīn, *Ẓafar-nāma*, MS. Br. Mus. Add. 23980, Rieu, p. 170 published by F. Tauer, Prague, I (1937); II (1956): notes.
- Ostroumov — Ostroumov, 'Madrasas in Turkestan', *Journ. Minist. Prosveshcheniya*, 1907, January.
- PTKLA — Proceedings of the Turkestan circle of archeology.
- Rashahāt — 'Alī b. Ḥusayn-Vā'iz, *Rashahāt 'ayn-il-ḥayāt*, Tashkent 1329.
- Rosen, Muz. — *al-Muẓaffariya*, offered to Baron V. Rosen, St. Petersburg 1897.
- Samariya — Abū-Ṭāhir, *Samariya*, ed. N. Veselovsky, 1904.
- Sédillot — Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-beg*, Paris 1847-53.
- Suter — Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomer der Araber*, Leipzig 1908.
- TR — Muhammad Ḥaydar, *The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, transl. by E. D. Ross, 1895.
- Turkestan — Barthold, *Turkestan*, English edition, GMS, 1928.
- Turkestan, texts — Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., I, 1898.
- Vasifi — Vāsifī, *Badā'i' al-viqāyī*, MS. Asiat. Museum 568a. See *Mélanges As.*, VI, 400 Cf. A. N. Boldirev, *Zaynaddīn Vāsifī*, Stalinabad 1957.
- Vyatkin — V. L. Vyatkin, *Year book of Samarqand province*.
- Vyatkin, *Materials* — V. L. Vyatkin, *Materiali po istor. geografii Samark. vilayeta*, Samarqand 1902 (in *Year-book of Samarqand province*, fasc. VII, with separate pagination).
- Wassāf — Wassāf, *Tārīkh*, Bombay 1269.
- Zahīr — Zahīr al-dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Dorn, St. Petersburg.
- ZAN — Zapiski Akad. Nauk.
- ZN — Sharaf al-dīn 'Alī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8.
- ZVO — Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya.

## I. THE MONGOL EMPIRE AND THE CHAGHATAY STATE

I. The empire created by Timur was a unique combination of elements of the Turco-Mongolian political and military system with elements of Muslim, mainly Persian, culture.

A number of works published on Chingiz-khan and his empire<sup>1</sup> have completely reversed the previous views that the Mongol conquests were nothing but a chaotic, elemental surge of savages who crushed everything by the weight of their numbers and destroyed the culture they could not understand. For all its simplicity, the existence of the nomads differs considerably from the primitive life of savages. In the steppe there is a contrast between rich and poor, with the resulting class antagonism; there is a necessity of defending property, especially herds, against the external enemy; there is also an armed struggle for grazing grounds, spreading sometimes over vast areas. Crises that arise make the people organise their forces and unite under one man or one clan. The usual conditions of nomad life<sup>2</sup>, under which there is only a social but no political organisation, are soon replaced by a strong central authority with its concomitant concept of power on an imperial scale, which under favourable circumstances develops into an idea of world domination. For this idea to succeed, its bearer must dispose of an imposing and well organised force. The usual conditions of nomad life do not favour such aspirations. To achieve any amount of stability a nomad empire must be provided by its leader with the riches of civilised countries, either by conquest or by plundering expeditions. In a conquered country the nomads, and especially the dynasty and its principal supporters, gradually succumb to the influence of a higher culture, but their own heritage does not

<sup>1</sup> On the literature see *Turkestan*, p. 59 sq.; *Čingiz-khan* in *EI*.

<sup>2</sup> The best description of these conditions is in V. V. Radloff, *Kudatku-Bilik*, Introduction (in German), p. LI sq. *On the Uyghur problem* (in Russian), Suppl. to ZAN, vol. LXXII, No. 2, 1893, p. 65 sq.

disappear immediately and without trace. The conquerors endeavour to combine the freedom of nomad life with the benefits of civilisation, and this creates peculiar relations between the monarch, his tribesmen and his new subjects. The political system which emerged in the conqueror's original home, with some assistance from more cultured elements, finds in the conquered land conditions more favourable for its development. It triumphs over the political ideals which previously obtained in the conquered country, and leaves here more enduring traces than in its original home. The Mongol political organisation led to the establishment of a more stable political order in China, Muslim Asia and Russia<sup>1</sup>, although it hardly affected the history of Mongolia in this respect. Similarly, the political organisation created by Muhammad and the first caliphs had a far greater influence on the fate of the countries conquered by the Arabs than on that of the Arabian peninsula.

2. The empire founded by Chingiz-khan is an exceptional phenomenon among nomad empires. In every other case the united nomads succeeded in establishing their domination only over a small number of civilised countries. The Mongols destroyed many civilised states, conquered the entire Asiatic continent (except India, Syria and the Arabian peninsula) and Eastern Europe, and founded an empire more vast than any that had ever existed. And yet, these exceptional results were obtained by a people not very numerous and apparently not in need of new territories. As had been the case with the empire of the ancient Persians, the bulk of the people remained in their native country. The Mongol epic, composed about 1240 A.D. and known under its Chinese title *Yüan-ch'ao-pi-shi*,<sup>2</sup> testifies to the Mongols' lack of interest in the activities of Chingiz-khan outside the confines of Mongolia. The sayings attributed to Chingiz-khan and his companions<sup>3</sup> refer only to the seizing and dividing

<sup>1</sup> See *Mir Islama*, 1912, I, 72.

<sup>2</sup> [Translated into German by E. Haenisch, Leipzig 1941, and into Russian by S. A. Kozin, Moscow 1941].

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by me in *ZVO*, X, 110 sq.

of booty in war and hunt. This alone defined the entire object of the unification of the people under the power of the khan and the sum total of the rights and obligations of the khan and his lieutenants. Chingiz-khan's military successes which made this robber chief <sup>1</sup> the ruler of the largest kingdom in the world, were bound to endow his name with a glamour that rarely fell to the lot of other founders of dynasties. His will was immutable law not only in his lifetime but even after his death. None of his successors would have dared to place himself on a level with Chingiz-khan and demand the same worship. On ascending the throne the founder of the dynasty, like the former Turkish monarchs, took a title which entirely superseded his personal name, Temüchin. All the Mongol khans who succeeded him bore one single personal name before and after their accession. In China, under the Mongol emperors, as before, we find special names for the dynasty, for the years of rule of each emperor, posthumous names etc.; but outside the frontiers of China these emperors too were called by their personal names, even in official documents <sup>2</sup>.

The Mongol empire stands out among the other nomad states both because of its dimensions and of its prolonged existence. V. V. Radloff <sup>3</sup> explains the latter by the fact that the Mongol state "had annexed many important countries of sedentary peoples, and that it broke up not into its constituent tribes, but into a number of civilised states (China, Central Asia, Persia etc.)". Apart from China, however, it is only in Persia that the Mongol domination can be regarded as the continuation and further development of the former political life.

3. In other works I have had the opportunity to speak of the state founded by the Mongols in Western Asia, and of its econo-

<sup>1</sup> At heart Chingiz-khan remained a robber chief to the end of his days, judging by the sayings attributed to him. I have drawn attention to this fact in the *E.I.*, under *Chingiz-Khan*.

<sup>2</sup> See for example the famous letter of 1305 sent to the king of France from Persia. Text, transcription and translation in Pauthier, *Le livre de Marco Polo*, II, Appendix No. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Kudatku-Bilik*, p. LVI. *On the Uyghur problem*, p. 75.

mic and cultural life<sup>1</sup>. The facts show that throughout that period and despite the complaints of contemporaries about the utter ruin of the country and the complete decadence of learning, Persia held first place in the contemporary world, culturally and in all probability economically also. Urban life developed steadily. New trade centres sprang up which retained their importance even after the Mongols. The country carried on an extensive sea trade with India and China and relations, busier than ever before, were established between the civilisations of the Near and Far East. The destruction of the caliphate made it easier for the followers of other creeds to take part in intellectual life together with the Muslims. The Mongol monarchs patronised secular science, and especially mathematics, astronomy and medicine. New observatories with perfected instruments were erected in north-western Persia. Persian astronomical treatises were translated into Greek in Byzantium<sup>2</sup>. With the co-operation of representatives of different nationalities a chronicle was composed in Persian incorporating the historical traditions of various peoples. The plan of this work has remained unsurpassed in its vastness.

The magnificent buildings of this epoch<sup>3</sup> are rated by specialists among the most remarkable creations of Muslim architecture and, no less than the development of exact science and historiography, bear witness to the broadening of the scope of cultural relations, as compared with the pre-Mongol period.<sup>4</sup>

4. In Central Asia an entirely different kind of life developed under the Mongols. Despite the fact that many outstanding Mus-

<sup>1</sup> *The Persian inscription on the wall of the Manucha mosque in Ani*, (in Russian), SPb. 1911 (Ani series No. 5). *Mir Islama*, I, 73 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1900, Supp. p. 161, (No. 397), and 219, (No. 80); C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī*, (Pubbl. del R. Osservatorio di Brera in Milano. No. XL, Parte I), pars I, p. XXXI, No. 5; C. Krumbacher, *Byz. Literatur*, p. 622.

<sup>3</sup> See in particular F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1910.

<sup>4</sup> This fact had already attracted the attention of Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, p. 195. *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, p. 84.

lim philosophers, naturalists, astronomers etc. were natives of Central Asia, such as al-Fārābī, Ibn-Sinā (Avicenna) and al-Bīrūnī, and despite the considerable progress of arts in Central Asia during the earlier epochs under the influence of the Graeco-Bactrian culture and other factors, Muslim Māwarānnahr, as far as we know, had established no traditions in the domain of secular science or art <sup>1</sup>. In this respect Timur and his successors were, as we shall see, entirely dependent on Persia. Quite different was the importance of Central Asia in the history of Muslim theology. The Muslim religious high school, the *madrasa*, made its appearance in the caliphate's eastern marches earlier than in its central and western provinces. The probable explanation is that Islam underwent the influence of Buddhism, and the original home of the *madrasa* may have been the region lying on either side of the Amu-Darya and bordering on Balkh where Buddhism was paramount before the Muslim conquest <sup>2</sup>. Tirmidh, one of the towns of this region, retained its importance as a spiritual centre down to the fifteenth century. Here in the ninth century A.D. lived Muhammad ibn 'Isā Tirmidhi, the author of a canonical collection of *hadīths*, and Muhammad ibn

<sup>1</sup> Rashīd al-dīn's record of the learned Turkestanian Haybatallāh, who came to Persia at the end of the thirteenth century, who knew Turkish and Syriac and was acquainted with every science (cf. *Mir Islama*, I, 82) stands quite alone. There is no information as to who his teachers were and whether he left any pupils in Turkestan.

<sup>2</sup> See my article '*Die persischen Šu'ūbija*' in *Z. f. Assyriol.*, XXVI, 261, and *Bāmiyān* in *E.I.* Also R. Hartmann, *Balkh*, *E.I.* The fact that the report of the Chinese Hsüan-tsang coincides with early Arabic information proves clearly that the *Naubahār* of Balkh was a Buddhist temple and not a Zoroastrian sanctuary, as it is affirmed in tendentious Persian accounts. A. E. Krīmsky, *History of Persia*, (in Russian), new ed. 1914, I, 159, gives preference to the latter. According to him the word *bahār* means simply "sanctuary" in Persian, which "it is easy to verify by looking it up in dictionaries". Unfortunately historical questions are not settled by dictionaries. In order to conciliate the Chinese, Arabic and Persian versions it was suggested (Kern, *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, II, 434, quoted by L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides*, Paris 1912, p. 31) that a Persian fire temple had been erected on the site of the Buddhist temple destroyed by the *Muslims*. But all the information on the "building of the Khusraus" and the "fire temple" refer to the building destroyed by the *Muslims*.



Ali Tirmidhi, the founder of the *ḥakīmī*<sup>1</sup> order of darvishes. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, during his revolt against the Abbasids, the Khwarazmshah Muhammad proclaimed a Tirmidhi sayyid, 'Alā al-mulk Tirmidhi, caliph<sup>2</sup>. In the fourteenth century, according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, all the power in Mawarannahr was for some time in the hands of Sayyid 'Alā al-mulk Khudāvand-zāda, Master (*ṣāhib*) of Tirmidh<sup>3</sup>. In the second half of the fourteenth century and in the beginning of the fifteenth there are mentioned among Timur's companions two brother sayyids who ruled in Tirmidh and bore the title of *khānzāda* (probably a mistake instead of *khānd-zāda*, a contraction of *khudāvand-zāda*) Abul-Ma'ālī and Ali-Akbar<sup>4</sup>. Hereditary dynasties, whose power reposed on religious authority existed in several places, as for example in Bukhara<sup>5</sup>. Authors of numerous authoritative canonical works lived and died in Central Asia. Their descendants held the posts of hereditary *ṣadrs* or *Shaykh al-Islāms*<sup>6</sup> in various localities. In Samarqand this post

<sup>1</sup> On this order see *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, transl. by R. A. Nicholson, GMS, 1911, pp. 141 and 210. On the tomb of the founder of the order and on the inscriptions on this tomb see the article by R. Y. Rozhevitz in *Izv. Geogr. Obshch.*, XLIV, 647 and 652. The words of the inscription about the shaykhs whom he followed "in common" with Bukhari must refer, judging by Sam'ānī (f. 106a above: *wa yushāriku ma'ahu fī shuyūkhīhi*) to the author of the collection of *hadīths*. The passage where the author speaks of the comfort which he derived from his own works during difficult moments in his life is distorted by Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, Oriental edition, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Turkestan*, 375.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibn-Batoutah*, III, 48 sq.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, I, 210. An. Isk., MS. Asiatic Museum, f. 269b, actually writes in this case *khudāvand-zāda* instead of *khān-zāda*. See also *Texts on the history of Central Asia* (in Russian), I, 131 and 199. Babur writes, like Sharaf al-din: *khān-zāda*, ed. A. Beveridge, f. 20b.

<sup>5</sup> *Turkestan*, 326; ZVO, XVII, 02; EI, under Bukhara.

<sup>6</sup> Examples in Jamal Qarshi: *Turkestan*, texts, 142 sq. (e.g. 146 below, 151).

was occupied by the descendants of the author of the *Hidāya* <sup>1</sup>.

During the Mongol period there still existed liberal-minded Mu'tazilites <sup>2</sup> among the Central Asian theologians, side by side with the representatives of orthodoxy. Besides the learned theologians there were also darvishes belonging to various orders, whose activities were even more successful. They had their cloisters (*khānqāh*) everywhere but especially in the regions bordering on the steppe — in Bukhara, Khwarazm, and on the Sīr-Darya, and partly also in the region of Balkh — in Tirmidh and Chaghāniyān (in the Surkhān valley). From all these places the darvish shaykhs could successfully spread their teachings among the nomads, who, for unknown reasons, were then, as they are now, more open to the influence of religious ascetics than to that of learned Muslim scholarship.

5. In Central Asia Muslim culture was bound gradually to conquer the nomads, and especially their khans, as had been the case in Persia, but the process was slower and had to contend with various factors. As early as the thirteenth century there were khans (Mubārak-Shāh and Boraq) who had established themselves in Mawarannahr and accepted Islam. But after 1271 for nearly half a century the khans once more lived on the steppes and remained heathens, though they looked after the welfare of the sedentary population. To this period belongs the building of the town of Andijan in Farghana ordered by the khans Khaydu and Tuva <sup>3</sup>. By the fourteenth century this town had eclipsed 'Ūzgand, capital of Farghāna in the days of the Qarakhanids, and had become the chief city of the province. A more decisive step towards the reception of Muslim culture was made by the khan Kebek (1318—1326), son of Tuva. He took up residence in Mawarnnhr and built himself a palace. The valley of the Kash-

<sup>1</sup> On them see below. [The Digest of Islamic law called *al-Hidāya* was written by Burhān al-din Marghinānī who died in 593/1197].

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Arabshah, pp. 111 and 229.

<sup>3</sup> Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 478, referring to the lithographed edition of the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, Bombay 1311, p. 228, mentions only Khaydu, but the text of the SPb. University MSS. 60 (f. 246a) and 171 (f. 265a) gives: *Qaydū and Duvā*.

ka-Darya, which had once attracted Chingiz-khan, and where afterwards the chiefs of the Mongol detachments stationed in Mawarannahr had lived <sup>1</sup>, became also the residence of the Chaghatai khans. At a distance of 2 farsakhs from the town of Nakhshab, or Nasaf, Kebek built himself a palace which gave its present name to the town of Qarshi <sup>2</sup> (*qarshi* in Mongol "palace") <sup>3</sup>. Kebek was the first Central Asian Mongol khan to strike money in his own name for the whole of the state. The monetary system adopted was the same as in Persia <sup>4</sup>: silver *dirhams* and *dinars* (= 6 dirhams) were coined. Under Timur and his descendants these coins were still called *kebek* money. Kebek remained a heathen, and it was only his brother and successor Tarmāshīrīn (1326—1334) who became a Muslim. The traveller Ibn-Battūṭa found him in residence in the neighbourhood of Nakhshab in 1333 <sup>5</sup>. This too sudden breaking away from nomad traditions caused a rising against Tarmashirin. He was deposed and killed. The khan's residence was transferred for some years to the banks of the Ili, and Islam, even in the purely religious sense, lost its pre-eminence.

6. It is quite probable that the new territorial divisions, with their new terminology, were introduced in the period between 1318 and 1334 when the Chaghatai khans took over the direct administration of Mawarannahr. The terms *tuman* — in Samarkand, Bukhara and Persia, and *örchin* <sup>6</sup> - in Farghana and Kashghar, designated small territorial units. The term *örchin* (of obscure etymology) later fell out of use. The term *tuman* (lit. "ten thousand") subsisted till the Russian conquest and after, down

<sup>1</sup> Wassaf, p. 288, gives an example. Cf. also *Turkestan*, II, 460 sq.

<sup>2</sup> ZN, I, III.

<sup>3</sup> The word *qarshi* is found already in the *Qutadghu-Bilik*. The Mongols borrowed it, in all probability, from the Uyghurs (cf. Radloff's *Dictionary*, II, 207). The Turks may have borrowed it, as was the case with the word *tuman* (see below), from the original inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan.

<sup>4</sup> *The Persian inscription of the Ani mosque*, p. 18. To the quotations given there can be added Ibn Arabshah, p. 52, where the *tuman*, worth 60,000 dirhams, is also mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibn-Batoutah*, III, 28, sq.

<sup>6</sup> This pronunciation is given in Radloff's *Dictionary*, I, 1075.

to the eighties. Both under Timur <sup>1</sup> and in the eighteenth century <sup>2</sup> the province of Samarqand consisted of seven *tumans*.

It is difficult to say on what basis this division was made. The word *tuman* <sup>3</sup> was used both as a military term to designate a detachment of 10,000 men, and in accountancy to designate a sum of 10,000 dinars (pronounced in Persian: *toman*). It is quite impossible that every *tuman* could have provided 10,000 men <sup>4</sup>, or sums for the upkeep of such a force. As in Persia, the division must have been connected with the distribution of fiefs among the members of the clans which had accompanied the khan into Mawarannahr. According to Ibn Arabshah, there were four principal clans: Arlat, Jalayir, Qāuchīn and Barlas <sup>5</sup>. The expression used by Sharaf al-din might lead one to suppose that *Qauchin* was not the name of a clan but of the khan's personal thousand <sup>6</sup>. Of the other clans, the Arlat settled down in the northern part of present day Afghanistan, the Jalayir near Khojand, the Barlas on the Kashka-Darya. The head of each clan was to all intents and purposes the feudal lord of his province. All of them belonged to Turkicised Mongol families <sup>7</sup>. As we shall see, other groups of nomads are mentioned alongside with these.

<sup>1</sup> IAr. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Year-book of the Samarqand province* (in Russian), V, 240.

<sup>3</sup> On the origin of this word see N. D. Mironov's remarks in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, XIX, p. XXIII.

<sup>4</sup> Thus explained by IAr., *l.c.* According to Radloff's *Dictionary*, III, p. 1218, in Bukhara the *tuman* was a measure of surface equal to 40,000 *tanābs*.

<sup>5</sup> IAr., p. 8. On the existence among the nomad peoples of an aristocracy consisting of four families see N. I. Veselovsky in *Zap. Imp. Geogr. Obshch.*, Ethnogr. section, XXXIV, 535.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, I, 612. [In point of fact, the ZN says that *Qauchin* was the name of "the clan (*boy*) of the personal thousand". V.M.]

<sup>7</sup> On the original homes of these tribes see Rashid al-din, *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arch. Obshch.*, V, pp. 7, 9 and 10. The spelling in the MSS. of Rashid al-din and *Yüan-ch'ao-pi-shi* (*Works of the Peking Mission* [in Russian], IV, 31) points to the pronunciation *Arulat* and *Barulas*. In Timur's time the pronunciation was apparently *Arlat* and *Barulas*, which appears from the spelling in the MSS. and the metre of verses where the word *Barlas* occurs. Cf. the verse of Lutfi in A. Z. Validi, *The Chaghatay poet Lutfi* (in Russian), p. 23.

7. In the forties of the XIVth century we once again find a khan in Mawarannahr, and again on the Kashka-Darya — a certain Qazan who had built for himself the Zanjir-Saray palace two stages to the west of Qarshi<sup>1</sup>. His attempt to set up a firm rule in the country led to a conflict between him and the chiefs of clans. One of the latter, Qazaghan, raised the banner of rebellion and proclaimed khan one of the Mongol princes. After several years of struggle Qazan was defeated and killed in 1346-7 A.D. Qazaghan took over all the power, but this, however, did not extend beyond Mawarannahr. Power in the remaining part of the former Chaghatay state was assumed by another military leader, the chief of the Dughlat clan. In Persian sources such chiefs are styled "amirs", a title by which they were, apparently, known to the sedentary population of Central Asia. The term used by the nomads was the Turkish "beg"<sup>2</sup> (*kniaz*) or the Mongol "noyon"<sup>3</sup>, as the chief begs were sometimes called. Both the amirs of Mawarannahr and the Dughlat amirs considered it necessary for the legalisation of their power to set upon the throne khans from among the true or supposed descendants of Chingiz-khan. The khans of Mawarannahr, however, were never anything but figure-heads deprived of all actual power, whereas some of the khans enthroned by the Dughlat amirs were men of marked personality and monarchs not only in name, but in fact. They handed on their power to their descendants and laid the foundations of a dynasty more enduring than that of the Dughlat amirs themselves.

As far as can be judged from available information, the military organisation of both states was more or less identical. It is a curious fact that the term *Chaghatay*, as applied to a nomad people, or one that has retained nomad traditions, was still current in Mawarannahr at a time when there were no longer any

<sup>1</sup> On the distance see ZN, I, 259. On Qazan-khan as builder of the palace *ibid.*, I, 775.

<sup>2</sup> This is the correct pronunciation of this ancient Turkish title which occurs already in the Orkhon inscription. Hence the name Ulughbek, or more correctly Ulughbeg.

<sup>3</sup> Usually written *nzyym*.

khans descended from Chaghatay. Later the term was introduced into India by the Timurid dynasty exiled from Mawarannahr. In the eastern part of the former Chaghatay kingdom, which still possessed a dynasty of khans tracing their descent from Chaghatay, the term *Chaghatay* was no longer used. The nomads of the region called themselves *Moghūls* (Mongols), and from this ethnical denomination the Persian geographical term *Moghulistan* <sup>1</sup> ("the country of the Moghuls") was formed. Besides the official terms *Chaghatay* <sup>2</sup> and *Moghul* there existed derisive appellations <sup>3</sup> mutually applied by the inhabitants of the two states. The Moghuls called the Chaghatays *quraunas*, i.e. "mongrels" <sup>4</sup>, while the Chaghatays reciprocated by calling the Moghuls *jete*, i.e. "robbers" <sup>5</sup>. The latter word seems to have been used by the Mongols as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century <sup>6</sup>, with approximately the same meaning as that given by the fifteenth-century Turks to the term *qazaq*, in the sense of "freebooters", men who had broken off all relations with family, clan and state. In both states the traditions of the Mongol empire gradually gave way to the influence of Muslim culture, but this evolution was very slow and more than once caused internecine strife and the rising of the people against their rulers.

<sup>1</sup> Spelt *moghūl*. The pronunciation *moghul* is still preserved among the Afghan Mongols. See G. I. Ramstedt in *Izv. Russ. Kom.*, I series, No. 2, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling *Chaghatay* which corresponds to the pronunciation is now partly accepted by scholars, especially German. Russian Turkologists have tried to introduce it, but the form *Jaghatay* with its derivatives has taken firm root in Russian literature [see, however, the family name *Chaadayev* directly derived from Chaghatay. V.M.] It seems to me doubtful whether such terms should be altered out of considerations of linguistic purism.

<sup>3</sup> See *TR*, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> On the meaning of the word see Marco Polo. ed. Yule-Cordier, I, 98.

<sup>5</sup> In the *TR* (Introduction, p. 75) the following meanings are given, with reference to a 'Mongol Dictionary': "worthless person", "a ne'er-do-well", "a rascal". [Cf. the Balkan term *chete* "band, gang". V.M.]

<sup>6</sup> Jamal Qarshi's text in my *Turkestan*, texts, p. 146. *al-Jutā'iya* (sic).

## II. THE ULUS AMIRS; TIMUR'S REIGN

8. Unlike the years that followed, the twelve years of QAZAGHAN'S rule <sup>1</sup> were free from internal disorders and wars between the Chaghatays and the Moghuls. Qazaghan led the existence of a nomad chief. He spent the winter in Salī-Sarāy on the banks of the Amu-Darya (now the village of Saray), and the summer in the neighbourhood of the town of Munk <sup>2</sup> (now Baljūān). Plundering expeditions into neighbouring lands, without which the nomads would have felt cramped in Mawarannahr, were carried out with complete success in the direction of Herat and Khwarazm <sup>3</sup>.

After the death of Qazaghan the power passed to his son ABDULLAH, who during his father's lifetime had lived in Samarqand and now wished to transfer his residence to that town. This led to a revolt of the other amirs, and in the ensuing struggle Abdullah was killed. There followed for Mawarannahr years of nearly ceaseless troubles and struggles with the Moghul khans. The outstanding events of these times were: the expeditions of the Moghul khan TUGHLUQ TIMUR against Mawarannahr in 1360 and 1361; the first appearance of Timur who, with the aid of the khan, became the ruler of Shahrisabz and Qarshi; Timur's alliance with HUSAYN, grandson of Qazaghan, and the revolt against the Moghuls; the defeat of Husayn and Timur in their struggle against the Moghuls on the river Chirchik (1365); a popular movement in Samarqand in the same year,

<sup>1</sup> He was killed by his son-in-law in 1358. The date is in *ZN*, I, 39 (A.H. 759, the year of the Dog).

<sup>2</sup> *ZN*, I, 38. On the site of Munk see *Turkestan*, 69. [Both places are in the territory of the present-day Tājik republic].

<sup>3</sup> The war with the Herat prince Malik Husayn is related in detail in the *ZN*. The campaign against Khwarazm is briefly mentioned in the *ZN*, I, 38, and the "conquest" of Khwarazm is attributed to Abdullah, son of Qazaghan. According to *An. Isk., As. Museum*, f. 265b, Abdullah only took a ransom of 200 tomans from Khwarazm which he did without Qazaghan's permission and for which the latter reproached him.

put down by the Turkish amirs in 1366<sup>1</sup>; the proclamation as khan of the darvish KĀBUL-SHAH who wrote poetry that was still popular in the fifteenth century<sup>2</sup>; his deposition and the enthronement of the new khan, 'ĀDIL-SULTAN; Husayn's plans to build himself a stronghold in Balkh (1369) and Timur's efforts to dissuade him by quoting the example of his uncle Abdullah<sup>3</sup>; the struggle between Husayn and Timur, Timur's alliance with Husayn's adversaries among the Turkish amirs and especially among the Muslim clergy; Husayn's capture and death; the destruction of the citadel of Balkh, the transfer of the capital to Samarqand, the building of its citadel and of the town walls (1370).

Thus only ten years elapsed between TIMUR's first appearance and the time when the whole of Mawarannahr was subdued. So far, the circumstances which led to his elevation can be summed up as follows. The official history gives the exact date of Timur's birth<sup>4</sup>: Tuesday, 25 Sha'bān 736/9 April 1336, Year of the Mouse. The names of his father, the amir or noyon TARA-GHAY, and of his mother, Takīna-khatun, are also given but nothing is said of the events of his life before the year 1360. The author of a versified chronicle<sup>5</sup>, composed for Timur in Turki, affirms that many events, especially those relating to the beginning of his career, were left out of the chronicle at Timur's own wish, as they would have seemed incredible to the readers. The reports of Clavijo<sup>6</sup> and Ibn Arabshah<sup>7</sup> suggest other reasons for the chronicle's silence. Like Chingiz-khan Timur began his career as the leader of a robber band, probably in the troubled years following Qazaghan's death. Neither Timur, nor his father

<sup>1</sup> On this episode see my article in *ZVO*, XVII, 01-019.

<sup>2</sup> Characterization of the khan in the Anonym of Iskandar, f. 251a: "he had the nature of an *abdāl* (darvish) and the temperament of a *gorlandar* (darvish); he was good-natured and kindly. his poetry is fully popular even now".

<sup>3</sup> *ZN*, I, 176. The same in Nizam al-din, f. 40b.

<sup>4</sup> *ZN*, I, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, I, 23.

<sup>6</sup> Clavijo, p. 238.

<sup>7</sup> *IAr*, p. 6.



Taraghay are mentioned in the accounts of Qazaghan's reign<sup>1</sup>, although Taraghay was closely connected with noble amirs both in Mawarannahr and Moghulistan, and Timur later took advantage of these connections.

9. Taraghay came from the clan of Barlas which owned the valley of the Kashka-Darya, with the towns Kash (Shahrisabz)<sup>2</sup> and Nasaf (Qarshi). The head of the clan and prince of Kash was not TARAGHAY, but HĀJJĪ, another member of the clan. Nizām al-din Shāmī, author of the first version of the *Zafar-nāma*, calls Hājjī the "brother" of Timur<sup>3</sup>. This expression apparently means only that both of them belonged to the same clan. In the same sense other military chiefs of the Barlas<sup>4</sup> are called Timur's "brothers". According to the genealogy given by Sharaf al-din<sup>5</sup> the only common ancestor of Timur and Hājjī was QARACHAR, a contemporary of Chingiz-khan and Chaghatay. Rashid al-din refers to Qarachar only as one of Chaghatay's military chiefs<sup>6</sup> but Timur's historians ascribe to him the role of an all-powerful ruler of the Chaghatay ulus. The same is said of Qarachar's son and grandson whom historians of pre-Timurid times do not even mention. It was evidently impossible to invent similar legends about members of the two following generations whose memory was still too fresh. Even in the official history<sup>7</sup> Timur's father and grandfather are treated as private individuals. Nothing is said about when and how Hajji's ancestors came into

<sup>1</sup> Timur's spurious autobiography introduces Timur into all these accounts which, by the way, can be regarded as the best proof of the forgery. If Timur had really taken part in Qazaghan's wars, the official history could not have passed this over in silence.

<sup>2</sup> It seems that at that time the old name was retained only among the Turks, cf. Nizam al-din, f. 12b: "Shahrisabz which the Turks call Kash".

<sup>3</sup> Nizam al-din, ff. 12b and 13a. This information is quoted in *The heart of Asia* by F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, London 1899, p. 168, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., f. 18a, on Siddiq; f. 55a, on Idigü.

<sup>5</sup> On the genealogy of Hājjī see ZN, I, 40. Timur's ancestors are mentioned in detail at the end of the Introduction to the ZN. They are also enumerated on Timur's tomb-stone.

<sup>6</sup> Rashid al-din, ed. Blochet, p. 178.

<sup>7</sup> ZN, II, 730.

power in Kash, nor what relations existed between the Barlas and their princes, and the Chaghatay khans Kebek, Tarmashirin and Qazan, who lived in the valley of the Kashka-Darya.

According to Ibn Arabshah, Timur was born in the village of Khoja-Ilghar in the neighbourhood of Kash<sup>1</sup>. This may mean that Taraghay did not live in the town itself. All that is known about Taraghay is that he was a pious Muslim, a friend of scholars and darvishes, especially of Shaykh Shams al-din Kulār (or Kulāl according to the *Zafar-nama*<sup>2</sup>, or Shams al-din Fākhūrī, according to Ibn Arabshah<sup>3</sup>. It is reported that one day in his youth Timur went in to see the Shaykh when the latter was practising the *dhikr* with his darvishes, and waited patiently until they had finished. The Shaykh and the darvishes were touched by his pious behaviour and offered up a prayer for him. In later years Timur regarded this prayer as the primary cause of his success<sup>4</sup>. Taraghay seems to have had friends also among the Chaghatay and Moghul courtiers, though hints at this are found only in the history of his son. Thus the account of the struggle against the Moghuls in 1364 mentions the friendship between Timur's father and the father of the amir Hamīd<sup>5</sup>. The relations between Taraghay and Timur and the other military chiefs would probably be clearer if we possessed more detailed information on Taraghay's family and Timur's first wives. There is nothing in the sources on the origins of Timur's mother, or of Taraghay's other wife, Qadak-khatun, who lived till 1389<sup>6</sup>. In 1360 Timur already had two sons: JAHĀNGĪR, who died in 1376 at the age of twenty<sup>7</sup>, and OMAR-SHAYKH, killed in Janu-

<sup>1</sup> IAr, p. 6. In no other source is Timur's birthplace mentioned. Nor does the name of the village Khoja-Ilghar occur elsewhere, so far as I know.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of the Introduction Timur's visit to his tomb is also incidentally mentioned in 1396 (ZN, I, 795) and in 1399 (ZN, II, 209). On the meaning of the word *kulāl* cf. ZVO, XXIII, 2, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> IAr, p. 7. On the Shaykh's life see XVO, XXIII, 3 sq.

<sup>4</sup> IAr, pp. 7 and 9.

<sup>5</sup> ZN, I, 98.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, I, 490.

<sup>7</sup> ZN, I, 271 (above).

ary 1394, at the siege of a Kurdish fortress. According to the *Zafar-nama*, at that moment Omar-Shaykh was forty<sup>1</sup>, which would suggest that he was older than Jahangir, but the majority of the sources name Jahangir as Timur's eldest son. Nothing is known of Omar-Shaykh's mother. All that is known of Jahangir's mother is her name which is mentioned by Khwāndamīr<sup>2</sup>. Taraghay died in 1360 and was buried in Kash, in the family mausoleum. Subsequently in 775/1373-4 Timur built a new mausoleum in that town near the cathedral mosque, by the side of Shaykh Shams al-dīn's tomb and had his father's remains transferred to it<sup>3</sup>.

10. Nothing is heard of Timur's relations with the shaykhs and other representatives of Islam between the years 1360 and 1370. During this decade, which laid the foundations of his future power, Timur devoted himself exclusively to military affairs for which he had prepared himself from the age of ten by war and the chase<sup>4</sup>. He took part in the struggle between the Chaghatays and the Moghuls, constantly changing sides. He sought to strengthen by family ties his alliance with such as could be useful to him, and gathered adherents, principally from among the Barlas, who served him faithfully to the end. But even when he was left quite alone he never lost courage under reverses. The events which took place in 1362 struck him particularly hard. Timur and Husayn, a grandson of Qazaghan, were taken prisoner by the Turcomans on the Murghab and spent sixty-two days in captivity in the village of Mākhān<sup>5</sup>. Finally the local ruler ALI BEG let them go but without equipping them for the journey. In this sorry plight they were helped by MUBĀRAK-SHAH, "a rich Turcoman of Mākhān", chief of the Sanjari tribe. For this service

<sup>1</sup> ZN, I, 668.

<sup>2</sup> HS, Tehran ed., III, 175 (in the margin): Narmish-agma. Indian ed., III, 85: Būrmish-agma.

<sup>3</sup> Thus at the end of the Introduction. On the subsequent fate of the mausoleum see ZVO, XXIII, 4 sq.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, I, 15.

<sup>5</sup> ZNN, I, 67. According to An. Isk. (f. 248b), sixty-one days. Mākhān was situated on the site of the present day Marv, see Barthold, *Irrigation of Turkestan* (in Russian), p. 61.

Mubārak-shah's descendants were highly esteemed even in the times of Timur's successors<sup>1</sup>. On the Amu-Darya Timur received help from his elder sister Qutluq-Turkan [Tärkän?]-*agha*, who came to him from the neighbourhood of Bukhara. Timur spent forty eight days in hiding in his sister's house in Samarqand<sup>2</sup>. Some time after, Timur and Husayn, at the head of 100 men, found themselves in Sistan, whither they had come at the invitation of the local ruler to help him fight an enemy of his. It was here that Timur received the arrow wounds from which he suffered to the end of his days. Some sinews of his right arm were severed<sup>3</sup> so that it became shrivelled<sup>4</sup>, and his right leg was lamed (hence his nickname "lame", *lang* in Persian, *aqsaq* in Turkish).

The well-known anecdote about Timur and the ant is connected with the same event<sup>5</sup>. Many years later, in 1383, Timur met in Sistan the chief who had wounded him and he ordered him to be shot with arrows<sup>6</sup>.

In spite of all these mishaps, Timur and Husayn finally succeeded in overcoming their foreign and domestic enemies and seizing power in Mawarannahr. Qazaghan's grandson became chief amir with Timur as his right hand man. From the very first their alliance had been sealed by marriage ties. Uljay-Turkan-*agha*<sup>7</sup>, Husayn's sister, is mentioned as Timur's wife in an early report on the conflict with the Turcomans on the Murghab. But family ties did not prevent the amirs from clashing. In 1366,

<sup>1</sup> ZN, I, 69. More clearly in An. Isk. (f. 286b).

<sup>2</sup> ZN, I, 71; also in Nizam al-din, f. 17a.

<sup>3</sup> According to Clavijo, p. 240, Timur lost two fingers besides.

<sup>5</sup> An. Isk. says (f. 249a): "several sinews snapped asunder, so that, in the opinion of some, his greed was cut down". IAr. also speaks of Timur's being maimed, pp. 6, 217 and 234. [On June 19, 1941, Timur's tomb was opened under the supervision of Prof. A. A. Semenov. His right leg was found to be shorter than the left and grown fast to the hip V.M.].

<sup>5</sup> This anecdote is already in An. Isk., f. 249a. Cf. A. Pavet de Courteille, *Mirâdj-Nâmeh*, Paris 1882, pp. 70-72, from a work also written for Mirza Iskandar.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, I, 372.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 65 [Read: *tärkän*].

after the suppression of the Samarqand movement, Husayn imposed a fine on Timur's friends. To help them Timur gave all he could, including his wife's earrings. Husayn recognised the ornament but did not return it <sup>1</sup>. Soon after Uljay-Turkan-gha died and her death severed all relations between the former companions <sup>2</sup>.

Between 1366 and 1370 Timur was alternately at war with Husayn and friendly with his enemies, or again reconciled with him and commissioned by him to fight his former allies. Timur's relations with amir Kay-Khusrau, ruler of the province of Khutalān (between the Vakhsh and the Panj) are very typical. In 1360 Husayn executed his brother Kay-Qubād <sup>3</sup>. During the war against the Moghuls in 1361 Kay-Khusrau went over to the khan <sup>4</sup> and married Tūmān-Qutluq, his second cousin, thus becoming his "son-in-law". When Kay-Khusrau returned to Tashkent in 1366, Timur was on bad terms with Husayn. He became friendly with Kay-Khusrau and sought the hand of his daughter Ruqiya-khanika (by his wife Tūmān-Qutluq) <sup>5</sup> in marriage for his son Jahangir. In 1369 Timur, as amir Husayn's loyal subject, crushed Kay-Khusrau's revolt and forced him to flee to the Alay <sup>6</sup>. In 1370 Kay-Khusrau joined Timur who had rebelled against Husayn, and when the latter had been taken prisoner, was allowed to kill him according to the law of *vendetta* (*qīṣaṣ*) <sup>7</sup>, as recognised by the Qor'ān. In 1372, during the war with the Khwarazmians, Kay-Khusrau was accused of treason and executed on the written order (*yarliq*) of the nominal khan Suyurghatmish. The order was carried out by Husayn's *nukars* on the principle of the *vendetta*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, I, 113. Nizam al-din, f. 26a.

<sup>2</sup> ZNN, I, 119 sq. The report that Timur killed his own wife (IARb, p. 7) is improbable.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, I, 50.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 161. Nizam al-din, f. 37a.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, I, 186.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 197, 204 sq. Nizam al-din, f. 44a.

<sup>8</sup> ZNN, I, 243. On the khan's *yarliq* see AR, f. 64a.

II. In 1370, at the height of his struggle against Husayn, Timur acquired a new spiritual protector in the person of SAYYID BARAKA. The information regarding his antecedents is conflicting. The Sayyid remained in Timur's dominions and received in fief the town of Andkhoy which was still in the possession of his descendants in the fifteenth century<sup>1</sup>. According to Sharaf al-din<sup>2</sup> the Sayyid then became Timur's constant companion. After death they were buried in the same mausoleum, and in such a manner that Timur's face was turned towards the Sayyid<sup>3</sup>.

Little more is known of Timur's relations with other members of the clergy. The report on Timur's accession to the throne in 1370 names, alongside Sayyid Baraka, the brothers Abul-Ma'ālī and Ali Akbar<sup>4</sup>. Like Baraka, these sayyids of Tirmidh remained influential in Timur's kingdom till the end of his reign, ostensibly at least, for on one occasion they betrayed their new monarch. In 1371 several members of the clergy, namely Shaykh Abul-Layth of Samarqand and Sayyid Abul-Ma'ālī of Tirmidh, took part in a plot against Timur, together with some amirs. Timur treated the conspirators with great leniency. The Shaykh was allowed to proceed to Mecca, and the Sayyid was exiled<sup>5</sup>, but evidently soon pardoned, for in 1372 he took part in the expedition against Khwarazm<sup>6</sup>. From then onwards the Tirmidh sayyids remained Timur's faithful adherents, and in 1394, on his way back from his last western campaign, Timur took up his quarters in Tirmidh in the house of *khudāvand-zāda* 'Alā al-mulk<sup>7</sup>.

There were influential members of the clergy in other towns of Mawarannahr, besides Tirmidh. Two of these towns had a

<sup>1</sup> *IAr*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *ZN*, 195.

<sup>3</sup> I quote the information on the Sayyid and his burial in greater detail in *ZVO*, XXIII, 24 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *ZN*, I, 210. Also called *Khudāvand-zāda*, on which name see above, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 231.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 593.

special importance for Timur: his birthplace Kash and his capital Samarqand. The account of the visit of members of the clergy <sup>1</sup> to Timur's camp in Qarabagh, in the winter of 1403-1404, names after Sayyid Baraka and the *khudāvand-zādas* of Tirmidh only the two Shaykh al-Islams of Samarqand: Shaykh Khoja 'Abd al-Avval and his second cousin <sup>2</sup> Khoja 'Iṣām al-din, as well as Khoja Afdal of Kash and the sons of the Shaykh al-Islam of Kash, Abd al-Ḥamīd and Abd al-Rahmān. The shaykhs of Bukhara are also referred to but none of them is separately named. Although the famous Bahā al-din, the founder of the Naqshbandi order, was Timur's contemporary, the sources say nothing about the relations between Timur's court and the shaykhs of Bukhara. The Shaykh al-Islam of Samarqand, 'Abd al-Malik (cousin and predecessor of 'Abd al-Avval) is mentioned in the account of the events of 1383 when, together with other members of the clergy, he strove to comfort Timur in his grief over the death of his sister Qutluq-Turkan-agma <sup>3</sup>.

A somewhat unusual reception was awarded Timur by the members of the Khorasan clergy in 1381. In Andkhoy, an idiot, Bābā Sangū, regarded as a saintly personage, threw before Timur a piece of raw meat from the breast of an animal. Timur declared that this was a favourable omen and that God was evidently delivering into his hands Khorasan, "the breast of the surface of the earth" <sup>4</sup>. On the Harirud, in a region to the south of present day Kūhsān, in the village of Tāyābād <sup>5</sup> there lived an ascetic ZAYN AL-DIN ABU BAKR TĀYĀBĀDĪ. On his arrival

<sup>1</sup> ZN, 560.

<sup>2</sup> On their family relations see IArab, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, I, 356 [\*tärkän].

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 310.

<sup>5</sup> Written *Tāybād*, but the reading *Tāyābād* is given by Sam'ānī (f. 102b) and Yāqūt (I, 816). The same authors locate the village in the neighbourhood of Būshang. On the latter see my *Historical and Geographical Survey of Iran* (in Russian), p. 41. Timur reached it from the north, from Kūsūya, a town on the Harirud, downstream from Būshang. [The mausoleum of Zayn al-Din erected by Shahrukh in 848 lies near the village of Yūsufābād near the Afghan frontier, see *Āthār-e-Īrān*, 1938, III/2, 179-99]

there Timur sent word to the hermit that he wished to see him. The holy man answered that he had no business with Timur, and should Timur have any business with him, it was for him to come. The meeting then took place. Later Timur told the historian Hāfizi-Abrū<sup>1</sup> that, whenever he had met ascetics, they had shown signs of fear, and only in his interview with Tāyābādī it was he, and not the hermit, who was awed. Ibn Arabshah, who devotes a whole chapter to this meeting<sup>2</sup> reports that the shaykh laid his hands on the back of Timur who had knelt down before him. As Timur later said it seemed to him as though the sky had fallen upon the earth and he was being crushed between them. After listening to the Shaykh's edifying discourse, Timur asked him why he did not similarly admonish his own monarch, the prince of Herat, who was addicted to prohibited pleasures. The shaykh replied: "We have spoken to him and he has not obeyed. God has sent you against him. Now we say to you: 'If you do not obey, God will send someone else against you' ". It is difficult to say how far this conversation<sup>3</sup> has been embellished by Timur and the historians who took down his words. In any case, Timur's subsequent behaviour betrays no trace of the shaykh's influence, for the conquest of Khorasan was carried out with the usual barbarity, and when the neighbouring Būshang was taken by assault, all its defenders were put to the sword<sup>4</sup>. According to Ibn Arabshah Timur counted Shaykh Zayn al-din

<sup>1</sup> MS. Dorn 290, f. 280b. Very briefly in ZN, I, 311 sq.

<sup>2</sup> IAr., p. 20 sq. The shaykh is here called Abu Bakr Khwāfī from the name of the town situated some distance to the west of Būshang (*Khāf* on modern maps). According to the *Rashahāt*, MS. Univ. 298, f. 34a, Tashk. lith., p. 56, Bahā al-din Naqshband purposely visited Herat on his way to Mecca to see Zayn al-din Tāyābādī, with whom he spent three days. According to Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, Or. ed., 321-323, the name Zayn al-din Abu Bakr al-Khwāfī belonged to another shaykh who died on Sunday 2 Shawwal 838/1 May 1435.

<sup>3</sup> Incidentally it may be gathered from this conversation that Timur had no previous acquaintance with the shaykh, whereas according to Timur's spurious autobiography he had received, at the age of twenty one, his Persian motto *rāstī-rastī*, "salvation in rectitude", from Shaykh Zayn al-din.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, I, 314.



among the three spiritual patrons to whom he owed his success <sup>1</sup> (the two others being Shams al-din Kulār and Sayyid Baraka), but in Timur's history the shaykh is no longer mentioned after 1381, although he lived for another eight years <sup>2</sup>.

The historians who wrote under Shāhrukh, when the Shari'at had superseded Chingiz-khan's law, were naturally inclined to exaggerate Timur's piety and religious zeal. It is true however that Timur was a patron of *ulamā*, conversed with them as with equals <sup>3</sup> and showed particular respect for the Prophet's descendants. Apart from Timur's <sup>3</sup> own descendants, the sayyids were perhaps the only people in Timur's kingdom whose life was regarded as inviolate <sup>5</sup>. Hāfizi-Abrū also reports that Timur concerned himself with the strengthening of the faith and the Shari'at, that in his time "none dared study philosophy and logic" <sup>6</sup> and that he never intervened in the financial affairs of the waqfs. The phrase about philosophy is probably an exaggeration, for in a further passage Hāfizi-Abru goes on to say that Timur patronised philosophers <sup>7</sup>. Of secular sciences, history was the one with which Timur was the most familiar. What

<sup>1</sup> IAr., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> According to Jami (*Nafahāt*, p. 326) the date of his death was Thursday, the last day of Muharram 791/28 January 1389; the same date is given by Mu'in al-din Isfizārī, MS. As. Mus. 574 agk, f. 69a.

<sup>3</sup> HAbu as quoted by AR, f. 17b. "the difference between the ruler and the slaves did not appear". Cf. Ibn Shuhba as quoted by IAr., p. 97, on the conversation in Aleppo: "and everyone of the doctors present began to answer with eagerness thinking that he was in a college".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Timur's treatment of Miranshah and especially of Sultan-Husayn (at the siege of Damascus).

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the story about the Tirmidh shaykhs, quoted above, cf. the fate of the sayyids of Mazandaran.

<sup>6</sup> AR, f. 17a. In the chapter containing the characterisation of Timur's reign the author makes a reference to the words of the "original author" (f. 19a), i.e. to HAbu. The latter's text has been preserved in the MS. India Office, Ethé, Catalogue No. 171, on which see *IAN*, 1914, p. 881.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 17a-17b. According to C. Huart, the treatises of the "Brothers of Purity" were translated into Persian for Timur, *Deri* in EI. However the expression used by his source (*Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā*, Bombay ed. 1894, p. 3) seems rather to mean that the translation was made for someone in Timur's entourage.

Hafizi-Abru says about his knowledge of the history of the Turks, the Persians and the Arabs <sup>1</sup> is fully confirmed by the impression produced upon the historian Ibn Khaldūn by his conversation with Timur <sup>2</sup>. Timur had also some notions of medicine and astronomy <sup>3</sup>. Scholars in these two branches of science were among the learned men whom he had brought to Samarqand. Such were Ḥusām al-din Ibrahim-Shah of Kirman, "the Messiah and Hippocrates of his times" <sup>4</sup>, and Maulānā Ahmad, physician and astronomer, who in 808/1405-6 told Ibn Arabshah that he had made astrological calculations for the next 200 years <sup>5</sup>. There exists, however, a report that Timur had no use for astrology and preferred divination with the aid of the Qor'an <sup>6</sup>. It was alleged that religious zeal prompted Timur to close the places of entertainment in Baghdad, Tabriz, Sultaniya, Shiraz, Kirman and Khwarazm (the ancient Urganj) in spite of the consequent loss to the Treasury <sup>7</sup>. More often than not religion was for Timur a means for attaining some political aim, rather than a cause determining his actions. In Syria he took up the cause of 'Ali and his descendants, which made the Syrians regard him as a fervent Shi'a <sup>8</sup>, yet in Khorasan he re-established Sunni orthodoxy <sup>9</sup>, and in Mazandaran he punished Shi'a darvishes for desecrating the memory of the Prophet's companions <sup>10</sup>. No wonder that Muslim doctors of law always feared some snare

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 17b.

<sup>2</sup> As recorded by IAr., pp. 108 and 219.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 17b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 19a. [The reference is to the healing gifts of Jesus Christ].

<sup>5</sup> IAr., p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, II, 93 and 111. This story is already in Ghiyāth al-din Ali, cf. *Dnevnik*, I, 110 sq.

<sup>7</sup> AR, f. 19a. HAbu, MS. Ind. Off., f. 13a. Nothing is said of the places of entertainment in Samarqand and other towns nearer to Timur's residence.

<sup>8</sup> IAr., p. 97. This mistake has also misled European scholars, e.g. A. Müller, *Der Islam*, II, 316.

<sup>9</sup> Conversation about the faith with 'Ali Mu'ayyad, head of the Shi'a Sarbadārs, in AR, f. 75a.

<sup>10</sup> ZN, I, 577, and with more detail in the Mazandaran historian Zāhīr al-dīn, p. 430 sq.

in their conversations with Timur. A typical scene, which took place on the Kur in 1403, is related by Nizam al-din<sup>1</sup>. Timur asked his *ulamā* why they did not follow the example of former Islamic divines who instructed their sultans. They replied at first that the monarch was setting an example by his behaviour and therefore did not need any instruction from such as they, and only when they had made quite sure that "the word had been spoken sincerely" did they venture to inform him of some abuses committed in the provinces.

12. The loyalty of his companions in arms was far more important to Timur than the loyalty of his *ulamā*. He was first and foremost a warrior and a true prince of the "Mongol" type, and religion took second place with him. He regarded a *Tājīk* (see above, *Four Studies*, I, p. 15) as a man devoid of military valour and not dangerous to his enemies<sup>2</sup>. As an upholder of Mongol traditions Timur attached a great importance to connections with the house of Chingiz-khan. When in 1370 he seized the harem of his predecessor Husayn<sup>3</sup> he took to himself of the latter's wives, one of whom was Sarāy-Mulk-khātūn, daughter of khan Qazan<sup>4</sup>. As far as we know Timur had no children by her<sup>5</sup>, but, as the daughter of a khan, she enjoyed the status of Timur's senior wife, although in Husayn's harem the chief wife was a daughter of khan Tarmashirin, who after Husayn's fall was married to the Jalayir khan Bahrām. Throug Sarāy-Mulk-khātūn Timur acquired the right to the title of "son-in-law"<sup>6</sup> (*scil.* of the khan) which figures on his coins. In 1397 Timur married the

<sup>1</sup> Nizam al-din, f. 210b. More briefly in ZN, II, 547 sq.

<sup>2</sup> ZN, II, 574: passage on Ahmad Jalayir.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 207.

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 34a. She was five years old at time of her father's downfall and was therefore about five years younger than Timur.

<sup>5</sup> Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II, 257, calls her the mother of Shāhrukh, but according to Khwāndamīr, Tehr. ed., III, 175, Ind. ed., III, 85, Shāhrukh's mother was Toghay-Tārkān-āgha, a concubine of Timur. Khwāndamīr gives as reference the "Genealogy" composed in Shāhrukh's times.

<sup>6</sup> In Persian *gūrkān* [but derived from the Turkish *kürākān*. V.M.]

daughter of the Mongol khan Khizr-Khoja, Tükäl-khanum <sup>1</sup> who took second place in the harem as "Lesser Lady" (*kīchīk khānum*) <sup>2</sup>.

Prince SUYURGHATMİSH <sup>3</sup> was proclaimed khan in 1370. After his death in 1388 his son SULTAN-MAHMÜD <sup>4</sup> was set upon the throne. In those days Timur took the khans with him on his campaigns and did not keep them cloistered in Samarqand, as in later years. Sultan Mahmūd took part in the battle of Angora in 1402 and captured the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd <sup>5</sup>. According to Sharaf al-din the khan died in the same year <sup>6</sup>, but Nizam al-din who wrote later, speaks of him as still living <sup>7</sup>. According to the Anonym of Iskandar <sup>8</sup> Timur, out of respect for the khan, had money coined in his name for another year. However that may be, numismatic evidence shows that Timur set no other khan upon the throne and to the end of his reign the money was coined in the name of Sultan Mahmud khan. The name of the khan was also read in the *khutba* on Fridays. But there is no evidence that Timur had at any time rendered honours to the khans in the presence of the troops and in solemn surroundings. Honours due to the monarch according to Mongol custom were always personally received by Timur <sup>9</sup>.

Notwithstanding the oath of allegiance taken by the amirs

<sup>1</sup> ZN, II, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Clavijo, p. 296. In IAr., p. 228. The term *kīchīk khānum* is also found in the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, f. 33.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, I, 199.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 459. According to An. Isk., f. 251a, Suyurghatmish died in 786/1384, but out of respect for him Timur had the money struck in his name for three years longer. The coins of Suyurghatmish lead up to 789, those of Sultan-Mahmūd begin in 790.

<sup>5</sup> ZN, II, 438.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, 464.

<sup>7</sup> Nizam al-din, f. 11b, uses the formula: *khallada 'llāhu mulkahu wa-sultānahu*. In the corresponding passage, AR, f. 142a, does not mention the khan's death either. Further, f. 143b, he reports the arrival of Egyptian ambassadors in 1403 and mentions the reading of the *khutba* and the coining of the money in the name of Sultan Mahmud and Timur.

<sup>8</sup> F. 251b. The date of the khan's death is given, similarly to the ZN, as A.H. 805.

<sup>9</sup> Examples: ZN, I, 211, 506-515, 613 etc.

in 1370, Timur had to overcome several rivals in bitterly contested struggles before he became the veritable sovereign of his people. The spirit of revolt manifested itself in individuals and in whole tribes, particularly the Jalāyirs in the northern part of Mawarannahr, near Khojand. The Jalāyir tribe paid a heavy price for their insubordination. The measure taken against them corresponds to the modern disbanding of a military unit: the ulus of the Jalayirs ceased to exist and its remnants were incorporated in the troops of other amirs (1376) <sup>1</sup>.

From the outset Timur hastened to do that which he had earlier censured the son and grandson of Qazaghan for doing: he built fortresses, surrounded towns with walls and thus transgressed Chingiz-khan's testament. In the winter of 1365-6 Timur constructed the walls around the town of Qarshi <sup>2</sup>, in 1370 the walls and citadel <sup>3</sup> of Samarqand, in 1380 the walls<sup>4</sup> and the Aq-Saray palace in Shahrīsabz <sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, Timur succeeded in getting himself accepted by the Chaghatays and in forming them into a disciplined military force, blindly devoted to their chief; in appearance they bore more resemblance to Chingiz-khan's army than to normal Muslim troops.

Clavijo speaks several times of the Chaghatays and their special status in Timur's kingdom: "they go where they will with their flocks, graze them, sow and live where they wish, summer and winter; they are free and pay no tribute to the king, because they serve him in time of war when he calls them". On their campaigns they took their wives, children and flocks with them <sup>6</sup>. Many terms connected with military organisation occur in Timur's history, but their meaning has not yet been clearly

<sup>1</sup> ZN, I. 264.

<sup>2</sup> In the ZN, I, III, the expression *ḥiṣār-i Qarshi* is used, in AR, f. 50a, cf. ZVO, XVII, 018: *bārū-yi Qarshi*.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, I, 217 (*qu'l'a-va-ḥiṣār*, also Nizam al-din, f. 45a, AR, f. 61b).

<sup>4</sup> In the ZN, I, 301 sq., *ḥiṣār* (with a report on the distribution of allotments among the amirs), also Nizam al-din, f. 59b. AR, f. 73b, *bārū*.

<sup>5</sup> According to AR it was built by Khwarazmian craftsmen. According to Nizam al-din the building was regarded as unique in its genre.

<sup>6</sup> Clavijo, p. 220.

ascertained. The terms *il* and *ulus*<sup>1</sup> are equally applied to large tribal groups. The word *tuman*, literally "ten thousand"<sup>2</sup>, is also used in the same sense. A *thousand* was rendered by the Persian word *hazāra*, which seems to have been adopted by the Turks and the Mongols at an early date<sup>3</sup>. Smaller military units were designated by the Mongol word *khoshun*. According to one report, by *khoshun* a force of one thousand men was meant in Moghulistan<sup>4</sup>. Some passages in Timur's history show that in Mawarannahr a *khoshun* was only 50-100 men strong<sup>5</sup>. The order to attend the *qurultay* (an assembly which in Timur's time seems to have become merely a parade) or to take part in an expedition was delivered through *tuvajis*. This charge was regarded as extremely important and second only to the suzerain's<sup>6</sup>. Under Timur there was a custom, which could hardly have existed in Chingiz-khan's time, that the chiefs of military divisions had to give a receipt<sup>7</sup> when the monarch's orders had been transmitted to them.

Military formation was on the whole the same as in other Turkish or Mongol armies, but in military art Timur, besides being a guardian of traditions, was also looked upon as an innovator. In the battle with Tokhtamish in 1391 he employed some special formation of seven large detachments which had been unheard of until then<sup>8</sup>. In addition to the usual movements of massed armies which naturally could not be concealed, there

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the *il* of the Jalāyirs, ZN, I, 227; the *ulus* of the Jalāyirs, *ibid.*, 264.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. ZN, I, 109: *tuman-va-īl-i khud*.

<sup>3</sup> It has been preserved in the name of the Hazāre, a tribe of Mongolian descent in Afghanistan.

<sup>4</sup> Written: *qūshūn* or *qūshūn*.

<sup>5</sup> TR, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, I, 87. 200 men for a *khoshun*; I, 139. 100 horsemen are divided into two *khoshuns*; I, 154: Timur divides 600 men into 7 *khoshuns*. According to AR, f. 165a, in the report on the activities of Mirza Omar after Timur's death, the *khoshun* is said to consist of 500 men.

<sup>7</sup> ZN, I, 216.

<sup>8</sup> *müchülgä*, e.g. ZN, I, 383. In the *Mu'izz al ansāb*, Paris MS, f. 81, the introduction of this custom is ascribed to Qarachar.

<sup>9</sup> ZN, I, 532. Also in Nizam al-din, f. 91b.

were occasions when Timur's troops appeared in places where they could not have been expected. According to Ibn Arabshah, Timur invented a special head-dress for his soldiers by which they could recognise one another, and assigned different places for them to assemble in. He himself left Samarqand as though making for Khojand and the steppe but, on the way, swerved suddenly in another direction, picked up the other detachments and appeared unexpectedly in Luristan <sup>1</sup>, in the extreme West of Persia. Although the official history of Timur does not mention this ruse, its account of his appearance in Luristan in 1386, at the beginning of the so-called "Three Years' " campaign, shows that it was quite sudden. It records <sup>2</sup> Timur's return in 1385 to Samarqand, the winter spent in Qarshi, the decision to march against Iran, the gathering of troops in Samarqand, the crossing of the Amu-Darya, the arrival in Fīrūzkūh and the rapid advance from thence into Luristan, with one fifth of the troops (the *tuvajis* had been ordered to pick two men out of every ten).

Despite the extreme barbarity with which Timur's wars were conducted, the tales of the exploits of individual warriors and of their behaviour towards their monarch and even their enemies, contain epic traits reminiscent of the stories of European chivalry. When in 1378 Tokhtamish, with Timur's aid, defeated his rival Timur Malik, one of the latter's stalwarts was captured. Tokhtamish wished to spare him and take him into his service, but the warrior knelt before the khan and said: "while Timur Malik was alive I enjoyed the best of lives as amir and ruler. I could tear out my eye that sees you upon his throne. If you wish to grant me a favour, have me beheaded and let Timur Malik's head be laid upon my head, and his body upon my body, so that his gentle and noble person shall not lie on the earth of humiliation". The wish of the loyal paladin was carried out <sup>3</sup>. Another typical story relates the adventures of two of Timur's

<sup>1</sup> IAr., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> ZN, I, 392 sq.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 71b. The same tale is to be found in the Anonym of Iskandar (MS. As. Mus., f. 243a, London MS., f. 256a), from which it was probably borrowed by Abd al-Razzaq's source, Hāfiz-i-Abrū.

commanders, the Juchid prince Ibāj-oghlan and the Chaghatay amir Jalāl, son of Hamīd, when crossing the steppe in the year 1393<sup>1</sup>. The men were tortured by thirst but could find only two mouthfuls of water. Ibaj drank a mouthful but his thirst was not quenched and he asked Jalal to give him his share too. This reminded the latter of a tale he had once heard from Timur about two travellers, an Arab and a Persian who were thirsting in the desert. The Arab had still some water left. The Persian said that only this water could save him from death and that if the Arab would let him have it, it would be the best proof of the famous generosity of the Arabs. The Arab replied: "I know that if I give you the water I shall die, but the fame of the Arabs is dearer to me than life itself". The Persian obtained the water and his life was saved. Jalal added: "I shall do as that Arab and give you the water, so as to lay an obligation on the descendants of Juchi and his ulus and maintain the good fame of the ulus of Chaghatay. All I ask of you is to report what happened to the monarch on your return, so that the tale may be included in the annals". Ibāj gave his promise, received the water and recovered his strength. Jalāl too managed to escape death. They both reached Karbalā, the site of Imam Husayn's tomb, and later went before Timur and related to him what had happened in the desert. Timur extolled Jalal's sacrifice and his concern for the honour of the Chaghatay ulus and recalled the gallantry of his father Hamīd.

Whether these tales be true or not, they show that an ideal of chivalry existed in Timur's army. Similar stories were naturally invented about Timur and his sons. Feats of personal valour were ascribed to Timur in spite of his physical disability. In 1379, during the siege of Urganj, Yūsuf Sūfī, ruler of Khwarazm, challenged Timur to single combat. Timur accepted the challenge, galloped up to the moat of the fortress and called to his opponent, but the latter broke his word and did not appear. Soon after Timur received from Tirmidh some newly ripened water-melons. He decided to share the gift with his enemy and sent him some

<sup>1</sup> ZN, I, 637; AR, f. 99a.



of the fruit on a golden dish. Yusuf ordered the water-melons to be thrown into the water and gave the dish to the gate-keeper<sup>1</sup>. In 1383 in Sistan, Timur wanted to take part in the battle and refrained only in response to the entreaties of his amirs<sup>2</sup>.

As to Timur's sons, Omar-Shaykh distinguished himself in 1370, during the war with Husayn, when he was only sixteen<sup>3</sup>. Later, in Farghana, he often fought with the Moghuls. There is a great deal about his personal prowess in the Anonym of Iskandar, who is biased with regard to Omar-Shaykh and his sons, as Hāfiz-i-Abrū and Sharaf al-din are with regard to Shahrukh. A fantastic story was made up about Shahrukh, which he disclaimed<sup>4</sup>, viz. that at the age of sixteen he had taken part in 1393 in the battle with Mansūr, ruler of Fars, and had personally brought Mansūr's head to his father<sup>5</sup>.

Ibn Arabshah asserts that in Timur's army there were idolators who carried their idols with them<sup>6</sup>, and also women who took part in the fighting<sup>7</sup>. Whatever the facts, the stricter Muslims regarded the Chaghatay warriors as infidels (*kāfir*), just as the Chaghatays in their turn did not recognise the Moghuls as Muslims, although Islam had officially become the dominant religion in Moghulistan since the days of the khan Tuqluq Timur. It is only in the second half of the fifteenth century, under khan Yūnus, that the Moghuls came to be included in the practice which the Muslims observed generally in their wars amongst themselves, namely that prisoners of war should not be sold into slavery<sup>8</sup>. In the fourteenth century the Chaghatay kingdom was

<sup>1</sup> *ZN*, I, 294-297. Nizam al-din Shami, f. 58b, also speaks of the challenge to single combat.

<sup>2</sup> *ZN*, I, 367 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>4</sup> *ZVO*, XV, 221.

<sup>5</sup> *ZVO*, I, 612. A transitional version between the original story (*Dnevnik* I, 35 sq.) and the version of the *ZN* is the tale of Mahmūd Gītī [Kutbī?] written in 823/1420 (interpolated in the copy of the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* by Ḥamdullāh Qazwīnī, reproduced in facsimile, *GMS*, XIV/1, 153).

<sup>6</sup> *IAr.*, p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>8</sup> *TR*, p. 98.

not regarded as Muslim. In 1372 the Khwarazmian ruler Husayn Sufi told Timur's envoy: "Your kingdom is the region of war (i.e. an infidel state) and the duty of Muslims is to fight you" <sup>1</sup>. Timur's warriors wore pigtails like the heathen Mongols. When during the siege of Damascus (1400-1401) Timur's grandson Sultan-Husayn betrayed his people and went over to the besieged, they first of all cut off his pigtail and made him change his clothes <sup>2</sup>. Ibn Arabshah mentions one of Timur's elder daughters, Sultan-Bakht begum <sup>3</sup> who "was distinguished by a virile nature and disliked women" <sup>4</sup>.

The position of Timur's wives and the other women at his court was more in keeping with Mongol customs than with the requirements of Islam. As can be seen from Clavijo's <sup>5</sup> and Ibn Arabshah's <sup>6</sup> accounts of the banquets of 1404, the queens and princesses were present unveiled. The queens and princesses gave banquets to which they invited guests. Timur built palaces with gardens in the environs of Samarqand both for his wives <sup>7</sup> and for other princesses <sup>8</sup>. During Timur's reign the women

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 63b.

<sup>2</sup> IAr., p. 104 sq. Ibn Arabshah mistakenly calls him the son of Timur's sister. On his origin and the death of his mother in 1382 see ZN, I, 330. [Son of Muhammad beg ibn Amīr Mūsā and of Timur's daughter Üge-biki, see ZN, I, 229, 330. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> On her extraction see ZN, I, 120. Her mother was amir Husayn's sister who died in 1366.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Arabshah, p. 228, adds somewhat obscurely that the princess "was spoilt by the women of Baghdad when they came to Samarqand". Muhammad Mirkā, the husband of this princess, revolted in 1388 against Timur and was executed (ZN, I, 450-454). The princess then married amir Sulayman-Shah (*ibid.*, 489). She died in 833/1429-30 in Nishapur (Abd al-Razzaq, f. 239b). [Ibn Arabshah definitely has in view the perversion of the women of Baghdad, cf. *Dīwān-i Khāqānī*, ed. Tehran, 691. V.M.]

<sup>5</sup> Clavijo, p. 257 sq.

<sup>6</sup> IAr., p. 163.

<sup>7</sup> The Paradise garden was laid out in 1378 for Tuman-gha, ZN, I, 292. She was born in 1366 (*ibid.*, I, 140), and consequently was only twelve years old when Timur married her. The garden *Dilkushā* was made in 1397 for Tükāl-khanum, ZN, II, 6-9. Nizam al-din, f. 122b.

<sup>8</sup> The Northern garden was made in 1397 for Timur's granddaughter,

naturally had no influence in affairs of the state. All they could do was sometimes to soften Timur's wrath against some prince who had fallen into disgrace <sup>1</sup>. Ibn Arabshah relates that one of Timur's wives, the beautiful Cholpan-Mulk, daughter of the Moghul Hajji-beg, who accompanied Timur on his campaigns in 1391 and 1393 <sup>2</sup> was killed by Timur after some rumours <sup>3</sup> had reached him (probably of her infidelity). The official history makes no mention of this event in Timur's family.

14. Timur bestowed much care upon his descendants. Their education was an affair of state in which the parents had no voice. When a happy event was about to take place, the mother was brought to court and surrounded with every care, but as soon as a boy was born, he was taken from her and his upbringing entrusted to specially designated persons who looked after his food, clothing etc.

In due course the boy was given a special tutor (*atabeg*) who taught him whatever a future ruler should know <sup>4</sup>. There could be no difference between the education of the heir to the throne and that of the other princes, as there was no established order of succession. Besides, the state was looked upon as the property of the entire clan and individual princes were practically independent rulers of their respective fiefs. The head of the dynasty intervened only when the feudal prince evinced rebellious tendencies or quarrelled with other princes, or when the fief was in evident danger from maladministration or from internal or external foes. Such cases had occurred already in Timur's lifetime. On the whole he was far less happy in his sons and grandsons than Chingiz-khan. Two of Timur's sons predeceased their father. The third, MĪRĀNSHĀH, was born in 1366. In 1380, at

the daughter of Miranshah, *ZN*, I. 800 sq. Nizam al-din, f. 121a, calls her the daughter of Shahrukh.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ZN*, II, 641, on Sarāy-Mulk-khanum and Khalil-Sultan. Even in this case the queen could act only through the intermediary of the amirs.

<sup>2</sup> *ZN*, I, 499 and 583.

<sup>3</sup> *IAR.*, p. 228. According to Clavijs (p. 296) she was still alive in 1404. In any case she is still mentioned in 1403 (*ZN*, II, 505).

<sup>4</sup> *AR*, f. 18b.

the age of fourteen, he took part in an expedition against Khorasan and was immediately named ruler of that still unconquered province <sup>1</sup>. Through his wife, a granddaughter of Khan Özbek, Miranshah like his father, bore the title of *gūrkhān* (son-in-law) <sup>2</sup>. During his rule in Khorasan Miranshah resided in Herat. In 1393 he was given a higher charge. By that time Timur could regard himself as the possessor of the "Kingdom of Hūlāgū", i.e. the kingdom of the Persian Mongols, and the "throne of Hulagu" was given to Miranshah. The principal towns of this fief, which included the whole of northern Persia with Baghdad and Transcaucasia <sup>3</sup>, were Tabrīz and Sultāniya.

Miranshah was distinguished by personal valour but at the same time resembled his father in his cunning and cruelty. In 1389 in Samarqand he put to death the Kurds <sup>4</sup>, the last descendants of the rulers of Herat. At a banquet he laughingly cut off the head of Pir Muhammad, the son of the prince of Herat, and later explained his act of violence by excess of drink <sup>5</sup>. In 1399 rumours reached Timur that Miranshah's behaviour had undergone a complete change. After a fall from his horse, when out hunting in the autumn of 1386, he began to exhibit symptoms of mental derangement and brought the country under his rule into a state of disorder, while enemies were attacking it from the outside <sup>6</sup>. The destructive tendencies, inherited by Miranshah from his father, took a morbid turn. According to Clavijs <sup>7</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> ZN, I, 307.

<sup>2</sup> This title is given to him by his contemporary Zayn al-din Qazwīnī (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, MS. SPb. Univ., No. 153, p. 502). In the inscription on Miranshah's ring, published by N. I. Veselovsky, the word *gūrkhān* does not appear (*Kaufmansky Sbornik*, p. 229 sq.). Miranshah is also given the title of *gūrkhān* by Daulatshah, p. 324 (below) and 329 (below), by Faṣīḥ, f. 390a sq., by Abd al-Razzaq, f. 164b, 173b, and others.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, I, 623 sq., 784 (above).

<sup>4</sup> [*Kart* seems to be a better reading of the name V.M.].

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 90b; cf. ZN, I, 468.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, II, 200 sq. Almost identical is the report in An. Isk., MS. As. Mus., f. 295a, London MS., f. 310b sq. Nizam al-din in his account of the campaign of 1399 says nothing about Miranshah's actions which were the main reason for the campaign. Cf. ZVO, XXIII, 25, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> Clavijs, p. 182. The official history does not mention the destruction

pulled down buildings for the sole reason that he wanted it to be said that "Mirza Miranshah did nothing himself but he ordered the finest works in the world to be demolished". About that time the "khan's daughter", wife of Miranshah<sup>1</sup>, arrived in Samarqand with complaints about her husband and an account of his rebellious intentions<sup>2</sup>. Daulatshah relates this event with colourful details which are not in the other sources and can hardly be true. According to him the princess showed her father-in-law her blood-stained chemise, and Timur was so overcome by his son's behaviour that he burst into tears and for a whole week would speak to no one<sup>3</sup>. The official history speaks only of crude accusations made by Miranshah against his wife. She was successful in disproving them and the calumniators, "men and women", paid with their lives. The angry princess nevertheless departed to Samarqand<sup>4</sup>.

The events of 1399 occasioned the last and most prolonged (the so-called "Seven-Years") campaign of Timur in the West. It was crowned by the victory over the Egyptian sultan and the "Roman Caesar", i.e. the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd. Miranshah and the

of buildings. AR, f. 121a, speaks only of the destruction of a tall building in Sultaniya in search of treasure. Daulatshah, p. 330, reports that Miranshah ordered the tomb of the great historian Rashīd al-dīn in Tabriz to be destroyed and his bones buried in the Jewish cemetery. [Rashid was of Jewish descent]. This seems the more strange as Miranshah was apparently interested in Muslim historical literature. The scholar Najm al-din translated for him the history of Ibn al-Athīr from the Arabic into Persian (Khawāndamīr, III, 177).

<sup>1</sup> The princess, whose name was Sävin-beg, was in fact not the daughter but the granddaughter of khan Özbek. Her father was a Khwarazmian prince (ZN, I, 242). In 1374 she was married to Jahāngīr (*ibid.*, 249 sq.) and became the mother of Muhammad-Sultan (*ibid.*, I, 271, and II, 508). She married Miranshah after Jahāngīr's death. Cf. also Ibn Arabshah, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> ZN, II, 206. Quite improbable is Ibn Arabshah's report (p. 76 sq.) according to which Timur, when still in India, received a letter from Miranshah in which the latter told his father that he was old and should devote the remainder of his days to prayer, leaving his kingdom to his sons and grandsons.

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshāh, p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, II, 205.

population of his dominions submitted to Timur without resistance. The prince was deposed, his counsellors and the companions of his dissolute life executed, the sums dissipated by him refunded to the treasury <sup>1</sup>. Subsequent events showed Timur how precarious was the good understanding among the members of his dynasty. Before setting out on his campaign, he had entrusted Samarqand to MUHAMMAD-SULTAN, son of Jahāngīr, and Farghāna to ISKANDAR, son of 'Omar-Shaykh <sup>2</sup>. Already in the winter of 1399-1400 they quarrelled. In the spring of 1400 Iskandar, on the orders of Muhammad-Sultan, was brought to Samarqand and placed under guard. His *atabeg* (Iskandar was only sixteen years old) and with him twenty six *nukars* were executed <sup>3</sup>. In Fars in the same year Timur deposed Iskandar's brother, PĪR-MUHAMMAD, who was accused of feigning ill-health to avoid taking part in the campaign, and of preparing poisons for some unknown purpose. The prince's counsellors were executed. He himself was brought before Timur and in accordance with the verdict of the "great divan" bastinadoed <sup>4</sup>. The same treatment was meted out to Iskandar in 1401 <sup>5</sup>. At the close of 1400, during the siege of Damascus, Timur's grandson, the son of Timur's daughter, Sultan-Husayn, went over to the besieged <sup>6</sup> and fought against his own people. Before the surrender of the town, he was taken prisoner in a sortie and brought before Timur, who once again was content with ordering the bastinado <sup>7</sup>. In 1401 Muhammad-Sultan was summoned by Ti-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 213 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 208 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 221 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 231 and 263.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 383. According to Mūsawī, Timur, on the contrary, blamed Muhammad-Sultan, upheld Iskandar and ordered the restitution of all the property taken from Iskandar's companions (*Aṣaḥḥ al-tawārīkh*, f. 411a; *Tārīkh-i Khayrāt*, f. 297a; cf. IAN., 1915, p. 1368). An. Isk. mentions neither the dispute between Muhammad-Sultan and Iskandar, nor Muhammad-Sultan's death. This silence favours Sharaf al-din's version and disproves Musawi's.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, II, 314.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 323.

mur to receive the "throne of Hulagu khan" <sup>1</sup>. He took no active part in the campaigns of the first years of the fifteenth century, but died from illness in 1403 <sup>2</sup>. "Hulagu khan's throne" was bestowed in 1404 upon 'OMAR, Miranshah's second son. All Miranshah's troops and all the princes left in western Persia and Mesopotamia were subordinated to him.<sup>3</sup> Of these latter, Pīr Muhammad got back Shiraz as early as 1403; his brother RUSTAM received Isfahan; Miranshah's eldest son ABŪ-BAKR received Baghdad <sup>4</sup>; Iskandar received Hamadān <sup>5</sup>. All that is said about Miranshah is that he was allowed to join his son Abū-Bakr in Baghdad at the latter's request <sup>6</sup>. Clavijo saw Miranshah in Sultāniya and the prince did not strike him as being insane (his madness is also belied by the fact that he took part in battles, as mentioned several times in the official history); he received the Castilian ambassadors with full observance of etiquette and inquired after their king's health <sup>7</sup>. After Muhammad Sultan's death Timur appointed to succeed him another of Jahāngīr's sons, PĪR MUHAMMAD, born in 1376, forty days after his father's death <sup>8</sup>. As early as 1392 the "throne of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī", i.e. the region to the southwest of the Hindūkūsh down to the Indus <sup>9</sup>, had been bestowed upon him. Timur's actions show that he expected more from his grandsons than from his sons, — not only from the graceless eldest, but even from the youngest, SHĀHRUKH, who had never incurred his displeasure. Shahrukh

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 492.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 569.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 514 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 564.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 574 sq. The official history does not mention that Abū-Bakr refused to occupy his father's throne out of affection for him, and that this was the reason why Timur turned to his brother 'Omar (cf. Clavijo, p. 182 sq.).

<sup>7</sup> Clavijo, p. 176. Further (p. 184) it is stated that Miranshah "was suffering from gout (*gotoso*)".

<sup>8</sup> ZN, I, 271. Since 1403, he was (after Miranshah) the eldest of Timur's living descendants.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 558.

accompanied his father in the western campaigns as far as Palestine<sup>1</sup>, and yet down to the end of Timur's life he remained only ruler of Khorasan, a dignity with which Miranshah had begun his career. This province — (the ruler's residence was in Herat, as in Miranshah's time) — was entrusted to him in 1397, together with Sistan and Mazandaran<sup>2</sup>. In 1404 Timur declined the suggestion that he should summon his son to Samarqand<sup>3</sup>. In Timur's last political combinations connected with his Chinese campaign and broken off by his death, the infant sons of Shahrukh took pride of place while their father was completely passed over. The sources give no explanation of Timur's relations with his son. It may be that during his father's lifetime Shahrukh manifested the same exaggerated reverence for the Shari'at and disregard of Chingiz-khan's law as during his own reign. In 1404 Timur's envoy, Fakhr al-din Ahmad Tūsi, brought to account the dignitaries of Herat and wrought havoc among them. The historian Faṣīḥ enumerates many khojas who were exiled to Ashpara and Saurān<sup>4</sup> as a result of his investigation, but there is nothing to show that these events could have affected Timur's relations with his son and the latter's tutor 'Alā al-din Alike Kükeltash. It is remarkable that this amir, who later prided himself on Timur's confidence in entrusting Shahrukh to his care<sup>5</sup>, should not be mentioned at all in the history of the events of Timur's reign. It is a moot question whether, during Timur's lifetime, he could have evinced the qualities which substantially distinguished him from other Chaghatay military chiefs, and some of which he imparted to his pupil<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 335 (*Kan'an*, i.e. Canaan).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 804.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 601.

<sup>4</sup> Faṣīḥ, f. 392a sq. ZN, II, 592, very briefly refers to Ahmad Tūsi's mission and its consequences. It is remarkable that all the exiles turned back when the news of Timur's death reached them (Faṣīḥ, f. 393a sq.).

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 254b.

<sup>6</sup> An. Isk. asserts that to Iskandar alone Shahrukh owed "the small dose of courage which he had", and that it was only Iskandar's influence that made him aspire to royal power, MS. As. Mus., f. 292b, London MS., f. 307b.



15. Clavijo avers that Timur twice spread the rumour of his own death to find out who was likely to revolt against his successors<sup>1</sup>. Oriental authors do not mention this ruse of Timur's, but he was undoubtedly interested in knowing what upheavals his death would provoke. This can be gathered, for instance, from Ibn Arabshah's report on his conversation with Iskandar Shaykhi<sup>2</sup>, a Persian prince who alternately took part in Timur's campaigns and rebelled against him. One wonders whether Timur was more concerned with the future of the Barlas clan or of the empire he had created. Timur was the product of a society in which clannishness predominated, and with him the clan must have come first. His military successes and a closer contact with representatives of Muslim culture<sup>3</sup> must have gradually broadened his outlook. Neither the official history, nor the other sources contain any mention of this gradual change, or of the views he may have formed towards the end of his life on the empire and the duties of its ruler. From what is known of Timur's utterances and actions one can infer that his inner life was incomparably more complex than that of his predecessor, Chingiz-khan. Chingiz-khan's outlook was to the end that of the robber-chief, who leads his companions to victory and plunder and shares their common effort; who is prepared, when times are hard, to give them all he has, even his very clothes and horse, and, when times are fair, enjoys with them the supreme delight of riding the horses of slain enemies and of kissing their wives. This inspired savage applied his rare gift of organisation to an ever widening circle of individuals and saw no difference between the qualifications of the chief of a band of ten men and those of the ruler of an empire<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, Timur was, first and foremost, a conquering monarch of boundless ambition. The following saying is ascribed to him: "the whole expanse of the inhabited part of the world is not worthy of two kings"<sup>5</sup>. To the

<sup>1</sup> Clavijo, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup> IAr., p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> There is no information on the influence educated non-Muslims might have had on him.

<sup>4</sup> *E.I.*, I, under Čingiz-Khan, with references to sources.

<sup>5</sup> *ZN*, I, 306.

end of his days Chingiz-khan knew no language except Mongolian. Timur too remained illiterate, but in addition to his native Turkish he spoke Persian and in this language conversed with scholars <sup>1</sup>. He created at his court the charge of "Story Reader" (*qiṣṣa-khwān*) <sup>2</sup> and from listening to these stories acquired that knowledge of history which astonished the learned historian Ibn Khaldūn <sup>3</sup>. He had a passion for chess and achieved a rare proficiency in this game <sup>4</sup>. He mastered the details of the Muslim teachings to such a degree that he could follow religious debates and take part in them <sup>5</sup>. All this, however, did not lead to his estrangement from the military circles out of which he had risen; on the contrary, it even contributed to his military success. He used his knowledge of history to encourage his men by examples from the past, and brought forward religious reasons to justify massacres and the plundering of conquered regions, which provided his army with a far greater booty than would have been possible under a different system of waging war. The huge military force <sup>6</sup> created by Timur seems to have been blindly devoted to its leader. More complicated must have been the feelings with which Timur was regarded by the cultured population of the conquered countries. Timur's domination was imposed and upheld by measures of such extreme cruelty as to impress even Clavijo, — a European of the early fifteenth century. A European of the twentieth century <sup>7</sup> can hardly imagine how men could be found to execute such orders of Timur as the erection

<sup>1</sup> IAr., p. 220, also the conversation in Aleppo and Timur's words *khub, khub* (*ibid.*, p. 96 below).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229, and Daulatshah, p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> IAr., pp. 108, and 219.

<sup>4</sup> IAr., p. 219 (below) and AR, f. 18b sq.; the same players are enumerated in HAbṛū, MS. Ind. Off., f. 19a-b. Clavijo, p. 267, also mentions Timur's chess-playing with the sayyids.

<sup>5</sup> A typical instance is the debate in Aleppo, IAr., p. 96 sq.

<sup>6</sup> According to IAr., p. 94 below, the number of warriors entered upon the rolls attained 800,000. The campaign against China was undertaken with an army of 200,000 men (ZN, II, 635 below).

<sup>7</sup> [Barthold's book was completed in 1915. V.M.]

of a tower of two thousand live men laid one upon the other and smothered with clay and fragments of brick<sup>1</sup>, — after the taking of Isfīzār, or the burying alive of four thousand captive soldiers, — after the taking of Sivas<sup>2</sup>. The mass exterminations committed in Muslim countries by the heathen Chingiz-khan pale into insignificance before these refinements of cruelty on the part of a Muslim conqueror.

Nevertheless, for the cultured population of his empire Timur was more than a mere foreign conqueror. A ruthless destroyer, he was also an enthusiastic builder. Stately buildings with magnificent gardens were erected at his command, villages and towns were restored, irrigation systems built and repaired. According to the official historian, he could not bear to see arable land lying waste<sup>3</sup>. This creative activity stirred the imagination of his contemporaries as much as the destructive. The names of Timur and his descendants belong to one of the great epochs in the history of Muslim architecture. The buildings erected in Samarqand during that period are Persian in style but in size far surpass their Persian models<sup>4</sup>. The tendency to erect buildings larger than any built before is a typical trait of Muslim architecture in post-Mongolian times<sup>5</sup>, and that not only in the lands conquered by the Mongols, but in Egypt as well<sup>6</sup>. At no other time was this tendency followed with such consistency as under Timur and his descendants.

16. Timur's palaces were not fortified castles inaccessible to the population, although it is true that the Kōk-Saray castle<sup>7</sup>, built by Timur within the citadel of Samarqand, seems to have

<sup>1</sup> ZN, I, 360.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 269. IAr., p. 88: three thousand. Clavijo, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, II, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Remark by Fr. Sarre in *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Atlas, fasc. VI, p. I.

<sup>5</sup> D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 273 (on the constructions of Ghāzān).

<sup>6</sup> Khalīl al-Zāhiri, *Zoubdat Kachf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, Publ. de l'E.L.O.V., p. 31 (on Sultan Nāṣir Hasan's madrasa).

<sup>7</sup> On this castle see ZN, II, 634.

seen little of Timur within its walls for it served mainly as a treasury and state prison under both Timur and his successors<sup>1</sup>. Apparently Timur preferred his suburban palaces with their magnificent gardens. In the monarch's absence these pleasantries were thrown open to the inhabitants of Samarqand, both rich and poor. The walls of the palaces were decorated with paintings representing Timur's victories, his sons and grandsons, his amirs and army<sup>2</sup>. Still more grandiose were the gardens surrounding the Takhta-Qaracha palace which gave its name to the pass between Samarqand and Shahrisabz. The palace was built in the spring of 1395. To make the garden a stream was utilised which flowed from the pass along a gorge, seven farsakhs from Samarqand<sup>3</sup>. To give an idea of the size of the gardens, Ibn Arabshah quotes an anecdote about a horse that had been lost there and was found only six months later<sup>4</sup>.

Timur carried out extensive irrigation works not only in his native Mawarannahr and the neighbouring Khorasan<sup>5</sup>, but in such distant regions as the Mughān steppe<sup>6</sup> and the Kābul basin<sup>7</sup>.

He planned to make Samarqand the most imposing city in the world. To indicate this future grandeur he surrounded it with villages bearing the names of the largest cities known to him: Sultaniya, Shiraz, Baghdad, Dimishq (Damascus) and Mişr (Cairo)<sup>8</sup>. On his return to Samarqand in 1396 from the "Five Years" campaign, Timur exempted the population from the payment of taxes for three years<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Clavijo, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> IAr., p. 227 sq.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, II, 12 sq. The building is also mentioned by Faşih, f. 390b.

<sup>4</sup> IAr., p. 228.

<sup>5</sup> On the works along the upper course of the Murghāb see my *Irrigation in Turkestan* (in Russian), p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, II, 554.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 32 and 186. Also *Texts on... Central Asia*, I, 195.

<sup>8</sup> IAr., p. 228. The sites of Shiraz, Dimishq and Mişr are known, cf. V. Vyatkin, *Materials*, fasc. VII, Index. Sultaniya is mentioned by IAr., p. 210, in the account of the events of 1409, as a village to the north of Samarqand. AR, f. 180a, names in its stead Shiraz.

<sup>9</sup> ZN, I, 799.

The luxurious and easy life in Timur's capital was not without its effect upon the native Muslim population, and even the clergy. The Shaykh al-Islam of Samarqand, Abd al-Malik, a descendant of the author of *Hidāya*, played chess and diced and wrote poetry<sup>1</sup>, in other words he indulged in pleasures which, if not directly proscribed by religion, were not approved either. Timur himself renounced both games when he repented on his death-bed in Otrar<sup>2</sup>. The population of the cultured regions, in addition to paying taxes to Timur, also took part in his campaigns. His army, besides the Chaghatays, included detachments recruited in the conquered countries. Hāfizi-Abrū, himself a Khorasanian, assures that Timur trusted the Khorasanians above all others<sup>3</sup>, and this notwithstanding the fact that Khorasan had suffered from his conquest no less than any other region<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> IAr., p. 229. On the Shaykh al-Islam, see below under Ulugh-beg.

<sup>2</sup> Faṣiḥ, f. 393a. The *ZN*, II, 654, speaks only of the renouncement of practices "forbidden and rebellious (towards Islam)".

<sup>3</sup> MS. Public Library, Dorn 290, f. 289a.

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 78b: "what storm more violent, what trial more terrible". This report undoubtedly goes back to *HA* himself.

### III. ULUGH-BEG'S CHILDHOOD

17. Timur's grandson, Shahrukh's eldest son, was born on Sunday, 22 March 1394<sup>1</sup> in Sultaniya, during the second<sup>2</sup> of Timur's great campaigns in Iran and the Near East. When engaged in such campaigns Timur often left in Sultaniya his baggage-train (*ughruq*)<sup>3</sup> and those of his wives who did not accompany him. Thus in 1393-4, while the *ughruq* was for eleven months detained in Sultaniya<sup>4</sup>, a child was born to the wife of the seventeen-year old Shahrukh, GAUHAR-SHĀD AGHA. She was the daughter of a Chaghatay noble, Ghiyāth al-din Tarkhān<sup>5</sup> whose ancestor Qīshlīq had saved Chingiz-khan's life<sup>6</sup>. Ghiyāth al-din's two other daughters, had been married since 1392 to the sons of 'Omar-Shaykh<sup>7</sup>. Shahrukh had been married since 1388<sup>8</sup>, but we do not know whether Gauhar-Shād was his first wife. This princess, who was destined to play a prominent part during her husband's reign, is hardly mentioned at all in Timur's lifetime<sup>9</sup>.

At that time military operations were proceeding in Mesopotamia. On Thursday, 16 April, the town of Mardin surrendered to Timur. On the next day a courier (*elchi*) sent by Queen

<sup>1</sup> Date in ZN, I, 679: 19 Jamādī I, 796.

<sup>2</sup> The Five years Campaign.

<sup>3</sup> [Here the author explains that the word *uqruq* (*ughruq*) "baggage-train" has a different meaning from *urdu* (*ordu*) "a camp". This interpretation is now universally accepted. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> ZN, I, 630 and 689 sq.

<sup>5</sup> In A.H. 827/A.D. 1424 died Hasan (or Husayn)-Sūfī Tarkhān (Faṣīh, f. 417a, and AR, f. 230), brother of Gauhar-Shād agha; in ZN, I, 558, Husayn is mentioned in the record of the events of 1392 as Ghiyāth al-din's son.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, I, 238 below. On Qīshlīq see Rashīd al-din, ed. Bérésine, *Trudi Vost. Otd. I.R. Archeol. Obshch.*, XIII, p. 131 (translation) and p. 211 (text).

<sup>7</sup> ZN, I, 560.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 460.

<sup>9</sup> For example, ZN, II, 210.

Sarāy-Mulk khanum from Sultaniya, brought the news of the happy event. To mark the occasion Timur spared the population of the conquered town and even released them from payment of the contribution that had been imposed upon them.

The new-born child received the names of Muhammad Taraghay<sup>1</sup>, but already in Timur's time these names were superseded by the appellation ULUGH BEG, i.e. "Great Prince"<sup>2</sup>. The word *beg* (or incorrectly *bek*), as we have seen, was used by the Turks in Timur's kingdom in the same sense as the word *amīr* by the Persians. Timur himself was called *beg*. Persian historical works contain quotations from speeches by Chaghatay military chiefs in which Timur is called *Great Amir*<sup>3</sup>. If this is an exact translation of a Turkish term, this last could only have been *ulugh-beg*<sup>4</sup>. It is still a puzzle why Shahrūkh's eldest son was given a title that could have been borne only by Timur himself, and why this should have replaced his proper name from his earliest childhood.

Sharaf al-din Yazdī gives fewer details of Ulugh-beg's childhood than of his brother Ibrahim's. IBRAHIM was born in the same year (evidently of a different mother) and it was in his fief that Sharaf al-din wrote his work. The report on Ibrahim's birth<sup>5</sup> contains the name of his *atabeg* (tutor), appointed immediately on the prince's birth<sup>6</sup>, and the name of his wet-nurse, the *atabeg's* wife. There are no such details about Ulugh-beg in the history of Timur. The name of Queen SARAY-MULK KHANUM occurs in all the passages where Ulugh-beg is mentioned,

<sup>1</sup> Thus in Faṣīḥ, f. 389a, and Khwāndamīr, III, 214. See also Sédillot p. CXXV.

<sup>2</sup> The term *ulugh-beg* was used in order to translate the title of the Russian Great Prince (see my article in *IAN*, 1914, p. 365).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the expression *rūh-i amīr-i buzurg* ("the spirit of the Great Amir") in AR, f. 207a (story of the amir who made a petition to Ulugh-beg) and the expression *amīr-i kabīr* constantly recurring in Mūsavi, (cf. for instance, the text in *IAN*, 1915, p. 1369).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the expression *beglār ulughī* (not referring to Timur) in a Turkish author, in Rieu, *Turkish Manuscripts*, p. 270a.

<sup>5</sup> *ZN*, I, 709 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 725. This amir was executed by Timur in 1395 (*ibid.*, 764).

which suggests that he was entrusted to her care in the same way as his brother Ibrahim was entrusted to the care of Queen Tuman-agma. In May 1394 the queens and the children followed Timur with the *ughruq* to Armenia and Transcaucasia where Ibrahim was born. In September they returned to Sultaniya, but some time later were again summoned to join Timur<sup>1</sup>. In the spring of 1395 both queens with the children were sent to Samarqand<sup>2</sup>, where Shahrukh had been staying since the autumn of 1394<sup>3</sup>. In 1396 they were all in Khūzār, meeting Timur on his return from his "Five Years'" campaign<sup>4</sup>. During the Indian campaign Sarāy-Mulk khanum and Ulugh-beg accompanied Timur only as far as Kabul. In August 1398 Timur sent them back to Samarqand from the neighbourhood of Kabul<sup>5</sup>. Ghiyāth al-din 'Ali adds that Timur parted very unwillingly with his favourite grandson and only did so because he feared the effect of the hot Indian climate on the child's health<sup>6</sup>. On Sunday, 30 March 1399, on the banks of the Amu-Darya, the queens and princes, among whom was the five year old Ulugh-beg, were welcoming the conqueror on his return from India<sup>7</sup>. During the "Seven Years'" campaign of 1399-1404 the queen and her ward were as usual with the *ughruq*.

Timur's favourite winter quarters were at Qarabagh in the present-day Elizavetpol<sup>8</sup> province, and here he spent the winters of 1399-1400, 1401-1402 and 1403-1404 with his *ughruq*<sup>9</sup>. In 1400-1401 and 1402-1403 the queens and the princes lived for a long time in Sultaniya<sup>10</sup>. In 1403 Ulugh-beg, Ibrahim and several other princes met Timur in Erzerum<sup>11</sup>. This seems to have

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 688 sq., 728, 733 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 735.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 726.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 794.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 38 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Dnevnik*, I, 52.

<sup>7</sup> ZN, II, 189, *Texts*, I, 198 sq.

<sup>8</sup> [Now Ganja in the Soviet republic of Azarbayjan.]

<sup>9</sup> ZN, II, 215 sq., 381, 557 sq.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 263, 352, 399, 505.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 507.



been the westernmost point that Ulugh-beg ever visited. In 1404 the queens and the princes were sent from the neighbourhood of Fīrūzkūh to Samarqand <sup>1</sup>, shortly before Timur's return there.

To the days spent in the winter quarters at Qarabagh <sup>2</sup> belongs the story which Daulatshah quotes to prove Ulugh-beg's exceptional memory. At Qarabagh Ulugh-beg's playfellow was the nephew of Timur's court "Story-Reader". In 1448 this former playmate, now Shaykh 'Ārif Āzarī, dressed in darvish garb, welcomed Ulugh-beg in Khorasan. From his first words Ulugh-beg recognised him and asked him: "are you not the son of our story-reader's sister?" and began recalling with him memories of those early days <sup>3</sup>.

To Ulugh-beg the residence in Qarabagh and other western regions were never more than early childhood memories, for from the time when he was ten years old he never had occasion to travel farther West than Astarabad. A unique experience of his childhood must have been the sumptuous banquets which were given in the neighbourhood of Samarqand in the autumn of 1404 after Timur's return. At these banquets the boy could see assembled at his grandfather's court ambassadors from Spain and China. According to Clavijo, the duties of Timur's young grandsons at the ambassadors' reception was to receive from their hands their letters of credence, carry them to Timur and lead the ambassadors up to Timur's throne <sup>4</sup>.

18. Clavijo does not mention the fact that with the celebration of his victories Timur combined the wedding of five of his grandsons ranging in age from nine to seventeen <sup>5</sup>. Among them was the ten-year old Ulugh-beg. His bride was his second cousin, the daughter of Muhammad-Sultan, ÖGE-BEGÜM <sup>6</sup> (or

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 579.

<sup>2</sup> Daulatshah gives the wrong date A.H. 800/A.D. 1397-8. At that time Timur was in Māwarānnahr.

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshah, p. 363.

<sup>4</sup> Clavijo, p. 248 sq.

<sup>5</sup> On the weddings see ZN, II, 64 sq.; on the age of the princes, *ibid.*, 734 sq.

<sup>6</sup> On this princess see below the report on the events after Timur's death.

Öge-biki). Her age is not indicated. Sharaf al-din gives a detailed description of the wedding festivities. He mentions a *khutba*<sup>1</sup> of Shaykh Shams al-din Muhammad ibn al-Jazari, a Syrian scholar, who lived in Brussa in the dominions of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid and was taken prisoner by Timur's army in 1402<sup>2</sup>. The chief cadi of Samarqand, Ṣalāḥ al-din, put the questions (on consent to the marriage) and received the brides' answers. The religious ceremony was followed by a feast according to Mongol custom, at which bowls of wine, *koumiss*<sup>3</sup> and other drinks were served<sup>4</sup>. The historian asserts that the marriages were consummated on the following night, and that Timur visited the young couples in their tents<sup>5</sup> on the next day. This is most improbable, for subsequent events show that both Ulugh-beg and his brother Ibrahim (who was also among the newly wed princes) remained even after their marriage under the care of their queen guardians from whom they parted only after Timur's death.

Clavijo, who left Samarqand on Friday 21 November 1404<sup>6</sup>, says nothing about Timur's military preparations and his last campaign, although Timur set out from Samarqand only six days after the departure of the Spanish embassy, on Thursday 27 November<sup>7</sup>. Clavijo imagined that after his return from the "Seven Years'" campaign, Timur stayed in Samarqand until his death<sup>8</sup>. Before their departure the Spaniards heard from "trustworthy and well-informed" persons that Timur was lying, bereft of speech, on his death-bed. The ambassadors assumed that their departure was being hastened in order that they should remain

<sup>1</sup> ZN, I, 615.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 452 and 458. According to Faṣīḥ, f. 391b, he was taken away from Kütahiya. See also IAr., p. 229 (where by mistake *Ibn al-Zauzī*) and C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arab. Lit.*, II, 201.

<sup>3</sup> [*Qumis*, fermented mare's milk.]

<sup>4</sup> ZN, II, 617. The description of the feast demands a detailed study and an explanation of the terms used, some of which are not to be found in dictionaries. Cf. for instance, the expression *qosh-va-quru* ["the going round of the cup", V.M.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 624.

<sup>6</sup> Clavijo, p. 344.

<sup>7</sup> The date is in the ZN, II, 636 sq.; Faṣīḥ, f. 393a.

<sup>8</sup> Clavijo, p. 361.

ignorant of Timur's death and be unable to spread the news on their way <sup>1</sup>. Actually Timur was putting the final touches to the long-conceived and grandiose plan of a campaign against China.

19. Two years before Timur's accession, in 1368, a revolution had broken out in China. The Mongol (Yüan) dynasty had been forced to leave China and the national Ming dynasty had occupied the throne. The capital was transferred from Peking (Khan-baliq, i.e. "the Khan's Town" of Muslim and European authors) to Nanking. A lively caravan trade was carried on between Central Asia and China. Sharaf al-din <sup>2</sup> describes in considerable detail the routes into China. Political relations between the Ming dynasty and Timur are reported in their respective histories, the history of the Ming dynasty being the more detailed of the two <sup>3</sup>. It contains an account of the arrival of Timur's embassy in China in 1387. The ambassador's name was Maulānā Ḥāfiẓ. The embassy presented a "tribute" of fifteen horses and two camels. From that time onward camels and horses were sent yearly, and in 1392 pieces of cloth were added to the usual tribute. When the embassy was leaving for Samarqand, it was joined by more than twelve hundred Muslims from among those who, under the Mongols, had settled in the province of Kan-su. In 1394 Timur sent two hundred horses to China. On this occasion for the first time a Chinese translation is given of Timur's letter to the Chinese Emperor, who "approved of its style". On another occasion (the year is not indicated) the number of horses sent by Timur were more than a thousand. The Chinese responded to these presents by sending precious stones and paper money (this latter must have been spent in China). The first known Chinese embassy to Timur was in 1395. The names of the ambassadors are given as An Chi-tao and Kuo-Ki <sup>4</sup>. The embassy travelled to Samarqand through Semirechye, and not by way of Kashghar and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *ZN*, II, 219 sq.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, II, 258-261.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, II, 278.

Farghana. This embassy did not return to China until after Timur's death.

From Timur's history we know that he did not receive the embassy until 1397, the reception taking place at his winter quarters on the banks of the Sir-Darya. The ambassadors brought many presents, were honoured by the monarch's favours and obtained leave to withdraw (*inṣirāf*)<sup>1</sup>. This latter expression cannot mean that they were allowed to return, for we know from Chinese sources that the embassy was detained. In this and other passages of Timur's history the Chinese Emperor is derisively called *Tonguz-khan*, i.e. King-Pig. There are no explanations of the reasons for the use of this nickname; the one given by Clavijo is not confirmed by other sources<sup>2</sup>. It was dropped under Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg when relations with China became friendly once more.

The detention of the embassy was certainly an unfriendly act. Already the report on the events of 1398 refers to Timur's intention to march against China and exterminate the "idolators"<sup>3</sup>. Timur must have been aware of the worsening position of the Muslims in China since the Mongols had been banished and the national Ming dynasty had acceded to power. Exaggerated reports were circulated regarding the anti-Muslim attitude of the founder of the dynasty. The account which describes how at the end of 1399 Timur at his winter quarters in Qarabagh received the news of the Chinese Emperor's death<sup>4</sup>, adds that the emperor had once, on some trifling pretext, ordered the massacre of 100,000 Muslims and had utterly eradicated Islam in his pos-

<sup>1</sup> ZN, II, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Clavijo, p. 253. Clavijo's *Chuyscan* (*Docuscan*) is apparently a corruption of *Toquz-khan*, i.e. "King of Nine (kingdoms)". No other author mentions such a title. In An. Isk. the chapter on the Mongol emperors in China ends with the fantastic tale of the murder in A.H. 775/A.D. 1373-4 of the Emperor Esen Buqa by the rebel Tūyghūr, a Chinese Uyghur. The author adds (f. 237b) that he will give more details under the accession of Tūnghūr (?) but does not keep his promise.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, II, 15. Nizam al-din, f. 123b. *Dnevnik*, I, 45.

<sup>4</sup> The event happened in 1398. Cf. C. Arendt on *Mitt. des Seminars für Orient. Spr.*, IV, *Ostasiat. Stud.*, p. 164.

sessions <sup>1</sup>. Clavijo <sup>2</sup> and the Chinese sources suggest that the tribute demanded by the Chinese Emperor also gave cause for disputes. One cannot say whether it was Timur's intention to restore Mongol domination in China. All we know is that Timur kept up some kind of relations with the Mongol Chingizids, but the information is meagre and contradictory. A comparison of Mongol and Muslim data allows it to be established that a certain khan ÖLJEY-TEMÜR, a fugitive from Mongolia, lived at Timur's court, and after Timur's death returned to his possessions where he was soon after killed by his subjects <sup>3</sup>. There is nothing to show, however, whether Timur intended to set up this man as Emperor of China and overthrow the Ming dynasty, and we do not even know whether the khan accompanied Timur's army on the Chinese campaign <sup>4</sup>. Sharaf al-din ascribes the flight to Timur's court and the subsequent return to Mongolia to an entirely different person. According to him, Öljei-Temür's successor TAYZI-OGHLAN arrived at Timur's court in Kabul in 1398; before that "he had rebelled against the qaan (Mongol khan) and fled from the Qalmuqs" <sup>5</sup>. In the corresponding passage, Sharaf al-din's sources mention Tayzi-oghlan's arrival but regard him only as an ambassador from China <sup>6</sup>. According to Sharaf al-din, Tayzi-oghlan was with Timur in Samarqand in 1404 <sup>7</sup> and in Otrar in the beginning of 1405 <sup>8</sup>, but the report is silent on any part that might have been assigned to him in the Chinese campaign as also on the circumstances in which he left the Chaghatay army. In the chapter on Mongol emperors Sharaf al-din only says that Tayzi-oghlan (who had become a Muslim), after Timur's death, fled to the Qalmuqs

<sup>1</sup> Nizam al-din, f. 156a. The corresponding passage of the *ZN*, II, 217, contains no mention of a massacre of Muslims, but it is in *AR* f. 123b.

<sup>2</sup> Clavijo, pp. 253 and 331.

<sup>3</sup> *Mir Islama*, I, 68, where references to the sources are given.

<sup>4</sup> The historical work ascribed to Ulugh-beg (on which see below) stated that after Timur's death Öljei-Temür "went to the great yurt and sat upon the throne". Quoted in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, 18.

<sup>5</sup> *ZN*, II, 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Dnevnik*, I, 56 sq.

<sup>7</sup> *ZN*, II, 601.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 648.

where he became khan, only to be killed a few days later.

All that is known of Timur's political plans connected with his last expedition is his intention to form two new fiefs to include all the lands to the East of Mawarannahr up to the Chinese frontier. So far Timur's conquests had been directed towards Western Asia. Only raids had been carried out against the eastern neighbours of Mawarannahr, the Moghuls. Farghana, ruled at first by Omar-Shaykh and after him by his son Iskandar, remained a frontier province. Timur's raids into Moghulistan<sup>1</sup> were directed not through Farghana and Chinese Turkestan, but by a more northerly route through the province of Sir-Darya and the Semirechye. For his Chinese campaign Timur chose the same route. To that end it was decided to move the frontier further East and restore agriculture in the region where it had fallen into decay during the disorders of the fourteenth century. In the winter of 1397-1398 Timur ordered his heir, Muhammad-Sultan, to build a frontier fort on the Ashpara<sup>2</sup> and to restore agriculture there. Muhammad-Sultan was given an army forty thousand strong<sup>3</sup>. Later, another frontier fort was built still further East, on the Issik-kul<sup>4</sup>. Muhammad-Sultan had intended to use this frontier line in 1399 for operations against the Moghuls, but was forestalled by Iskandar who made a successful raid into Chinese Turkestan, drawing into this operation the chiefs of the detachment stationed in Ashpara. These arbitrary actions of Iskandar's<sup>5</sup> were partly responsible for the quarrel mentioned above. After Muhammad-Sultan's and Iskandar's departure to the West, both Farghana and Mawarannahr remained without princes for

<sup>1</sup> Details of these raids in my *History of the Semirechye*, [see the present series of *Four studies*, 141 sq.]

<sup>2</sup> Now the frontier river between the Sir-Darya province and the Semirechye. [In Southern Qazakhstan.]

<sup>3</sup> ZN, II, 12. Nizam al-din, f. 123b, where the narrative is shorter but brings out more clearly the connection between the task entrusted to the prince and the Chinese campaign. Cf. *Dnevnik*, I, 45.

<sup>4</sup> "The fort Issik-kul built by Timur" was visited in 1425 by Ulugh-beg at the end of his campaign.

<sup>5</sup> ZN, II, 218 and 221.

some time. In 1401 KHALİL-SULTAN<sup>1</sup> was sent to Samarqand and on to the "frontier of Turkestan". In 1404 before setting out from Samarqand Timur took the decision of entrusting the marches to the young sons of Shahrukh. ULUGH-BEG was given Tashkent, Sayram, Yāngi (now Auliya-ata), Ashpara and the whole of Moghulistan up to the Chinese border, while IBRAHIM received Farghana with Kashghar and Khotan<sup>2</sup>. However, the princes remained in their grandfather's camp and did not proceed to their fiefs.

Timur knew of course that the Moghuls would not submit voluntarily to his grandsons and that his army 200,000 strong<sup>3</sup> would have to fight in Central Asia before invading China. It is only from the distribution of the forces that one can gather an idea of the plan of the expedition. The main force seems to have been concentrated on the right wing which spent the winter in Shāhrukhiya, Tashkent and Sayram. The princes accompanying the army were KHALİL-SULTAN, son of Miranshah, and AHMAD, son of Omar-Shaykh. The left wing, under the command of Sultan-Husayn, Timur's grandson by his daughter, occupied Yasī (*alias* Turkestan on the Sīr-Darya) and Sauran<sup>4</sup>. Timur himself, with the centre of the army, spent the greater part of December in Aqsulat and on 25 December<sup>5</sup> moved from thence

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 448. An. Isk. (MS. As. Mus. 566 bc, f. 297a) says that when Omar was sent to Samarqand (in 1401) Khalil-Sultan, who was there, received orders to take up the defence of the frontier with Moghulistan, but according to the ZN, II, 320, 346, 385 and 387, in 1401 Khalil-Sultan was taking part in the military operations in Syria and Arabian Iraq, and in 1402 in Georgia and Asia Minor (*ibid.*, 404, 424, 433). He was sent to Samarqand after the battle at Angora. The sending of Omar to Samarqand is also mentioned by Mūsawī (text in *IAN*, 1915, p. 1369). The ZN only permits one to infer Omar's presence in Samarqand in 1401, for the amir Timur-Khoja who was sent there with other amirs was attached to Mirza Omar's person (ZN, II, 380).

<sup>2</sup> ZN, II, 633. Between the words *Akhsi-kent* and *Kashghar* the word *Tarāz* is interpolated, evidently by mistake, for this town once stood on the site of Auliya-ata and is identical with Yāngi. [Nowadays, Talas (Taraz) is located upstream from Jambul, former Auliya-ata.]

<sup>3</sup> ZN, II, 635 below.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 636.

<sup>5</sup> The date is in Faṣīḥ, f. 393a (Thursday, 21 Jamadi II).

towards Otrar which was reached on Wednesday, 12 Rajab/14 January 1405<sup>1</sup>. No concentration of forces in Farghana is recorded and nothing is known of the numbers of the detachments stationed in Ashpara and on the Issik-kul.

The winter of 1404-1405 was one of the severest that Turkestan had ever known. Between December and February all the fords on the Amu-Darya and the Sir-Darya were ice-bound<sup>2</sup>. In spite of his age, Timur courageously endured the hardships of a winter campaign, unaware of his nearing end. When in Otrar, he received an envoy from khan Tokhtamish who had fled from the Golden Horde, and promised him that when the Chinese campaign was over he would march against the Golden Horde and give him back his throne<sup>3</sup>. The immediate cause of Timur's death seems to have been the immoderate use of wine which he drank to keep warm<sup>4</sup>.

20. Timur died on Wednesday, 18 February 1405<sup>5</sup>, and this event determined the fate of his empire. Among the stories about KHOJA AḤRĀR, who was born in 1404 in a mountain village of Bāghustān, there is one that tells of a feast arranged by his parents in 1405, during which the news was received of Timur's death. This caused such alarm that the guests abandoned the bowls of food and fled into the mountains<sup>6</sup>. The story may not be historically true but it seems to reflect the state of mind of the inhabitants of Mawarannahr in those days of February and March 1405, before the dispute about the succession was settled. After Timur's death there was no such submission to the will of the departed ruler as there had been after the death of Chingiz-khan<sup>7</sup>. It was well-known that Timur had appointed PIR-

<sup>1</sup> ZN, II, 646. According to Faṣīḥ (*l.c.*), on Monday (sic) the 7th.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 648.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ZVO, VXIII, 0141. Also L. A. Zimin's article *Details of Timur's death* (in Russian), in PTKLA, XIX, 37 sq.

<sup>5</sup> On the date see ZVO, XXIII, 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 131b; MS. As. Mus., f. 163b; Tashk. lith., p. 234; article by V. L. Vyatkin in *Turk. Vedom.*, 1904, No. 147.

<sup>7</sup> *Turkestan*, 461.



MUHAMMAD his heir. Nevertheless, when the news came of Timur's death the heir was not recognised as sovereign, nor was money struck in his name. Each one of the feudal princes substituted his name for Timur's both in the *khutba* and on the coins. Shahrukh, who learnt about Timur's death on 1 March, acted in the same way<sup>1</sup>. Even the amirs Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-dīn, who commanded the army stationed in Otrar, did not support Pir-Muhammad, although they had but recently promised Timur faithfully to carry out his wishes. They advised Timur's wives who were leaving for Samarqand with the young princes, to surrender the capital to Shahrukh and thus put a speedy end to the interregnum, for Pir-Muhammad's arrival from Qandahar could not be expected for some time<sup>2</sup>. They even intended to conceal the fact of Timur's death for some time (his body was secretly removed to Samarqand) and to continue the campaign. From Otrar the army moved five farsakhs to the East towards a village<sup>3</sup> where the left and right wings were due to join the centre. According to Sharaf al-din the amirs did not wish to return to Samarqand until they had conquered and devastated China<sup>4</sup>. But it is clear from Shahrukh's Anonym, — who was Sharaf al-din's source, — that the intention was only to achieve the immediate aim of striking a blow at the Moghuls<sup>5</sup> and probably of putting Shahrukh's sons in possession of the provinces assigned to them by Timur. Ulugh-beg's future dominions were the first to become a field of military operations, but, for some reason, he was sent to Samarqand with Timur's wives, whereas his brother Ibrahim-Sultan remained with the army. With this prince the army set out in an easterly direction. When all the detachments had assembled Khalil-Sultan was supposed to assume the supreme command.

<sup>1</sup> 28 Sha'ban. Same date in H. Abru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 30b, and in Faṣīḥ, f. 393a.

<sup>2</sup> ZN, II, 675 sq. An. Sh., f. 21b. Cf. ZVO, XXIII, 21, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> In the ZN, II, 679, the village is called *Chūklik*: in An. Sh., f. 23a: *Jukalak*; it is probably the *Chilik* of Russian maps. Jūlak lies much farther from Otrar and in a different direction.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, II, 674.

<sup>5</sup> An. Sh., f. 20b. Cf. ZVO, XXIII, 21, note 2.

Despite the efforts to conceal the fact of Timur's death, rumours reached the left and right wings even before the arrival of couriers from Otrar. Instead of proceeding with the expedition, the princes who were in command of these two armies marshalled their forces for the imminent struggle for power. Sultan-Husayn, who could not hope to win over all the troops composing the left wing, abandoned his army and with a detachment of only 1000 men hurried to Samarqand <sup>1</sup>. After his departure the troops seem to have dispersed <sup>2</sup>. On hearing this news the chiefs of the centre decided to abandon the campaign and sent couriers with information to this effect to the queens and to Tashkent. The queens were told to stay where the news reached them and await the army. The plan was for the right wing to set out in the direction of Samarqand, linking up with the centre at a pre-arranged point <sup>3</sup>. The troops of the centre crossed the Sīr-Darya over the ice which broke up immediately after, and came up with the queens and the young princes who were somewhat ahead. Here news was received that in Tashkent all the chiefs of the right wing, headed by Prince Ahmad, had sworn allegiance to Khalīl-Sultan.

21. KHALİL-SULTAN, son of Miranshah, was born in 1394 and was like Muhammad-Sultan the son of a "khan's daughter", and like Ulugh-beg, a ward of Sarāy-Mulk khanum <sup>4</sup>. He had shown his mettle in 1399 during the Indian campaign. Much was said at the time about Timur's particular affection for this grandson and the great future in store for him <sup>5</sup>. We have already referred to the part he took in the "Seven Years'" campaign in the West and to his mission in 1402 "to the frontier of Turkestan" <sup>6</sup>. In 1404 he incurred Timur's wrath by marrying without his consent the woman he loved <sup>7</sup>. Yet so high was Ti-

<sup>1</sup> ZN, II, 680.

<sup>2</sup> There is no mention of their taking any further part in the events.

<sup>3</sup> *Aqar* (?), ZN, II, 682.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, I, 381.

<sup>5</sup> *Turkestan*, texts, I, 47 sq.

<sup>6</sup> ZN, II, 320 and 346.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 640 sq.

mur's opinion of this prince that he entrusted to him the command of a considerable army. After the defeat of his enemies, he gave proof of a magnanimity rare in Timur's family. Whatever Sharaf al-din may say to the contrary <sup>1</sup>, it is extremely probable that those who gave their allegiance to Khalīl-Sultan did so out of a sincere desire to see him on the throne and not solely in order to put an end to disorder and discord.

The oath of allegiance to Khalīl-Sultan caused dissension among the chiefs of the centre and the right wing. The former accused the latter of transgressing Timur's will. The latter replied that they were prepared to submit to the late monarch's will and that the oath to Khalīl-Sultan was only temporary. In Tashkent the oath of allegiance was sworn to PIR-MUHAMMAD and the allegiance list (*'ahd-nāma*), to which Khalīl-Sultan himself apposed his signature and seal (*khatt-u-muhr*) was entrusted to a messenger. The latter was supposed to take the list to Shaykh Nūr al-dīn and Shāh-Malik and then "urgently" to carry it to Pir-Muhammad <sup>2</sup>. Sharaf al-din treats these actions as sheer hypocrisy, but the facts he himself quotes show that in Shāh-Malik's camp the rights of Pir-Muhammad were even less respected. The troops of the centre do not seem to have followed the example of the right wing in their swearing allegiance to Pir-Muhammad. The messenger from Tashkent was detained in Shāh-Malik's and Shaykh Nūr-al-dīn's camp, and in March was still in Bukhara <sup>3</sup>.

These two amirs proposed to seize the capital without delay and at the same time hinder the movement of Khalīl-Sultan and his troops. The latter object was attained. To cross the Sīr-Darya with his army, Khalīl chose a point above Shāhrukhiya where there was a bridge of boats. The crossing was to be made in three groups: the vanguard under the command of Amir Burundūq, the main force with Khalīl-Sultan and the rear-guard under KHUDĀYDĀD HUSAYNĪ, — Khalīl-Sultan's former *atabeg*; the latter for a long time had been on bad terms with his ward

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 721 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 693.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 712.

whom he often sharply criticised <sup>1</sup>. Acting on an understanding with Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-dīn, Burundūq destroyed the bridge after he had crossed the river with his detachment. Khudaydad Husayni with his troops abandoned Khalīl-Sultan and marched off to Achīq-Parkant <sup>2</sup>. Meanwhile the former centre of Timur's army was moving unhindered towards Samarqand. From Aqsulat to the Qurchuq pass <sup>3</sup> the army proceeded in battle formation, the right wing with Ulugh-beg under the command of SHĀH-MALIK, the left with Ibrahim-Sultan under the command of Shaykh NŪR AL-DIN <sup>4</sup>. From then onward down to 1411 Shāh-Malik remained Ulugh-beg's tutor, but we do not know whether it was Timur himself who had made this choice.

Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-din <sup>5</sup> did not venture to lead the army up to the walls of the capital without a preliminary parley with the chiefs in charge of the town. Shāh-Malik left the army at the pass and proceeded to Samarqand where the chiefs in command were Amir ARGHUN-SHĀH, left there by Timur, and KHOJA YŪSUF, who had brought Timur's body from Otrar. The two chiefs refused outright to admit Shāh-Malik. The answer given to him from the walls was that the town would be surrendered only after the rightful heir had ascended the throne. Shāh-Malik brought back this answer to the army which was then occupying the village of 'Aliābād <sup>6</sup>, north of the Zarafshān. It was decided to make another attempt, and on Tuesday, 3 March <sup>7</sup> Shaykh Nūr al-dīn left for Samarqand. On reaching the gates he asked to be allowed to enter alone, without any followers, but this plan too was rejected. Thereupon the decision was taken to send to Samarqand only the queens and princes, but not Shah-rukh's sons. Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-din, with the princes Ulugh-beg and Ibrahim-Sultan, and with Timur's treasure, —

<sup>1</sup> See IAr., p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> ZN, II, 695 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Also mentioned in ZN, I, 159, and II, 690 below. In Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 64, *Qarjaq*.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, II, 699.

<sup>5</sup> On subsequent events see ZN, II, 689 sq.

<sup>6</sup> On this village see Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 64.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Ramadan, ZN, II, 691.

which, besides money and jewels, contained reserves of clothing and arms<sup>1</sup>, — intended to proceed to Bukhara and there to entrench themselves. They did not expect any opposition because in 'Aliabad they had been joined by Rustam, brother of the governor of Bukhara and one of the chiefs of Khalil-Sultan's faithless vanguard<sup>2</sup>. Bukhara was as large a city as Samarqand<sup>3</sup>. Sharaf al-din says that from Bukhara the amirs intended to join Pir-Muhammad<sup>4</sup>, but it is far more probable that their desire was to get in touch with Shahrukh<sup>5</sup>.

On Thursday, 5 March<sup>6</sup> the army marched out of 'Aliābād, and Ulugh-beg parted for ever with the queen, his guardian, and the other queens who were going to Samarqand. On the next day the army was already in Dabūsiya<sup>7</sup>. Here a messenger arrived from Samarqand, bringing apologies to the amirs and the explanation that it had been impossible to admit them into the capital before the arrival of the rightful heir, and that a similar reply would be given to Khalil-Sultan. In their reply the amirs were obliged to declare that they entirely agreed with this procedure, but they nevertheless continued their march towards Bukhara, to which town Rustam had been sent on in advance. A few days later, while they were still some distance from Bukhara, they learnt that Khalil-Sultan had met with no opposition on his way to Samarqand. In the village of Shiraz he was met by the dignitaries of Samarqand, and on the banks of the Zarafshān he was welcomed by Arghun-Shah who presented to him the keys of the town, of the citadel and of Timur's treasure-house<sup>8</sup>. The solemn entry of the new monarch into the capital took place

<sup>1</sup> On the treasure *ibid.*, II, 703 sq.

<sup>2</sup> ZN, II, 711.

<sup>3</sup> An. Sh., f. 39b.

<sup>4</sup> ZN, II, 700 sq.

<sup>5</sup> According to An. Sh. f. 40a, Shāh-Malik had decided to support the prince who would reach the Amu-Darya first (Shahrukh or Pir-Muhammad).

<sup>6</sup> Ramadan, ZN, II, 702.

<sup>7</sup> On the location of Dabūsiya see *Turkestan*, p. 97. On the ruins see L. A. Zimin, *Qal'a-yi Dabūs*, in *PTKLA*, fasc. 2.

<sup>8</sup> ZN, II, 710 sq.

somewhat later, on the day chosen by the astrologer Badr al-din, which was Wednesday, 18 March <sup>1</sup>.

22. According to Sharaf al-din, the Samarqand chiefs had acted from the first in connivance with Khalil-Sultan. But it is quite possible that the decision to surrender the city to this prince was actually taken under the stress of such events as the mutiny in the Tashkent army fomented by the intrigues of Shāh-Malik and Shaykh Nūr al-dīn, the attempt of these amirs to seize the capital and, having failed in this, their decision to occupy Bukhara as a stronghold in the forthcoming civil war. When Khalil-Sultan had succeeded in restoring the bridge on the Amu-Darya and had crossed the river Burunduq, the treacherous commander of the vanguard, impressed by Shāh-Malik's set-back in Samarqand, returned to his master and was pardoned. He then once more swore allegiance to Khalil-Sultan and his example was followed by the army. It is alleged that Shah-Malik and Shaykh Nur al-din <sup>2</sup> were informed of this before their army had left Aliabad. Having occupied Samarqand, Khalil-Sultan, to show his respect for Timur's will, proclaimed "khan" MUHAMMAD-JAHĀNGĪR, the son of Muhammad-Sultan, Timur's heir who had predeceased him <sup>3</sup>. It is evident that Timur's dispositions appointing Pir-Muhammad his heir had not received the same publicity as the previous naming of Muhammad-Sultan <sup>3</sup>. This action of Khalil-Sultan is of interest as being the first attempt to transfer the dignity of "khan" from the family of Chingiz to that of Timur, a step which Timur himself had not ventured to take.

The keys of Timur's treasure-house which Khalil-Sultan received on the banks of the Zarafshān were of far greater value

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 712 (16 Ramaḍān). According to An. Sh., f. 49b sq., Khalil-Sultan set out from Tashkent in the middle of Ramaḍān and occupied Samarqand at the end of the month.

<sup>2</sup> *ZN*, II, 696 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 712 sq. This is confirmed by the coins of Khalil-Sultan.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad-Sultan's name was mentioned in the *khutba* as the name of the legal heir, cf. *Dnevnik*, I, 123 sq. Clavijo, who personally saw Pir-Muhammad (pp. 288 and 320) does not mention his appointment as heir to the throne.

to him than the keys of the town itself. It was clear to contemporaries that the victor in the struggle for Timur's succession would be he who became master of the rich treasure guarded in the Samarqand citadel, for this would enable him to win over the greedy Chaghatays <sup>1</sup>. Khali-Sultan's resources were increased soon after the conquest of Samarqand, for the army treasure brought by Shah-Malik and Shaykh Nur al-din from Otrar to Bukhara as the property of the princes Ulugh-beg and Ibrahim-Sultan, — between whom Timur had intended to divide conquered Moghulistan, — fell into his hands. The amirs occupied Bukhara, as they had expected, without encountering any resistance <sup>2</sup>. It appears from Sharaf al-din's report <sup>3</sup> that great importance was attached to the possession of this town where the treasure belonging to the young princes had been placed. The citadel of Bukhara had still two gates, as in the tenth century <sup>4</sup>. Half of the citadel with the eastern gate was occupied by Ulugh-beg and Shāh-Malik, the other half with the western gate by Ibrahim-Sultan and Shaykh Nūr al-din. The defence of the town, the walls and the towers was entrusted to Rustam, his brother Hamza and other chiefs. Measures were taken to strengthen the defences of the town and the citadel.

23. Hafizi-Abru's and Abd al-Razzaq's accounts of the treaty concluded soon after between SHAHRUKH and KHALIL-SULTAN show that the treasure of the two princes was then in Samarqand, although nothing is said as to when and how it had been brought there from Bukhara.

Shahrukh's Anonym <sup>5</sup> fills in this lacuna. RUSTAM, as Burunduk before him, went over to Khalil-Sultan. He armed the pop-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Clavijo, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> According to AR, f. 158b, 1 Ramadan, which contradicts the dates taken by him from Sharaf al-din and quoted above. In ZN, II, 711, only "in Ramadan".

<sup>3</sup> ZN, II, 712.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Turkestan*, II, p. 102. At present there remains only the western gate.

<sup>5</sup> An. Sh., f. 45a sq. Previously, f. 42b sq. he speaks of dissensions between Shah-Malik and Shaykh Nur al-din on such questions, as whether

ulace and made a surprise attack on the citadel, where Shaykh Nur al-din was alone with the two princes, Shah-Malik having left on that day for Khorasan to urge Shahrukh to hasten his arrival in Bukhara. Shaykh Nur al-din and the princes escaped alone, without any escort, leaving the citadel and the treasure to their fate. The treasure was looted by "bazaar-thieves" <sup>1</sup>. On their way to the Amu-Darya the fugitives came up with Shah-Malik. On reaching the river Shaykh Nur al-din with the princes set off with all speed to join Shahrukh, which they did in Andkhoy <sup>2</sup>. Shah-Malik remained to guard the river crossings.

These events took place in March. In April military operations began on the banks of the Amu-Darya. According to Shahrukh's Anonym <sup>3</sup> Khalil-Sultan had gone in Ramadan to the village of Kūcha-Malik <sup>4</sup> where he celebrated the end of the fast (in the first days of April). In the first ten days of Shawwal he went on to a village of the Kash (Shahrisabz) district <sup>5</sup>, whence he dispatched to the Amu-Darya a body of 10,000 men under the command of the amirs Shams al-din, Khoja Yūsūf Mubashshir and Arghun-Shah. The object of the operation was to seize the boats captured by Shah-Malik on the Amu-Darya and to dislodge him from his positions on the crossing at Diza. But although Shah-Malik had only 500 horsemen, he managed to hold the attackers in check, and after twenty days of fruitless fighting peace negotiations were begun with Khalil-Sultan's assent <sup>6</sup>. The real reason for the opening of the negotiations was the presence on

the entire army should be taken to Khorasan, or part of it left in Bukhara; which of the two amirs should go to Shahrukh and which should remain to guard Bukhara, etc.

<sup>1</sup> F. 47b. From the subsequent narrative it is evident, however, that at least part of the loot reached Samarqand. HA, Oxf. MS., f. 10b, and AR, f. 163b, make only a brief reference to Rustam's "opposition".

<sup>2</sup> An. Sh., f. 49a.

<sup>3</sup> F. 52b sq.

<sup>4</sup> On its location see Vyatkin, *l.c.*, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> The village is called Jabrān (?) in the MS., f. 52.

<sup>6</sup> According to HAbu, Oxford MS., f. 9a, and AR, 163b, the first exchange of embassies between Khalil and Shahrukh took place before the return of Shahrukh's sons to Khorasan.



the Amu-Darya of Shahrukh in person, encamped with a far more formidable force in a village of the Shapurqan district<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the course and outcome of these negotiations show that Khalil-Sultan did not regard himself as defeated. To conclude peace Shaykh Nur al-din went to Khalil-Sultan, while Shams al-din and Arghun-Shah went to Shahrukh. The historians, who are all biased in favour of Shahrukh<sup>2</sup>, ascribe to Khalil-Sultan expressions which contain a recognition of Shahrukh's suzerainty. Khalil is alleged to have said in a message to Shahrukh that, as he would certainly be giving Mawarannahr to one of his sons or brothers, he might as well give it to him, Khalil-Sultan, who was after all no stranger. Shahrukh agreed, on condition that Khalil would return all the property left in Samarqand and belonging to Shahrukh, his sons, Shah-Malik and the latter's followers<sup>3</sup>. The legends on the coins struck by Khalil after 1405 contain no traces of such recognition of Shahrukh's suzerainty. In any case, Shahrukh gave up the idea of military operations against Khalil-Sultan and abandoned Mawarannahr to him. Khalil could have hardly wished for more. Nor was the condition about the return of the property carried out. Shahrukh's Anonym, and the authors who quote him are silent, but the fact is reported by Faṣīḥ who was one of Shahrukh's envoys sent to recover the property. The envoys obtained nothing and there were even designs to detain them in Samarqand. They were obliged to leave secretly in the night and ride hard for another day and night. On the second day they crossed the Amu-Darya and rejoined Shahrukh<sup>4</sup>. Khalil's action may have been due to the fact that Shahrukh too had no intention of respecting the treaty and remained on the Amu-Darya waiting for a suitable opportunity to invade Mawarannahr. He abandoned this project only

<sup>1</sup> The name of the village is Dūka in HAbu, Oxford MS., f. 10b, in AR, f. 163b, and Faṣīḥ, f. 393b. In the Anonym, f. 55b, it is Dakka-yi Shapūrghān.

<sup>2</sup> Including An. Sh., f. 54b.

<sup>3</sup> An. Sh., f. 56a sq., HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 12b, and AR, f. 164a speak only of the property of Shahrukh's sons which was in Samarqand.

<sup>4</sup> Faṣīḥ, f. 394b.

on learning that Miranshah and Abu-Bakr were moving from Western Persia towards Khorasan to join Khalil<sup>1</sup>.

24. During the ensuing years Shahrukh and his government relentlessly pursued their objective but the weapons they used against Khalil-Sultan were mainly diplomatic. These proved more effective than military operations. To his misfortune, the young ruler of Samarqand had inherited none of the cunning of his father and grandfather. His magnanimity bordered on *naïveté*. He not only pardoned former enemies and traitors but even took them into his service and gave them military commands. In the spring of 1405 SHAYKH NUR AL-DIN came to Khalil-Sultan, with secret instructions from Shahrukh to keep a careful watch from Samarqand on the affairs of Khalil's kingdom and to exploit every opportunity to undermine his power. Once in Samarqand, he volunteered to put down the revolt of KHUDĀYDĀD and was sent north, at the head of an army. A week later, he himself rebelled and seized the town of Otrar<sup>2</sup>, where the governor was his brother Berdi-bek, in whose house Timur had died<sup>3</sup>. From Otrar he kept in touch both with Shahrukh and Khudāyād.

Another revolt, independent of that of Khudāyād, broke out under the leadership of ALLĀHDĀD, chief of the garrison of Ashpara. On learning that Timur was dead and the Chinese campaign abandoned, he left the fort on 19 March<sup>4</sup> in agreement with his detachment. In the beginning of April, at Qulanchuq<sup>5</sup> he received a letter from Khalil informing him of his accession. The

<sup>1</sup> An. Sh., f. 57a. On Shahrukh's intentions see the words. "it was decided . . . that they should not rise from the banks of the Oxus until they had abated the honour of those whose fortune had gone into confusion".

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, f. 63a sq.

<sup>3</sup> On Berdi-bek ZN, II, 646, 666 and 682.

<sup>4</sup> 17 Ramadān (IAr., p. 184).

<sup>5</sup> Qulanchuq of IAr., "one of the coldest places of the region" is probably the "Qulan Pass" which Muhammad-Sultan crossed on his way to Ashpara (ZN, II, 12). *Qulan* [Kūlān ?] was the name of the village which stood on the site now occupied by the Tartī station (see my *Turkestan*, p. 455, and the references to the sources quoted there; also ZVO, VIII, 15 sq., and *Report*, pp. 29-31). However, AR, f. 190a, in his account of

letter requested Allāhdād to remain in Ashpara until the arrival of a relieving force which Khalil promised to send without delay. On the other hand Khudāydād invited Allāhdād to leave Ashpara and join him. Allāhdād chose the latter course. Ashpara was abandoned as a logical consequence of the change in the plans to conquer Moghulistan. Khudaydad had already concluded peace with the Moghuls and given them back all the lands conquered by Timur<sup>1</sup>. The fort on the Issik-kul was abandoned from the first. Allāhdād left in Ashpara a small garrison among whom dissensions immediately broke out, and finally this fortress too was deserted. Khudaydad and Allāhdād made a combined raid across the "Hunger Steppe" as far as Jizak where they captured Timur's studs. From thence Allāhdād wished to march on Samargand but Khudaydad held him back. Khalil asked Allāhdād to act as mediator in bringing about a reconciliation with Khudaydad. At first Allāhdād refused, showed the letter to Khudaydad and made a pact with him. Later, however, he abandoned his ally and went over to Khalil who immediately made him his chief amir. Khudaydad remained master of all the territory beyond the Sīr-Darya, in addition to Khojand and Farghana.

All this seems to have happened in April. In May Allāhdād took part in a campaign against PIR-MUHAMMAD. Like the war against Shahrukh, this war began against Khalil-Sultan's wishes. It appears that he took no steps to extend his dominion to the West of the Amu-Darya but only defended his sovereignty in Mawarannahr. When asked by Pir-Muhammad by what right he had appropriated the heritage which Timur had bequeathed to another, Khalil answered: "the Almighty who gave Timur his power has given it to me"<sup>2</sup>. The Shaykh al-Islam 'Abd al-Avval

the events of 1411, places Qulan-bashī between Yāngi (Talas) and Sauran (in HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 157a, the text is distorted) from which it could be inferred that "Qulan pass" was the name given to the locality between the chain of the Qara-tau and the Talas Ala-tau, on the way from Chimkant to Aulie-ata. On its severe winters see Prince Masalsky, *Turkestansky kray*, p. 757. [Kūlān is apparently different from Qulan-bashī V.M.].

<sup>1</sup> On the treaty see IAr., p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Mir Islama*, I, 361. This item of information is also in HAbu, MS. Ind. Off., f. 60a; Oxf. MS., f. 54a.

tried to persuade Pir-Muhammad to submit to God's will. He was unsuccessful but later the prince regretted not having listened to him <sup>1</sup>. The third pretender, SULTAN-HUSAYN, had by that time realised the hopelessness of his claims and joined Khalil-Sultan <sup>2</sup>, who dispatched him against Pir-Muhammad at the head of an army 30,000 strong. Allāhdād, Arghun-Shah and several other amirs were among those taking part in this campaign. The army set out in May 1405 <sup>3</sup> and occupied Balkh. One day Sultan-Husayn assembled the amirs and had two of them immediately put to death. The others, including Allāhdād and Arghun-Shah, saved their lives by entreaties and expressions of their readiness to serve Sultan-Husayn, who now led the army against Samarqand. Khalil-Sultan marched out to meet him and defeated him on 6 July <sup>4</sup> near Chäkdälik (to the south of Shahrīsabz). During the battle Allāhdād and Arghun-Shah again changed sides. Khalil-Sultan's army pursued the enemy as far as Balkh <sup>5</sup> and occupied the town. All Sultan-Husayn's belongings and his harem were captured. Sultan-Husayn sought refuge in Aliābād (a village in the province of Balkh) with SULAYMĀN-SHAH, a nephew of Timur, who at the time was ruler of Shāpūrquān and Andkhoy. Khalil-Sultan does not seem to have minded this, but Pir-Muhammad insisted on the extradition of the pretender whom Khalil-Sultan had defeated. When his demand was not complied with he sent a body of 3,000 horsemen against Sulayman-Shah, who fled with Sultan-Husayn to Shahrūkh in

<sup>1</sup> IAr., pp. 192 and 200.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of Ramadan he joined Shahrūkh in Andkhoy but in the beginning of Shawwal (April) left him and went off to join Khalil (HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 43b sq.).

<sup>3</sup> The date is in IAr., p. 193 (the middle of the month Dhul-qa'da).

<sup>4</sup> The date is in AR, f. 169a (8 Muharram). The Oxf. MS. of HAbbru, f. 45b, gives only the month of Muharram and erroneously quotes the year as 810. [Jigdälik? V.M.].

<sup>5</sup> For further details on this and following events see An. Sh., f. 77a sq. (the ff. are bound in wrong order: 87 should come between 77 and 78). According to the author, f. 87a-b, Sultan-Husayn had been told to treat Pir-Muhammad with every respect and as far as possible to end the matter peacefully, but not to allow him beyond the boundaries of his province and, if necessary, to offer resistance in Kunduz and Baghlān.

Herat. Shahrukh now decided that Pir-Muhammad had been right and that Sulayman-Shah should have surrendered Sultan-Husayn on the first demand. Sultan-Husayn was imprisoned and then put to death. The skin of his head, stuffed with grass, was sent to Pir-Muhammad and separate members of his body were exposed in the bazaars of Herat<sup>1</sup>. Sulayman-Shah was sent to the West with presents to persuade Miranshah and his son Abu-Bakr to return to their dominions, but they had already left before his arrival. Then Sulayman-Shah appropriated the presents, raised a revolt against Shahrukh and shut himself up in Kelat, declaring that his honour had been affronted by the execution of Sultan-Husayn who had placed himself under his protection<sup>2</sup>. Shahrukh himself had to suppress the revolt. After a prolonged struggle Sulayman-Shah fled to Samarqand<sup>3</sup>. Khalil-Sultan took him into his service, despite the fact that only a short while ago he had been sheltering his enemy. In the ensuing war with Pir-Muhammad and Shahrukh he even entrusted his vanguard to him.

25. After his victory over Sulayman-Shah PIR MUHAMMAD occupied Balkh<sup>4</sup> without meeting with any opposition from Khalil. He then entered into negotiations with Shahrukh with regard to taking common action against Mawarannahr. Shahrukh replied that he would be unable to march before the spring (of 1406) but in the meantime sent an advance force under Ulughbeg, whom he had appointed prince of Shapūrquān and Andkhoy, under the tutelage of Shah-Malik. Shah-Malik built a bridge (of boats) over the Amu-Darya and crossed the river. 'Īsā and KHIẒR-KHOJA, commanders of Khalil's frontier detachments,

<sup>1</sup> An. Sh., f. 92b. More briefly in HAbbru, Oxf. MS., ff. 45b, 47b, and AR, f. 169a-b.

<sup>2</sup> This motive for the revolt is given already by HA, MS. Ind. Off., f. 46a; Oxf. MS., f. 50a.

<sup>3</sup> An. Sh., f. 100b. On the flight to Samarqand HAbbru, Off. ME, f. 50b; AR, f. 170a.

<sup>4</sup> An. Sh. tells of the occupation of Balkh by Pir-Muhammad after relating the struggle between Khalil and Shah-Malik, but it must have taken place before as it was connected with Sulayman-Shah's flight, f. 114a.

were taken prisoner <sup>1</sup>. Ulugh-beg sent 'Īsā to Pir-Muhammad and Khizr-Khoja to Shahrukh <sup>2</sup>. Shah-Malik's force reached Qarshi and Khuzār and forcibly moved the inhabitants (probably only the Chaghatays) to the southern bank of the river. News of this raid aroused fears in Samarqand, the more so as KHÜDAYDAD, who had seized Tashkent, was preparing to march on the town of Samarqand in alliance with the Moghuls.

Despite the threat from the North, Khalil-Sultan immediately marched out to meet Shah-Malik. On his way to the Amu-Darya he learnt that the expedition against Samarqand from Tashkent had been abandoned because of dissensions between Khudaydad and the Moghuls, who had returned to their country. Khalil took up his quarters in Khuzār with the bulk of his army and from thence sent Sulayman-Shah with a body of 10,000 men to the banks of the river. The latter took by surprise the guard left by Shah-Malik at the bridge and seized some of the boats, but during the battle Shah-Malik came up with the main force and the crossing remained in his hands. At Sulayman-Shah's request Khalil-Sultan led his army in person to the banks of the Amu-Darya, but he too was unable to capture the crossing. After an indecisive battle Khalil-Sultan sent envoys to Shahrukh's camp with offers of peace and presents (robes, belts, quivers, swords adorned with precious stones) for Ulugh-beg <sup>4</sup>. In a treaty Khalil-Sultan confirmed his duty to return the property of Shahrukh, of his sons, of Shah-Malik and of his followers which still remained in Samarqand. He then returned to Samarqand, but Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, went off to join Pir-Muhammad which they did in the locality Kūy-i-tan <sup>5</sup>. It was probably on this pretext that Khalil-Sultan again evaded the clause about restoring the property. Only

<sup>1</sup> In more detail in An. Sh., f. 104a (f. 114 should come after f. 112; f. 113 should come between ff. 117 and 118).

<sup>2</sup> This detail is in HAbbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 48b; AR, f. 170a.

<sup>3</sup> An. Sh., f. 106a.

<sup>4</sup> On the presents, *ibid.*, f. 112 a.

<sup>5</sup> An. Sh., f. 114a. On the location of Kūy-i-tan cf. ZN, I, 443, on the march of Tokhtamish who "having passed Qarshi and Khūzār devastated

Ulugh-beg's young wife, who until then had been detained in Samarqand, was returned to her husband <sup>1</sup>.

In Pir-Muhammad's camp, Shah-Malik, on Shahrukh's orders, requested that the campaign should be postponed for another forty days in order to enable Shahrukh to come up with his army. He also advised Pir-Muhammad to open the campaign by attacking Bukhara, which would be easier to capture (Shahrukh and Shah-Malik had evidently some contacts there) and only then to march on Samarqand <sup>2</sup>. Contrary to this suggestion it was decided to begin the expedition at once by marching directly on Samarqand. In Pir-Muhammad's entourage it was said Shah-Malik's aim was merely to rescue Shahrukh's, Ulugh-beg's and his own property which was in Samarqand and to free his mother who was a captive in that town <sup>3</sup>. As the army set out in the direction of Qarshi, it may be inferred that Shah-Malik's advice was not so entirely disregarded, as the historian asserts. It is quite possible that the plan for a junction of Shahrukh's and Pir-Muhammad's armies in Bukhara fell through less because of the latter's obstinacy, than because of the swiftness of Khalil-Sultan's movements.

The battle took place after the middle of February 1406 <sup>4</sup> near Qarshi. According to Shahrukh's Anonym, Pir-Muhammad's army was on the brink of victory owing to Shah-Malik's valour, when the flight of several amirs <sup>5</sup>, who betrayed Pir-Muhammad, decided the issue in favour of Khalil-Sultan. Pir-Muhammad fled to Balkh, Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg to Khorasan. Here, on the banks of the Murghab they were met

the country up to Kūy-i tan and the bank of the Amu". Apparently Kūy-i -tan corresponds to Kūh-i-tang (name of a village and a river between Khuzār and Kālif) on present-day maps.

<sup>1</sup> On this see HAbbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 49a; AR, f. 170a.

<sup>2</sup> An. Sh., f. 115b sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 116b.

<sup>4</sup> According to IAr., p. 197, on Sunday 1 Ramadan 807 (21 February); according to HAbbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 51b, Oxf. MS., f. 56b, on Monday 2 Ramadan; according to An. Sh., f. 117a, on the 4th.

<sup>5</sup> An. Sh., ff. 113b and 118a (on the order of the folios see above, p. 67, note 1), quotes six names.

by Shahrukh who had started on his march to Samarqand as formerly agreed with Pir-Muhammad. The latter had fled so precipitously that his entire camp and harem fell into Khalil-Sultan's hand. All the women were chivalrously treated by Khalil-Sultan and afforded full protection <sup>1</sup>.

After the battle Khalil-Sultan sent word to Shahrukh that he desired to remain at peace with him and had resorted to arms only because of enemy attacks in the region north of the Amu-Darya. Shahrukh replied that he too remained faithful to their treaty but that his frontiers had been violated by Khalil-Sultan's troops under the command of Sulayman-Shah and Arghun-Shah. Both rulers again sent their amirs to the banks of the Amu-Darya to restore the broken peace <sup>2</sup>.

26. From the banks of the Murghab Shahrukh returned to Herat. On his instructions, Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg <sup>3</sup> spent a month in Bādghīs. In the same year they took part in subduing the revolt of the chief amir SAYYID-KHOJA which had broken out at the end of May. After this Ulugh-beg, under Shah-Malik's tutelage, was appointed governor of "the Khorasan of 'Alī-beg and the Khorasan of 'Alī-Muayyad" <sup>4</sup>, i.e. the northern and central districts of this province; the prince and his tutor were directed to spend the winters in Astarabad <sup>5</sup>. In the spring of 1407 Shahrukh made an expedition to quell the revolt of Mirza 'Omar, son of Miranshah, who, from his Mazandaran fief, had invaded Khorasan. Mirza 'Omar was defeated on 18 April <sup>6</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> HAbbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 51b. Such praise of Khalil-Sultan coming from Shahrukh's court historian is worthy of note.

<sup>2</sup> This force had raided Shapurqan and Andhoy, see HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 56b sq., AR, f. 170b.

<sup>3</sup> On subsequent events see HAbbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 52b sq.; Oxf. MS., f. 58a sq.; AR, f. 170b.

<sup>4</sup> Expression used by Faṣīḥ, f. 396b sq. 'Alī Muayyad was the last imām of the sarbadārs, cf. Lane Poole, *Mohammadan dynasties*, p. 211. On Ali-beg [of Murghab] see ZN, I, 66 sq., and above, p. 16. On his execution in 1383 see ZN, I, 355.

<sup>5</sup> HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 74b.

<sup>6</sup> On Monday 9 Dhul-qa'da, AR, f. 174a; in HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 85b, 9 Dhul-hijja.



the neighbourhood of Jām, after which Ulugh-beg was given Mazandaran in addition to Khorasan.

From Jām he went to Tūs (during Mirza Omar's incursion he had evidently fled to his father). At the end of 1407, at Ulugh-beg's request, Shahrukh made another expedition against Mazandaran to suppress the revolt of PĪR-PĀDISHĀH, the former ruler of this province. Shah-Malik met Shahrukh's army in Mashhad, and Ulugh-beg met it at Qūchān <sup>1</sup>.

Khalil-Sultan did not pursue Pir-Muhammad's army after its retreat beyond the Amu-Darya <sup>2</sup>. He preferred to deal with the foes threatening him from the North. Besides the rebels who had seized the basin of the Sīr-Darya, there was also a menace from the Tatars of the GOLDEN HORDE who in the winter of 1405-6 <sup>3</sup> had overrun Khwarazm and in their raids reached Bukhara. When Khalil-Sultan appeared with his army on the Sīr-Darya<sup>4</sup>, Khojand and Shahrukhiya submitted voluntarily while Tashkent was reduced by famine after a prolonged siege. Khalil continued his march to the North, but at Sharapkhan was suddenly attacked in the night by Khudāyḍād and Shaykh Nūr al-din. Khalil's losses were so heavy that he was compelled to turn back. From what eventually followed it may be inferred that he had left no garrisons along the Sīr-Darya. Shaykh Nur al-din quarrelled with Khudaydad, withdrew to Saghanaq <sup>5</sup> and entered into negotiations with Khalil. At his request Khalil sent him one of Timur's widows, Tuman-agma. All this did not prevent both Shaykh Nur

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 176b.

<sup>2</sup> According to IAr., p. 198, after the battle, Khalil marched on Chäk-dālik where he remained until the end of Ramadan. Pir-Muhammad recrossed the Amu-Darya and occupied Hīṣār. Here he was besieged by Khalil and forced to sue for peace. This was concluded in 809/1406-7 (p. 200 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> According to HAbu, Oxf. Ms., f. 191b; AR, f. 194b, gives the date as Rajab 808/December 1405 — January 1406.

<sup>4</sup> On further events see IAr., p. 203 sq. The time of this expedition is not definitely stated; all we learn is that it took place after the victory over Pir-Muhammad.

<sup>5</sup> On the name of this town (Sighnaq?) see my *Irrigation in Turkestan*, p. 149 sq.

al-din and his enemy Khudaydad from keeping in touch with Shahrukh.

Shahrukh's activities in 1407 may have hastened Khalil-Sultan's return from the northern regions. Exactly one year after the battle at Qarshi, on 22 February 1407<sup>1</sup>, Pir-Muhammad perished by the hand of an assassin, Pīr-'Alī-Tāz<sup>2</sup>. Shahrukh declared himself the avenger of the murdered prince and seized the opportunity of occupying Balkh<sup>3</sup>. This aroused Khalil-Sultan's suspicions and he went to Tirmidh and restored the old fortress on the banks of the river<sup>4</sup>. Shahrukh, for his part, restored the citadel of Balkh which had been razed on Timur's orders in 1370. Meanwhile peace negotiations went on, and once again were successfully completed. A meeting and an exchange of presents took place on the banks of the river between Allāhdād on behalf of Khalil, and Amir Mizrāb on behalf of Shahrukh, after which both rulers returned to their respective capitals.

Once again Shuhrukh was insincere in making peace. He continued to communicate with Khalil's enemies and to prepare the ground for the eventual conquest of Mawarannahr. These intrigues were favoured by the disaffection which was brewing against the young ruler in Samarqand among the troops and the population. One of the main reasons for this disaffection was the famine which had visited the country<sup>5</sup>. In 1407 a similar calamity befell Khorasan, but there prompt and efficacious measures seem to have been taken to assist the population<sup>6</sup>. Khalil-

<sup>1</sup> The date is in AR, f. 173a; 14 Ramadan 809.

<sup>2</sup> According to AR, it was Pir-Muhammad who had raised Pir-'Alī Tāz from obscurity and made him amir. According to An. Sh., f. 78a, Pīr-'Alī Tāz was in Sultan-Husayn's army in 1405, and it was he who urged Sultan-Husayn to betray Khalil-Sultan. According to HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 10b, and AR, f. 163b, Pīr-'Alī Tāz immediately after Timur's death left Khalil-Sultan and came to Balkh.

<sup>3</sup> On this and subsequent events see HAbu, Ms. Ind. Off., f. 74b sq.; AR, f. 175b sq. On the reconstruction of the citadel of Balkh see also Faṣīh, f. 397b; IAr., p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> IAr., p. 295.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> HAbu, MS. Ind. Off., f. 29b; AR, f. 173a; cf. ZVO, XVIII, 0142 sq.

Sultan was obliged to maintain a large army without making any conquests, and this gradually led to the exhaustion of Timur's treasure. Khalil-Sultan's favourite wife, SHĀD-MULK, was also thought to take too great a part in the administration of finances and in state affairs in general<sup>1</sup>. Under her patronage men of low birth were raised to the detriment of Timur's comrades-in-arms. A certain Baba-Turmish, who became an all-powerful minister<sup>2</sup>, did not show due respect to such great lords as Al-lāhdād and Arghun-Shah. Timur's widows were also treated with scant respect. Shād-Mulk persuaded Khalil-Sultan to marry off the wives and concubines of the late monarch to amirs and noblemen in order to ensure their loyalty. The case of Shaykh Nur al-din and Tuman-agma, quoted above, gives the measure of such honour. But it was alleged that Khalil-Sultan went so far as to force the queens into marriage with commoners. Persian sources do not echo the more serious accusation made against Shād-Mulk by Ibn Arabshah<sup>3</sup> of having poisoned Sarāy-Mulk khanum and Tükāl-khanum, Timur's principal wives.

Shahrukh's continual relations with the Bukhara shaykhs must have also helped to undermine Khalil-Sultan's power. The historian of darvishism in Bukhara<sup>4</sup> says that MUHAMMAD-PĀRSĀ, head of the Bukhara Naqshbandis, constantly corresponded with Shahrukh "in order to arrange the affairs of the Muslims". To put an end to this commerce Khalil-Sultan suggested to the shaykh that he should go out on to the steppes to propagate Islam among the nomads. The shaykh agreed but said that he would first visit the tombs of the Bukhara saints. At that time a letter from Shahrukh to Khalil-Sultan was received in Bukhara, bidding him choose the field of battle. The shaykh had the letter read out in the cathedral mosque in Bukhara before sending it on to Samarqand. Soon after Khalil was defeated.

<sup>1</sup> A whole chapter in ZN, II, 720 sq., is devoted to these accusations against Khalil-Sultan and his wife.

<sup>2</sup> In IAr., p. 208: *dastūr al-mamālik*. Persian sources do not mention this personage.

<sup>3</sup> IAr., p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 38a; MS. As. Mus. a. 581\*, f. 44b sq.; Tashk. lith., p. 62 sq.

In this story the only point worthy of credit seems to be the fact of Shahrukh's relations with the shaykhs of Bukhara. A decisive encounter between the armies of Khorasan and Mawarannahr was certainly expected towards the spring of 1409, but Shahrukh did not send any challenge to his rival, and even had such correspondence existed it could not have passed through Bukhara, for Shahrukh was quartered with his army in Bādghīs, and Khalil-Sultan in Shahrisabz <sup>1</sup>.

At this time news came of renewed activity on the part of KHUDĀYDĀD who had taken the town of Uratübe. In view of the expected struggle with Shahrukh, only a small force could be dispatched to the North. Allāhdād and Arghun-Shah at the head of 3,000 men marched against Khudāydād <sup>2</sup>. They encountered the enemy near Jizak but did not engage him and sent to Khalil for reinforcements. This time Khalil took the field in person with only 4,000 men. Nothing is said about the number of troops stationed in Shahrisabz or to whom the command was entrusted after Khalil-Sultan's departure.

In 'Sultaniya' (according to Ibn Arabshah) or in 'Shiraz' (according to Abd al-Razzaq) <sup>3</sup>, Khalil was suddenly attacked by Khudaydad with a superior force and taken prisoner on 30 March 1409 <sup>4</sup>. Ibn Arabshah says that this coup had been pre-arranged between Khudāydād and Allāhdād. Immediately afterwards, Samarqand was occupied without opposition. Khudāydād, though acting in the name of Khalil, demanded submission from all the amirs. Apparently the army stationed in Shahrisabz did not submit but disbanded, so that Shahrukh encountered no resistance on his way to Samarqand.

27. SHAHRUKH set out with his army on April 7 <sup>5</sup> but reached the Amu-Darya only on April 22 <sup>6</sup>. While the troops were cros-

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 180a. In the Oxford MS. of HAbu this passage is missing.

<sup>2</sup> Both AR (*l.c.*) and IAr. (p. 209 sq.) describe this expedition but only AR gives the numbers and strength of the detachments.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 41, note 8.

<sup>4</sup> The date, 13 Dhul-qa'da 811, is in AR.

<sup>5</sup> 21 Dhul-qa'da (this and the following dates in AR).

<sup>6</sup> 6 Dhul-hijja.

sing the river, an envoy arrived from Khudaydad with offers to send Khalil-Sultan and Shād-Mulk to Shahrukh if he would cede Mawarannahr to MUHAMMAD-JAHĀNGĪR<sup>1</sup>. We do not know what answer was given to the envoy. From the banks of the Amu-Darya a body of troops was sent to Hīṣār, while Shahrukh proceeded to Khuzār with the main army. In Kūy-i-tan Shād-Mulk was brought into his camp. In Khuzār news was received that Khudaydad had left Samarqand taking Khalil with him. Allahdad, Arghun-Shah and Baba-Turmish remained in the citadel, but the power was in the hands of ‘Abd al-Avval, the Shaykh al-Islam. In obedience to him Allahdad and the others agreed to give up the fight against Shahrukh<sup>2</sup>. From Khuzār Shahrukh sent several amirs to Samarqand, and among them his tutor ‘Alā al-dīn Alīke-Kükeltash<sup>3</sup>. Shahrukh himself proceeded to Jām, where he was met by the princes headed by Muhammad-Jahāngīr, and on 13 May<sup>4</sup> entered Samarqand. With him were Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg. The intention was to appoint Ulugh-beg governor of Samarqand under the tutelage of Shah-Malik, but the solemn proclamation to this effect was made only at the end of the year, on the eve of Shahrukh’s departure. In Samarqand Shahrukh was joined by Shaykh Nur al-din. On an understanding with Shahrukh, he had moved from Otrar to Bukhara, but was defeated there by Khudaydad (before the latter had left Samarqand) and arrived in Samarqand without any troops.

Thus the capital had passed into the hands of Shahrukh without bloodshed, as four years before it had passed into the hands of Khalil-Sultan. But on this occasion the victor was not so magnanimous. Both hostile factions<sup>5</sup>, the queen’s and the amirs’, were treated with equal harshness. Allahdad and Arghun-Shah were pressed to surrender the money belonging to the treasury;

<sup>1</sup> Thus according to Faṣīḥ, f. 398b.

<sup>2</sup> IAr., pp. 211 and 213. According to him Shād-Mulk also remained in Samarqand and was sent to Shahrukh only after Khudaydad’s departure.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Faṣīḥ, *I.c.*, and AR, f. 180b.

<sup>4</sup> 27 Dhul-ḥijja.

<sup>5</sup> Besides IAr., p. 213 sq., this is mentioned only by Faṣīḥ, f. 401a.

they were tortured and finally executed. A member of the civil administration, a certain Yūnus Simnānī, was also executed. The queen SHĀD-MULK was tortured and driven with ignominy through the bazaars of the town. Baba-Turmish was cruelly tortured, and one day when he was being led in chains past a large water-tank, he threw himself into it and was drowned.

28. After the occupation of Samarqand there still remained the problem of the provinces along the Sīr-Darya, which under Khalil-Sultan had been in the hands of the rebels and in which Khudaydad had now taken refuge. He took Khalil with him to Farghana, and in Andijān, the capital of the province, had the *khutba* read in Khalil's name. Then he went off to seek the aid of the "Moghuls", probably by way of Tashkent, leaving his son, 'Abd al-Khāliq with Khalil-Sultan. His other son, Allāhdād, was governor of Shāhrukhiya. In vain did Shahrukh endeavour to persuade Khudaydad to submit voluntarily. Khudaydad insisted that his enemy Shaykh Nur al-din should be delivered to him bound hand and foot <sup>1</sup>. From what followed it is clear that Shahrukh could not have complied with this demand even had he wished to do so. Shahrukh now moved his troops towards the Sīr-Darya, sending one detachment towards Shāhrukhiya<sup>2</sup>, and another towards Khojand. He himself spent the summer in Ura-tūbe. Ibn Arabshah <sup>3</sup> avers that the Moghuls manifested their respect for Khalil-Sultan by sending him presents, among which was a golden armchair. But he does not seem to have received any military aid from them for he was obliged to retire, together with 'Abd al-Khāliq, into the fortress Allā or Allā-kūh (probably in the Alay valley) where he was besieged by Shah-Malik. By the treaty which ended the siege, Shah-Malik withdrew and Khalil-Sultan, for his part, promised to join Shahrukh. Instead, he went to Otrar, whither by that time Shaykh Nur al-din had returned with Shahrukh's permission. He must have covered the distance between Farghana and Otrar with the aid of the

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 181b.

<sup>2</sup> Shah-Malik was with this force.

<sup>3</sup> IAr., p. 215.

Moghuls. Khudaydad, who had also counted on their support, was killed by them and his head was sent to Khalil (according to Ibn Arabshah, *l.c.*), or to Shah-Malik (according to Abd al-Razzaq) <sup>1</sup>. Shah-Malik sent it to Shahrukh together with the head of Allāhdād (Khudaydad's son), the former governor of Shāh-rukhiya, which suggests that Shah-Malik had occupied that town. Abd al-Khāliq remained to the end of his days ruler of the region beyond the Sīr-Darya. Shahrukh went as far as Khojand and thence proceeded to Aqsulat, when Shaykh Nur al-din, who had promised to return promptly, manifested his intention to remain in Otrar. At Uzun-ata <sup>2</sup>, on the way from Aqsulat to Otrar, Shahrukh was joined by Khalil-Sultan. Some time previously Shah-Malik and 'Alike-Kūkeltash had come to Otrar to draw up a pact with him. The agreement was reached with the assistance of Shaykh Nur al-din. Khalil-Sultan proceeded to his new fief, Rayy, and his wife, Shād-Mulk, was given back to him. During their separation he had poured out his sorrow in Persian verses <sup>3</sup>. Khalil-Sultan remained the feudal lord of Rayy until his death on Wednesday, 4 November 1411 <sup>4</sup>. Shād-Mulk did not wish to survive him and committed suicide. Khalil-Sultan, who from his early youth had acquired fame through his warlike exploits, was no "sentimental shepherd", as a European Orientalist would have us believe <sup>5</sup>, but indeed the romantic episode of his life was out of keeping with the epoch.

29. The pact with Khalil-Sultan marked the end of the military operations of 1409. Before leaving Samargand Shahrukh appointed <sup>6</sup> ULUGH-BEG governor of that town. IBRĀHĪM-SULTAN,

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 182a.

<sup>2</sup> In the account of Timur's campaign this place is mentioned as the first station after Aqsulat on the road to the Sīr-Darya, cf. ZN, II, 646.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to IAr., p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> The date is in HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 170b, and AR, f. 191b; Wednesday 16 Rajab 814.

<sup>5</sup> A. Müller, *Der Islam*, II, 315 ("sentimentaler Schäfer"); Khalil-Sultan is also erroneously called the son of Omar-Shaykh.

<sup>6</sup> On the appointments see HAbbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 113 b sq., and Oxf. MS. f. 98a sq.; AR, f. 182b sq.

Shahrukh's other son, became governor of Balkh; MUHAMMAD-JAHĀNGĪR became governor of Ḥiṣār and Salī-Saray on the Amu-Darya, and Omar-Shaykh's son AHMAD became governor of Farghana. All the princes, except Ahmad, were under age and the amirs were the real rulers of their fiefs. In Samarqand the actual power was entrusted to "the greatest amir, the most just and most magnanimous noyon" Shah-Malik. Moreover, Ulugh-beg was pledged to treat the hereditary Shaykh al-Islams of Samarqand with the utmost reverence. On 24 December<sup>1</sup> 1409 Shahrukh returned to Herat.

30. SHAH-MALIK's elevation irritated his rivals, Shaykh Nur al-din in Otrar, and the tutors of the young Muhammad-Jahāngīr in Ḥiṣār<sup>2</sup>. In the spring of 1410 they made a concerted attack on Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg, and on Sunday 20 April<sup>3</sup> defeated them near Qizil-Rabat, to the West of Samarqand<sup>4</sup>. The broken army retreated to Qara-Tübe and into the mountains separating Samarqand from Shahrīsabz. The road to the capital lay open to the victors<sup>5</sup>. On the very next day Shaykh Nur al-din's envoy appeared at the gates of Samarqand. On Friday, 25 April, Shaykh Nur al-din in person rode up to the Shaykhzāde (now Pāy-qabaq) gate, but the inhabitants headed by the Shaykh al-Islam refused to open the gates to him without an order from Shahrukh. The town did not surrender even later when Shaykh Nur al-din had occupied all the surrounding country and spent some days in Dilkushā, one of Timur's suburban palaces to the North of the town. Shaykh Nur al-din had the prince Muham-

<sup>1</sup> 16 Sha'bān, AR, f. 183a. He left Samarqand earlier in Rajab, HA, Oxf. MS., f. 100b.

<sup>2</sup> According to Faṣīḥ, f. 401b, the chief instigator of Shaykh Nur al-din's revolt was Ḥamza, a Hisar amir. HAbu, Oxf., MS., f. 128a, MS. Ind. Off., f. 134b, names in the first place among the Hisar amirs a certain Amir Mubashshir, well-known as Timur's fellow-at-arms.

<sup>3</sup> The date is in Faṣīḥ, f. 400b: 15 Dhul-ḥijja.

<sup>4</sup> On the location see Vyatkin, l.c., *Materials*, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> On this and the following events see HAbu, MS. Ind. Off., f. 133b sq.; Oxf. MS., f. 126a sq.; AR, f. 186a sq.



mad-Jahāngīr brought to his camp from Hisar<sup>1</sup>, but even the presence of the former "khan" did not induce the inhabitants of Samarqand to surrender. With the exception of the capital, the whole country up to the Amu-Darya was now in the hands of the rebels.

Shaykh Nur al-din's governors were sent to Bukhara and Shahrīsabz. Ulugh-beg was forced to withdraw to Kālīf<sup>2</sup>. Amir Mīzrāb, the governor of Tirmidh, who had formerly served Khalīl-Sultan, remained faithful to Shahrukh. The troops sent by Shaykh Nur al-din to Kālīf and Tirmidh failed to take these towns before the arrival of Shahrukh's army.

Shahrukh left Herat with his troops on 9 May<sup>3</sup> but for some reason did not reach Kālīf before 20 June<sup>4</sup>. Here and at Tirmidh the Khorasanian army crossed the river unhindered. Ulugh-beg joined the Tirmidh force and together with Amir Mīzrāb marched on Shahrīsabz. Shahrukh slowly followed them with the main army. On hearing of Shahrukh's arrival Shaykh Nur al-din retreated from Samarqand. Shah-Malik immediately fell upon him but was again defeated, leaving all the arms and an enormous amount of booty in the hands of the victor. Shah-Malik fled to Samarqand but the dignitaries of the town (probably with the Shaykh al-Islam among them) reproached him so bitterly that he dared not remain and so departed, taking the dignitaries with him. Shahrukh occupied Shahrīsabz and approached Samarqand. He was joined by Ahmad from Farghana who brought with him 500 horsemen. The battle with Shaykh Nur al-din and Jahāngīr began on Saturday<sup>5</sup> 12 July, near Qizil-Rabat and the small river Jām. Shahrukh in person took part in

<sup>1</sup> Particularly characteristic are the words ascribed to Shaykh Nur al-din by HA, Oxf. MS., f. 127b, when he summoned the prince: "I have occupied for you this country which Timur had bequeathed to you". See above, p. 59, on Khalīl's actions.

<sup>2</sup> Down to the eighteenth century this town stood on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, see Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Muharram (HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 129b; AR, f. 186a).

<sup>4</sup> On Friday 17 Safar (AR, f. 186b).

<sup>5</sup> The date is in HAbu, MS. Ind. Off., f. 138b; Rabi' I; also in AR, f. 187a; according to HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 135b, on Saturday the 11th.

the fighting and gained a complete victory. Two days later he occupied Samarqand, but left it on 23 July<sup>1</sup> entrusting to Shah-Malik the task of finishing the war with Shaykh Nur al-din. On his way back he sent from Shahrisabz a body of troops, commanded by Mizrāb, against Hisār. By the beginning of August<sup>2</sup> Shahrukh was already back in Herat. Order was restored in Hisār without much difficulty. Muhammad-Jahāngīr ruled in Hisār till his death in 1433<sup>3</sup>, and in 1413<sup>4</sup> he married a daughter of Shahrukh.

Shah-Malik's campaign against Shaykh Nur al-din did not open until January 1411<sup>5</sup>. Ulugh-beg seems to have taken no part in this campaign or in the ensuing operations in the basin of the Sīr-Darya. At that time Shaykh Nur al-din was in Sauran. On Shah-Malik's approach he fled to the Moghuls without offering battle, and only his rearguard was overtaken by Shah-Malik. The latter, however, was unable to occupy the province effectively and was forced to turn back. Being sure that news of his withdrawal would bring Shaykh Nur al-din out of Moghulistan, he entrusted to ABD AL-KHĀLIQ, governor of the province bordering on Moghulistan, the task of barring his way. This task the latter successfully carried out and he could have even taken Shaykh Nur al-din prisoner, had he not preferred to let him return to Moghulistan: he was unwilling unduly to strengthen Shah-Malik by destroying his enemy for him, as this would have run counter to his own interest. This fact clearly shows the disregard in which the power of the dynasty was held.

Abd al-Khāliq died in the same year and was replaced by

<sup>1</sup> 20 Rabī' I according to AR, f. 187a. HA, Oxf. MS., f. 137a, 'Thursday (?) the 27th.

<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of Rabī' II, i.e. 3 August, AR, f. 187a. HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 138, gives only the month.

<sup>3</sup> 7 Dhul-qa'da 836/25 June 1433, AR, f. 242a.

<sup>4</sup> The marriage took place on 14 Jamādī II 816/11 September 1413, AR, 196a. In HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 203a, the date is omitted. The report on this event closes the work of HAbu in the MS. Ind. Off., ff. 181b-183a.

<sup>5</sup> According to HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 153b, he set out on 13 Ramadan/9 January. Cf. AR, f. 189b sq.

Shah-Malik's nominee<sup>1</sup>. This man does not seem to have assumed power immediately, for the Moghul khan MUHAMMAD took advantage of the interval to invade the frontier province. A force 15,000 strong, commanded by SHAH-JAHĀN<sup>2</sup>, the khan's brother, invested Sayram and penetrated as far as Qara-Sāmān, a place in the neighbourhood of Otrar<sup>3</sup>. Shah-Malik sent one of his *nukars* (named Shayastan) with a detachment of 2,000 men to surprise the enemy's rear. This detachment marched from Piskant (Pskant)<sup>4</sup> to the Talas, probably by mountain paths, defeated the Moghuls stationed there and seized much booty, including 12,000 horses, only half of which were sent to Shah-Malik<sup>5</sup>.

This reverse forced the Moghuls to raise the siege of Sayram and retreat, but they did not abandon the expedition. Muhammad khan took personal command of the army. He reached Qulanbashi between Yāngi<sup>6</sup> and Sauran. The latter name probably refers to the plateau between the mountain chains Qara-tau and Ala-tau of Talas, on the way to the steppes, north of the Alexandrovsky range<sup>7</sup>. There, without resorting to arms, he made a pact with Shah-Malik. They exchanged presents and the khan pledged himself not to give any assistance to Shaykh Nur al-din.

Shaykh Nur al-din left the Moghuls and made his way into Sauran<sup>8</sup> with only 500 horsemen. But in the town itself he found at his disposal such considerable forces that Shah-Malik, who came up after concluding the peace with the Moghuls, could not

<sup>1</sup> His name was Timur-Malik son of Dulday, AR, f. 190a; HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 154b.

<sup>2</sup> Thus correctly in HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 155a; AR, f. 190a, mistakenly names here Sham'i Jahān, Muhammad khan's predecessor, cf. my *Semirechye*, see Part I, 144, An. Isk., MS. As. Mus., f. 252a, Lond. MS., f. 264a, places Sham'i Jahān's death in 802/1399, which contradicts Chinese information.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned in ZN, I, 230 and 499.

<sup>4</sup> Thus according to HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 155b.

<sup>5</sup> HAbbru and AR. Also in Faṣīḥ, f. 402a.

<sup>6</sup> On the Talas, near Auliyā-ata, See above p. .

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 63, note 5.

<sup>8</sup> In IAr., p. 204, Saghanak is named instead of Sauran.

take the town by storm. He may have also been deterred by the presence in Sauran of Timur's widow. Hafizi-Abri<sup>1</sup> describes with epic detail how TUMAN-AGHA conversed with Shah-Malik from the top of a tower and shed tears at the mention of Timur's name; how the negotiations proceeded between Shah-Malik and Shaykh Nur al-din; how a meeting was arranged between them; how, each accompanied by two *nukars*, they met under the walls of the fort; how Shaykh Nur al-din rushed to embrace a former friend of his<sup>2</sup> whom he had recognised in Shah-Malik's army, and how the latter suddenly felled the unsuspecting amir and swiftly stabbed him, as had been previously agreed between him and Shah-Malik.

Thus was destroyed the last military chief in Mawarannahr who did not recognise the authority of Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg. Shah-Malik had fulfilled his task. In order to allow Ulugh-beg to enjoy the fruits thereof, it now became necessary to remove the too powerful amir from Mawarannahr. The indignation aroused by his treacherous deed under the walls of Sauran gave Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg the desired pretext.

31. By this time Ulugh-beg's relations with his tutor had become very similar to those which had once existed between Khalil-Sultan and Khudaydad. Even before the war with the Moghuls, Ulugh-beg, in Shah-Malik's absence, had complained about him to his father. Shahrukh sent to Samarqand a noble amir, Sayyid Ali Tarkhan, with instructions to look into the matter. Sayyid Ali Tarkhan came to the conclusion that Shah-Malik was a good administrator and gave Ulugh-beg sound advice, but that the prince in his pride resented this, which fact was being exploited by ill-intentioned persons<sup>3</sup>. During the military operations against the Moghuls Shah-Malik continued to show

<sup>1</sup> All this is already recorded in the Ind. Off. MS., f. 165a sq. (Oxf. MS., ff. 160a-167a; AR, ff. 190b-191b).

<sup>2</sup> Persian sources give his name as Hurqudaq; in IAr.: Urghudaq. In his report on Shahrukh's embassy to China AR (f. 224b, also the text in *Notices et extraits*, XIV, part I, p. 388) also uses this latter form.

<sup>3</sup> All this is to be found in HAbri, Ind. Off. MS., f. 161a sq. (Oxf. MS., f. 158a sq.; AR, f. 190b).

outward regard to Ulugh-beg. He sent bound prisoners to him in Samarqand, from whence they were further directed to Shahrukh who was spending the summer until June in Bādghīs. Moved by the good news from Mawarannahr, Shahrukh, who set out of Herat with his army on Wednesday 22 July<sup>1</sup>, proceeded at first to Balkh; it was not until 10 September<sup>2</sup> that he crossed the Amu-Darya over a bridge (of boats). At Kashka-Darya he was met by Ulugh-beg and the dignitaries of Samarqand. In Samarqand he encamped with his army on the Kāni-gil plain near the Chopan-ata heights. Six days after Shahrukh's arrival, Shaykh Nur al-din's head was brought into the camp. Shah-Malik was immediately summoned to Samarqand where, according to Ibn Arabshah, he was received with bitter reproaches. The actual murderer was punished with the bastinado. For a long time Shahrukh could not bear the sight of either of them, although he finally forgave them both.

Apart from the indignation at Shah-Malik's treacherous behaviour, his recall is explained by the fact that the relatives of the murdered man would never have agreed to negotiate with him. After his return to Samarqand, an envoy from Shaykh-Hasan, Shaykh Nur al-din's brother, arrived there to notify his submission. At Shahrukh's request the queen Tuman-agma was sent to Samarqand. Soon after Shahrukh left Samarqand taking with him the queen and Shah-Malik. In November he was again in Herat<sup>3</sup>. Before his departure Ulugh-beg acted for the first time as host at a banquet in honour of his father, at which he offered him costly presents. The seventeen-year old prince had shaken off his tutor's authority and had become the fully fledged ruler of the region stretching from the Amu-Darya to Saghanak in the North-West and to Ashpara in the North-East<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> End of Rabī I (AR, f. 190a; HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 157a).

<sup>2</sup> 21 Jamādī I (AR, f. 190b; HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 159b).

<sup>3</sup> Here he received the news of Khalil-Sultan's death (see above, p. 76).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the report on the embassy to China in 1420 when the ambassadors, after passing Ashpara, came to the country of the Moghuls (AR, f. 224b; also HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 384a-b).

#### IV. ULUGH-BEG AS RULER; EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

32. During the next thirty-six years (1411-1447), on the coins and in the *khutba*, current in the domains of Ulugh-beg, Shahrukh was mentioned as the sovereign<sup>1</sup>. Ulugh-beg travelled several times to Herat to do him homage<sup>2</sup>, but his contemporaries did not look upon him as a mere viceroy or feudal prince. In the rock-inscription of 1425, in the Jilan-utī gorge, Ulugh-beg is called "most great Sultan, Subduer of kings of nations, Shadow of God on earth", without any reference to Shahrukh<sup>3</sup>. In 1427, the learned Ghiyāth al-din Jamshīd, in a mathematical treatise dedicated to Ulugh-beg, calls him: "the greatest, most just, most magnanimous, most learned Sultan, Master of the necks of nations, Master of the Arabian and non-Arabian sultans, Sultan of the East and West" etc.<sup>4</sup>.

The unity of power in Timur's empire, which appeared impossible after its founder's death, had been gradually restored — at least in appearance — in favour of Shahrukh. The descendants of Timur's other sons had lost all importance, and some of them were even in want, as attested by a poetical work composed by one of them in 839/1435-6 and addressed to Shahrukh<sup>5</sup>. But in

<sup>1</sup> [See the Annex on the coins, p. 00].

<sup>2</sup> AR mentions journeys in 1414 (f. 201b), 1417 (f. 209a), 1422 (f. 224a), 1425 (f. 231a) and 1434 (f. 244b), — the first four after HAbu (Oxf. MS., ff. 247a sq., 296a sq., 379b sq., 427b sq.).

<sup>3</sup> P. Lerch, l.c., pp. IX and 26.

<sup>4</sup> MS. Public Library, Dorn 131, f. 2a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ta'ashshuq-nāma*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 7914, ff. 273b-289b. Cf. Rieu, *Turk. MSS.*, p. 289, and *IAN*, 1914, p. 880. The verse quoted there can also be interpreted grammatically as meaning that the poet calls himself the son of Miranshah ("as long as in the world there will be such a monarch as he, the son of Miranshah will be a reciter of prayers (for him)"). Such an interpretation has been indicated to me by A. N. Samoylovich. The fact remains that in the *ZN*, II, 734 sq., Sīdī-Ahmad is mentioned among the sons of Omar-Shaykh, and not of Miranshah. Nevertheless AR, MS. As. Mus. 574, p. 655; 574a, f. 454a (lacuna in Univ. MS. 157), in the report on the events of 859/1455-6, refers to a Sultan-Ahmad,

contrast to his father, Shahrukh was sovereign only in name. In reality the empire was governed by his principal wife GAUHAR-SHĀD, mother of Ulugh-beg, and by his sons and dignitaries. The stability of public order and the comparative well-being of his subjects seem to have been due to the happy choice of the chief officials and the latter's long tenure of office. In the first years of his reign Shahrukh had some difficulty in finding a suitable chief amir, commander of all the military forces. The first two holders of this charge rebelled against their sovereign and were executed. But their successor, JALĀL AL-DIN FĪRŪZSHĀH, appointed in 1407, retained his office until 1442. As a fervent adherent of the Shari'at Shahrukh disregarded the exigencies of etiquette and of military art, so that his chief amir had a free hand in administering the affairs of the palace and the army<sup>1</sup>. He seems to have had no lieutenant in Samarqand. The *yasaul* received his orders concerning the army directly from Ulugh-beg<sup>2</sup> who, unlike his father, set great store by Mongol traditions<sup>3</sup> in court and military affairs. The civil administration of Herat was headed for nearly as long a term (from 1417, with a short interval<sup>4</sup>, down to the end of Shahrukh's reign) by GHIYĀTH AL-DIN PĪR AHMAD KHWĀFĪ. Ulugh-beg's minister, NĀSIR AL-DIN NASRULLĀH KHWĀFĪ, who died on 20 July 1441, was probably a relative of his<sup>5</sup>. The historian Fasih speaks of

son of Sayyid Ahmad, son of Mirza Mīrānsāh. The poet addresses the shah and complains of his bitter fate in the conventional form of lamentations on the cruelty of his beloved. Particularly characteristic is the *ghazal* (f. 276b). "O Shah, in thy time oppression, tyranny and injustice have been predestined to Sīdī Ahmad", and the verses of the concluding petition (*iltimās*) addressed to the monarch (ff. 289a-b).

<sup>1</sup> On the completeness of his power see AR, f. 257b.

<sup>2</sup> Khwāndamīr, Tehran ed., III, 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Tarikh-i Rashīdī*. Engl. transl., p. 70. [See Annex on coins, p. 00].

<sup>4</sup> According to Faṣīḥ, f. 417b sq., he was removed in 828/1425, but reinstated in 829. In 845/1441-2 the Sultan was again displeased with his minister but did not dismiss him (AR, f. 255a sq., Faṣīḥ, f. 430b).

<sup>5</sup> 1 Rabī' I 845, Faṣīḥ, f. 430b; in AR, f. 256b, the date of the month is missing. As minister of Ulugh-beg he is also named by Khwāndamīr, Tehran, III, 214.

him as a noble man, of high birth, who treated the people with kindness <sup>1</sup>.

There is no information as to whether the minister of Samarqand was subordinated to the minister of Herat. Judging by the accounts of the buildings erected by Ulugh-beg, of the magnificence of his court etc. the revenue of his province must have remained at his disposal and was not turned over to Herat.

It is a remarkable fact that under Ulugh-beg money was coined in the name of Shahrukh, while *yarliqs* were published in the name of the nominal Chingizid khans. Under Timur, these khans were regarded as the nominal heads of the whole empire. In all the provinces subjected to Timur, on the coins and in the *khutba*, his name was accompanied by the name of the khan <sup>2</sup>. Khalil-Sultan, as Timur's successor in Samarqand, had set up alongside himself not a Chingizid khan but one from Timur's own clan. But with the end of Khalil-Sultan's rule the khanate of Muhammad-Jahāngīr also came to an end. In Herat, under Shahrukh, there were no nominal Chingizid khans. Historians and poets often referred to Shahrukh and his sons <sup>3</sup> as khans, but there are no grounds for assuming that the members of the dynasty had officially appropriated this title. Had it been so, there would hardly have been any Chingizid khans in Samarqand. Under Ulugh-beg, the khans no longer took part in campaigns as in Timur's time, but were confined to the so-called "khans' enclosure" (*ḥayāt-i khān*) <sup>4</sup>, which seems to have been situated on a particularly beautiful site, in the western part of the town. The historians of the Timurids do not mention these khans and their names have

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AR's characterisation, *l.c.*: "extremely firm, competent and trustworthy".

<sup>2</sup> *Dnevnik*, I, 53 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *Shāhrukh bahādur khān* constantly occurs in Fasih, e.g. ff. 388b sq. 393b, also *Baysunghur bahādur khān*, ff. 390a, 421a sq.; cf. also HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 430a on the death of Suyurghatmish khan; also *ibid.*, f. 292b. In the *Ta'ashshuq-nāma*, MS. Br. Mus., f. 275a: *Ulugh Sulṭān-i mu'azzam Shāhrukh khān*; in Lutfi, A.-Z. Validi, 'The Chaghatai poet Lutfi' (in Russian), Kazan 1914, p. 23: *Ulugh-beg khān*; but in Sakkāki, MS. Br. Mus., Or. 2079, f. 5b: *Shāhrukh-beg*.

<sup>4</sup> See Vyatkin, VI, 255; *TR*, p. 72.



not been preserved. According to the Anonym of Iskandar, SULTAN-MAḤMŪD KHAN left a son Abū-Saʿīd who was alive at the time of the composition of the book <sup>1</sup>, i.e. between 1409 and 1414, though it is not said whether he bore the title of khan. According to Muhammad-Haydar, a certain SATUQ KHAN (whose extraction is not explained) was regarded as khan in Samarqand in 1428. In that year Ulugh-beg sent him to Moghulistan and proclaimed another khan in his stead <sup>2</sup>). In the inscription of 838/1434-5 over the principal entrance of the Shāhi-zinda, Ulugh-beg's young son ʿAbd al-Azīz <sup>3</sup> is given the title of khan. A new Chingizid khan was proclaimed apparently for the last time in 1449, after Ulugh-beg had been deposed <sup>4</sup>, but his name is not recorded.

Like Timur, Ulugh-beg, through his connection with the Chingizids, called himself *gūrkān* ("son-in-law"), — a title borne neither by Shahrukh, nor by any of his other sons. Ulugh-beg may have considered himself entitled to this rank already through his first marriage with a daughter of Muhammad-Sultan, a descendant, on the distaff side, of KHAN ÖZBEK. Ulugh-beg's daughter by this princess, born on Friday, 19 August 1412 <sup>5</sup>, bore like her grandmother the title *khānzāda-begum* <sup>6</sup>. He could lay a still stronger claim to the title of *gūrkān* through his marriage with AQ-SULTAN KHĀNĪKA, daughter of Sultan-Mahmud khan <sup>7</sup>. The date of this marriage is unknown. In Hafizi-Abru's work, written not later than 1417, Ulugh-beg is already called *gūrkān* <sup>8</sup>.

33. With the exception of his visits to Herat, Ulugh-beg did not visit any other Timurid province during his father's lifetime.

<sup>1</sup> MS. As. Mus., f. 252b; MS. Br. Mus., f. 263b.

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Vyatkin, IV, part IV, p. 4; VI, pp. 178 and 250.

<sup>4</sup> See below the account of the events of 1449.

<sup>5</sup> The date is already in HAbu, MS. Ind. Off., f. 180a (10 Jamādī I, Year of the Dragon). The same date is in the Oxf. MS., f. 191a; AR, f. 194a.

<sup>6</sup> AR, f. 251a, and Fasih, ff. 404a, 411b and 427a.

<sup>7</sup> On the wives of Ulugh-beg see Khwāndamīr, III, 219.

<sup>8</sup> HAbu, MS. Ind. Off. f. 48a.

He sent auxiliary troops to Shahrukh but never took a personal part in his campaigns, even when they were undertaken near his dominions. When peace was restored in Mawarannahr, among the urgent problems arising out of the events was the restoration of the Timurid power in Khwarazm, which the Uzbeks had seized after the death of Timur. This task was accomplished at the beginning of 1413 by Shah-Malik<sup>1</sup> with the aid of troops sent from Mawarannahr. Owing to the feuds within the Golden Horde, Shah-Malik met with little resistance and returned to Herat in the beginning of April. Soon after he was appointed governor of Khwarazm, which office he retained till his death in 1426, when it was taken over by his son. Unlike Ulugh-beg, he often left his province to take part in Shahrukh's expeditions to the West. Ulugh-beg kept up good-neighbourly relations with his late tutor: there is some information about the return to Samarqand in March 1418 of a detachment sent to Khwarazm to aid Shah-Malik<sup>2</sup>. When Ulugh-beg arrived in Bukhara in November 1419, Shah-Malik sent some *nukars* to welcome him and offer him a present of gerfalcons<sup>3</sup>.

In the autumn of 1413 war broke out between SHAHRUKH and ISKANDAR which put an end to the outward unity of the Timurid state. From Samarqand only elephants were sent on this expedition. The military detachments stationed in Mawarannahr and Khwarazm remained there to defend the frontiers<sup>4</sup>. Under the pretext of a conference on military measures Ulugh-beg invited prince AHMAD, the ruler of Farghana, but the latter, fearing Ulugh-beg's temper (*mizāj*) would not come. Ulugh-beg sent one of his amirs, Bāyazīd-Parvānachi, to Andījān to negotiate. It was agreed that Ahmad would send his son to Samarqand in a few days' time (probably as a hostage, for Ahmad was not yet

<sup>1</sup> HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 197a; AR, f. 195a.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 212b: in the beginning of Safar 821.

<sup>3</sup> HAbbru, f. 321a. AR, f. 214a. During his stay in Herat in 1417, at the beginning of Rabi'II after 18 May, Ulugh-beg gave a feast for Muhammad-Jahāngīr and Shah-Malik who had come from Khwarazm; see HAbbru, f. 296b; AR, f. 209a.

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 196a.

thirty and could not have a grown up son), but this promise was never kept. Finally Ulugh-beg invaded Farghana and Ahmad fled into the mountains leaving garrisons in the fortresses. Ulugh-beg took Akhsī and Andijān and returned home leaving his own governors in the province. After his departure Ahmad returned with an army that had been given him by the Moghuls and at Osh defeated the troops left behind by Ulugh-beg, though he could not take Andijān. The Moghuls plundered Farghana and returned to Moghulistan. Ahmad remained in Kashghar <sup>1</sup>.

34. We do not know whether Ulugh-beg undertook the conquest of Farghana on his own initiative, or on Shahrukh's orders as part of the struggle against Omar-Shaykh's other sons. In any case, Shahrukh neither punished his son, nor assumed the responsibility for his actions. When in November 1414 Ulugh-beg came to Herat, he stood near his father's throne at the side of his brother Baysunqar (who governed Herat in his father's absence), and, says the historian, Shahrukh rejoiced at having two such sons <sup>2</sup>. This suggests that Shahrukh did not lay any blame on his son's operations in Farghana. Nevertheless, on 26 May 1415 <sup>3</sup> Shahrukh sent one of Ahmad's *nukars* (probably taken prisoner in Farghana) to Kashghar with a letter to his master explaining the events of 1414 by a misunderstanding due to his, Shahrukh's, absence. The letter also contained an invitation to the prince to come to Herat and promised him a free pardon <sup>4</sup>. Ahmad finally arrived in Herat in the spring of 1416 <sup>5</sup> leaving a governor in Kashghar. Nothing was said about giving Farghana back to him. On the contrary, he was detained in Herat on the alleged charge of seditious talk with other princes over their wine. The prince was allowed to leave for Mecca, from whence he does not seem to have returned. Some thirteen or fourteen years later Hafizi-Abru wrote about him as of one

<sup>1</sup> HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 219a sq. AR, f. 198a sq., Faṣīḥ, f. 406b.

<sup>2</sup> HAbbru, f. 248b. AR, f. 201b.

<sup>3</sup> 16 Rabī' I, 818.

<sup>4</sup> HAbbru, f. 258b. AR, f. 203a-b. Faṣīḥ, f. 407a sq.

<sup>5</sup> HAbbru, f. 281b. AR, f. 206a.

dead<sup>1</sup>. Shaykh Ali Tughā'i whom he had left as governor of Kashghar, opened negotiations with Ulugh-beg in the same year (1416), appealing to the protection of the "spirit of the great amir", i.e. Timur. Ulugh-beg sent to KASHGHAR his own lieutenants, Siddiq and Ali. Tughā'i handed the town over to them and came to Samarqand<sup>2</sup>.

35. In the same year 1416 Ulugh-beg was with his army on the SIR-DARYA. On March 17 or 18<sup>3</sup> he approached the river-bank opposite Shahruxhiya. At the end of the month he crossed the river and spent several days on the right bank. At that time news came from Khwarazm about the events taking place in the Golden Horde (the accession of Jabbār-Birdi, a son of Tokhtamish, and the defeat of Chingiz-Oghlan, formerly in Timur's service). He decided to return and on 22 April<sup>4</sup> he was back in Samarqand. This development suggests that the expedition had been intended against the Uzbeks.

Another expedition against this people was planned in 1419. In May of that year,<sup>5</sup> the Uzbek prince BORAQ, grandson of

<sup>1</sup> On Ahmad and his father Omar-Shaykh see HAbu, f. 281b. Both in HAbu and AR, Ahmad, for unknown reasons, is called not *mīrzā* but *amīrak* (diminutive from *amīr*); sometimes both words *amīrak* and *mīrzā* are used jointly.

<sup>2</sup> HAbu, f. 288b; AR, f. 207a; Faṣīḥ, f. 409a. The detailed account given by the Timurid historians certainly deserves more credit than that of Muhammad-Ḥaydar, a sixteenth century author. The latter's account, founded on oral tradition, mentions neither Ahmad nor Tughā'i and presents the entire event in a very different light. According to this account, Kashghar belonged to the Dughlat amir Sayyid Ahmad, son of Amir Khudaydad; the population led by Khoja Sharīf rose against him and handed over the town to Ulugh-beg, (TR, p. 61). There is also a totally fantastic story about Amir Ahmad, who is made out to be Shahrukh's descendant, and his flight to Moghulistan; about his sister and the love for her of Sayyid-Ali, Sayyid-Ahmad's son; about the arrival of all three in Andijān; about the marriage of the princess to Ulugh-beg who had killed her brother, Sayyid-Ahmad, and about Sayyid-Ali's imprisonment in Samarqand, whence he escaped a year later (*ibid.*, 62).

<sup>3</sup> On 18 Muharram, according to HAbu, f. 288a; 17 Muharram, according to AR, f. 207a.

<sup>4</sup> 23 Ṣafar, *ibid.*; AR. end of Ṣafar.

<sup>5</sup> End of Rabi' II.

Urus-khan with whom Timur had been at war, came to Ulugh-beg asking for help. Ulugh-beg let him go back to his country and gave him assistance against his enemies <sup>1</sup>. Ulugh-beg's own expedition must have been connected with this event. For the time of his absence, he left a special governor (*dārūgha*) <sup>2</sup> in Samarqand, which suggests that the campaign was expected to be a long one. The army left Samarqand at the end of August <sup>3</sup>, crossed the Sīr-Darya near Chināz on 5 September <sup>4</sup> and, beyond Tashkent, reached Burlaq where deserters brought the intelligence that the Uzbek army had dispersed <sup>5</sup>. This news was also confirmed by merchants. Ulugh-beg called off the expedition and returned to his capital on 22 October. It was rightly expected that, after the retreat of the enemy, Boraq would be able to cope with his task with the aid of the auxiliary troops that had been given him, even without the participation of the main force of Mawarannahr. In 1423 news of Boraq's success <sup>6</sup> came — by way of Khwarazm — to Bādghīs, where Shahrukh was at the time. Buraq had captured the ordu of the Uzbek khan Muhammad and had become the head of the major part of the Uzbek *ulus*. The news of his final victory <sup>7</sup> and of his accession to "the throne of his fathers and grandfathers" reached Ulugh-beg in the beginning of 1425 <sup>8</sup>.

Ulugh-beg, who regarded Boraq as his man, was apparently satisfied that Mawarannahr was secure from the Uzbeks, for he now turned his attention towards the Moghuls. During these years, Moghullistan, like the Uzbek ulus, was suffering from in-

<sup>1</sup> HAbu, f. 319b; AR, f. 213b.

<sup>2</sup> Iskandar, son of Hindū-Buqa, AR, *l.c.*; HAbu, f. 320a.

<sup>3</sup> Beginning of Sha'bān.

<sup>4</sup> 14 Sha'bān. On the details of the route followed see HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 320a; cf. *al-Muẓaffariya*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> In this passage, as in several others, the Uzbek country is called *Toqmaq*. The same term was supposed to be used in Timur's inscription, in Uyghur characters, which Prof. Satpayev found on Mt. Altīn-chuq in 1937, but a better reading by A. I. Panomarev is *toqsan*. V.M.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Shawwal.

<sup>7</sup> HAbu, f. 414b. AR, f. 229b.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p.

ternal unrest. Ulugh-beg received reports on the events in Moghulistan from the governor of Kashghar, Siddiq. In 1416 an embassy from the new Moghul khan NAQSHI-JAHĀN (son of Sham'i-Jahān), the successor of Muhammad khan,<sup>1</sup> visited Ulugh-beg's court. Probably for strategic reasons, Ulugh-beg spent the winter of 1417—1418 on the Chirchik, whither he went in early November, and in the region of Khojand but he did not lead his troops any further. During this time he allowed some of the Uzbek Chingizids who were his prisoners to return to their country, and in February 1418 he himself returned to Samarqand<sup>2</sup>. In March, came the news of the Moghul khan's death. In April, a more detailed report was received from the governor of Kashghar on the death of Naqshi-Jahān in a battle with VAYS-KHAN. The new khan hastened to send an embassy to Ulugh-beg which arrived at the end of the year, with expressions of "devotion and goodwill". Ulugh-beg, for his part, had already in July released the Moghuls imprisoned in the citadel of Samarqand<sup>3</sup>. In 1419 a marriage was concluded between a son of Shahrukh, the seventeen-year-old JŪKĪ, and a Moghul princess<sup>4</sup>. In August of the same year<sup>5</sup> Ulugh-beg was informed that troubles had again broken out in Moghulistan: the daughter of the Dughlat amir Khudāyād had fomented a rising against the sovereign, i.e. probably against Vays-khan<sup>6</sup>. The revolt may have been secretly instigated or encouraged by Ulugh-beg, or his governors. In the autumn of the same year Khudaydad sent his *nukars* to Mawar-

<sup>1</sup> HAbbru, f. 289a. AR, f. 207a.

<sup>2</sup> HAbbru, f. 296b. AR, ff. 209a and 212a (arrival to the winter-quarters on 21 Ramadan 820, return in the beginning of Muharram 821).

<sup>3</sup> HAbbru, f. 313 and sq. AR, f. 212b, and Fasih, f. 411a. Dates mentioned: 10 Safar, 7 Rabi' I, Jumadi II and the beginning of Shawwal.

<sup>4</sup> HAbbru, f. 316b sq. AR, f. 213a. According to this report the princess was sent by Muhammad-khan, though the latter could not have been alive at that time. Ulugh-beg met the princess on the Sir-Darya near Chinaz (HAbbru, f. 320a; AR, f. 213b).

<sup>5</sup> According to HAbbru, f. 319b, 12 Rajab. Mirkhond, L 1291, and Univ. MS. No. 291, f. 209b. the end of Rajab.

<sup>6</sup> In HAbbru, with a probable mistake: *pādshāh-i Khitā*.

annahr and Ulugh-beg received them during his expedition against the Golden Horde <sup>1</sup>.

In the next year (1420), a struggle for the throne took place in Moghulistan between VAYS-KHAN and another prince, SHĪR-MUHAMMAD. During these troubles a joint Timurid embassy <sup>2</sup>, in which Ulugh-beg's envoys were also included, passed through Moghulistan on its way to China. Its safety was ensured by Khudaydad's protection <sup>3</sup>. Ulugh-beg may have expected some military assistance from Khudaydad, when he was projecting an expedition against Moghulistan, at the end of June of the same year <sup>4</sup>, but this plan was abandoned at the very start, apparently even before the army had had time to cross the Sīr-Darya. The only explanation given for this change of mind is the arrival of Moghul amirs with assurances of friendship <sup>5</sup>. Some importance may be also attached to the fact that in the same year Ulugh-beg was obliged to send 10,000 of his troops to the West, to join in Shahrukh's expedition <sup>6</sup>.

Furthermore, the civil war in Moghulistan, which Ulugh-beg must have hoped to exploit for his own ends, had terminated in the triumph of Vays-khan. Shortly after Ulugh-beg's return to Samarqand <sup>7</sup> the defeated Shir-Muhammad and several amirs, including the Sadr-Islam, arrived in that town. At first Ulugh-beg detained Shir-Muhammad in honourable captivity. In October <sup>8</sup> the prince attempted to escape and was brought back by

<sup>1</sup> HAbbru, f. 320a. AR, f. 213b.

<sup>2</sup> The text and translation of AR's account of the embassy were published by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, pp. 308-341, 387-426.

<sup>3</sup> HAbbru, f. 384b. AR, f. 224b. Cf. in Quatremère, text, p. 309, translation, p. 388.

<sup>4</sup> In the middle of Jumādī II.

<sup>5</sup> One of them was Malik-Islām, on whom more anon. See HAbbru, f. 342a sq. AR, f. 218a.

<sup>6</sup> AR, f. 214b.

<sup>7</sup> In the same month of Rajab. See HAbbru, f. 343a, AR, f. 218b. On 3 Sha'ban/13 August another party of fugitives from Moghulistan arrived in Samarqand by way of Kashghar. Before Ulugh-beg's expedition, in the month of Jamādī II there had arrived Muhammad, son of Khudaydad, and Jahānshāh, son of Qamar al-dīn, HAbbru, f. 341a, AR, f. 218a.

<sup>8</sup> 6 Shawwal.

force <sup>1</sup>, but in December <sup>2</sup> Ulugh-beg himself released him. This time Shir-Muhammad succeeded, probably with the help of Ulugh-beg's governors, in defeating Vays-khan and seizing the throne. News of this event reached Ulugh-beg in May or June 1421 <sup>3</sup>. In the same year there came reports of the successes of the Timurid armies in the frontier zone of Moghulistan. In December 1420, or in the beginning of January 1421, the capture of the fortress Rukh was reported from Kashghar <sup>4</sup>. In October 1421 <sup>5</sup> Abul-Layth, governor of Andijān, also sent couriers with news of military successes.

Thus Ulugh-beg succeeded in filling the thrones of the two nomad states bordering on Mawarannahr with his own nominees, Boraq and Shīr-Muhammad, but they justified his expectations as little as Tokhtamish had those of Timur. Shir-Muhammad undertook no hostile actions against Mawarannahr but neither was he inclined to recognise his dependence on Ulugh-beg <sup>6</sup>. This was deemed a sufficient reason to begin a war against the MOGHULS, upon some trifling pretext <sup>7</sup>. One of the chiefs sent by Ulugh-beg to Kashghar in 1416 was 'Ali, of the Bekrit tribe. In 1423 this man's son escaped to the Moghuls. Ulugh-beg demanded his extradition. Negotiations to this effect were carried on not with the khan Shir-Muhammad, but with the dignitary bearing the title of Sadr-Islām. This latter, together with another

<sup>1</sup> The fugitives were overtaken by Ulugh-beg himself beyond the Sīr-Darya. The pursuit, briefly mentioned by AR, is described in detail by HAbu, f. 343b.

<sup>2</sup> On 13 Dhul-Hijja/19 December the Malik-Islām and the Sadr-Islām were allowed to return to Kashghar; on the 16th Shir-Muhammad himself was set free. HAbu, f. 344a, AR, f. 218b.

<sup>3</sup> 6 Jamādī I 824/9 May according to AR, f. 223b; 16 Jamādī II/18 June according to HAbu, f. 375a.

<sup>4</sup> At the very end of 823, HAbu, f. 344a; AR, f. 218b. The location of Rukh is unknown.

<sup>5</sup> 7 Shawwal/5 October according to AR, f. 223b. On the 17th, according to HAbu, f. 375b.

<sup>6</sup> HAbu, f. 418a. AR, f. 230a, where he speaks of the mutinous symptoms in his letters.

<sup>7</sup> Further details mostly according to Mirkhond.



dignitary, the Malik-Islām, owned the region bordering upon Lake ALTUN-KUL — apparently identical with Lake Balkhash<sup>1</sup>. In the spring of 1414 the Sadr-Islām promised to send a messenger to implore pardon for the fugitive, and if this were not granted, to submit to Ulugh-beg's demands. The promised embassy did not arrive, either in the spring or in the summer. In the autumn Ulugh-beg began preparing an expedition against Moghulistan. Prior to this he had sent amir Ḥamza to Khorasan to inform Shahrukh of his plans and obtain his consent. Shahrukh gave his approval. Ulugh-beg set out on 8 November<sup>2</sup> in the direction of Shahrukhiya where he intended to spend the winter. The first detachments to be drawn up were those stationed in Samarqand, Shahrisabz, Qarshi and Bukhara, to be followed by other troops from Mawarannahr. The centre of the army wintered with Ulugh-beg on the banks of the Sīr-Darya near Shahrukhiya, the right wing in Farghana and the left wing in the region of Otrar. During the winter Ulugh-beg received ambassadors from BORAQ who brought presents and the news of Boraq's accession to the throne of his ancestors. Ulugh-beg dismissed the embassy with return gifts and sent his own envoys with them.

When Shahrukh heard of the preparations for the expedition he tried to withdraw his consent. Twice his envoys approached Ulugh-beg with orders to abandon the expedition. Ulugh-beg protested saying that the preparations had been begun with Shahrukh's knowledge and consent, and that if he were to abandon the expedition — now that troops had been concentrated on the Sīr-Darya — this would be taken as a sign of weakness. When this answer was brought back to Herat by his envoys, Shahrukh did not revoke his orders, but neither did he seek to compel Ulugh-beg to obedience.

<sup>1</sup> In the ZN, I, 496, this lake is called Atrāk-kul. The name Altun-kul does not occur in other sources.

<sup>2</sup> In the text of all MSS. 11 Dhul-Hijja, but judging by the day of the week (Wednesday) one should read "the 15th", instead of "the 11th". According to HA, f. 419a, and AR, f. 230a, the day of 15 Dhul-Hijja 827 was the date then the army went into winter-quarters near Shahrukhiya.

36. The campaign opened on Saturday 17 February 1425<sup>1</sup>. Ulugh-beg's army crossed the Sir-Darya near Chinaz and reached Tashkent. Here the centre was joined by the troops of the right and left wings. The MOGHULS wintered in ASHPARA (which frontier point of the Chaghatay kingdom they must have previously occupied). From thence their vanguard moved forward to the Talas<sup>2</sup>, under the command of Ibrahim, son of Tuqtimur. Ulugh-beg sent a body of 30,000 men in the same direction<sup>3</sup>. They had orders to light no fires on the way in order to take the enemy by surprise. They were then to attack, seize the booty and retreat as swiftly as they had come, so as to give the impression of an incidental raid by a small party and lull the enemy into expecting no further danger. The plan to take the Moghuls by surprise misfired. The forward detachment looted some houses on the way. One of the inmates fled to Ibrahim and warned him of the approaching Chaghatays, upon which Ibrahim hastened to retreat to the Issik-kul. Only on Saturday 3 March<sup>4</sup> did the Chaghatays overtake some of the Moghuls on the river Qizil-su<sup>5</sup>. With some booty they withdrew towards Ashpara where they decided to wait for Ulugh-beg. IBRAHIM came up to the Buam gorge<sup>6</sup> where the Dughlat amir Jahānshāh, — son of Qamar-Shah who had fought against Timur, — was stationed. Jahānshāh wanted to flee but Ibrahim persuaded him to march against the Chaghatays and recapture the booty. On Monday 5

<sup>1</sup> 27 Rabi' I 828 (HAbbru, f. 419b; AR, f. 230a).

<sup>2</sup> In Mirkhond's text Yāngī-Tarāz is at first named among the centres where Ulugh-beg was concentrating his troops, but further on it is said that the Moghul army was encamped near the same Yāngī-Tarāz. The wintering of the Moghuls in Ashpara is mentioned in HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 419b, and after him by AR, Univ. MS., f. 230a.

<sup>3</sup> Thus HAbbru, f. 420a.

<sup>4</sup> This should read 11 Rabi' II, instead of Rabi' I.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently a small river between the Aq-su and the Buam gorge. In Mirkhond's text, *Qizil-sūy-i Khaṣṣ-kānt* is evidently opposed to the *Qizil-sūy-i Kul-tipā*, mentioned further down, beyond the Charin.

<sup>6</sup> In the text *Baghām*; further, in the account of Ulugh-beg's return *Bughām*.

March <sup>1</sup> the Chaghatay army was overtaken by the Moghuls near the Aq-su but the ensuing battle ended in favour of the Chaghatays. Ibrahim was killed, as well as two of his sons and a nephew, and the victors erected towers with the heads of the slain. They sent Ibrahim's head to Ulugh-beg and continued their withdrawal towards Ashpara. Jahānshāh retreated towards the Great Kabin.

Ulugh-beg, with his main force, reached Ashpara where he remained ten days preparing for further action. A body of 5,000 men, under the command of ARSLAN-KHOJA TARKHAN, was sent against Jahānshāh but the latter had fled further towards the Issik-kul. Arslan-Khoja decided to give up the pursuit, so as not to put too great a distance between himself and the main army; besides, he had learnt that an enemy detachment was making its way over a pass <sup>2</sup>, probably from the direction of the Issik-kul, towards the plain of Abish (between the rivers Chiliq and Charin) where the Moghul khans had their head-quarters. In some inaccessible mountain region Arslan-Khoja defeated the enemy and took prisoners. On the banks of the Chiliq <sup>3</sup> — on to which he probably came out from the valley of the Great Kabin, — he rejoined Ulugh-beg's army <sup>4</sup>. Ulugh-beg seems to have met with no resistance on his way to the Chiliq. All we know of his route is that he crossed the Chu, and that the nearer road over the mountains, probably over the Qastek pass, was at the time blocked by snow. For this reason Ulugh-beg chose another route,

<sup>1</sup> According to Mirkhond, on 13 Rabi' II. According to AR, f. 230h, on the 14th, which is more correct. HAbu gives here no date.

<sup>2</sup> The text gives only *daban*, in Mongol "pass".

<sup>3</sup> The text names Aq-Chiligh on the river Taklik. The Chiliq (Chiligh) river is probably meant here as the important river on the way to Charin. HAbu and AR do not mention this river. After the crossing of the Chu the following place names are mentioned: the pass (*kütäl*) *Abarkihtu* (thus in HAbu, f. 442a, in AR, Univ. MS., f. 230b: *Abarkitu*; also in MS. As. Mus. 574, pp. 492, and 574a, f. 357b); *Surkhāb* (evidently a translation of the name of the small river Qizil-su), the road of *Bilqun* (HAbu) or *Hilqun* (AR), *Abish*, the pass *Kitu* (in HA *Kithu*), the place *Arpa-Yazı* (not in HAbu; in AR everywhere *Ara-bāri*), and the *Charin* (*Chārūn*).

<sup>4</sup> Among the prisoners was a concubine of the late khan Khizr-Khoja. Ulugh-beg had her sent with all due honour to Samarqand.

which probably corresponded to the present-day high-road. At the council of war held at Aq-su, some advised marching at first to Altun-kul (probably Lake Balkhash) against the Sadr-Islam and the Malik-Islam, but the majority decided that it was imperative to strike with all speed at Shir-Muhammad's main force and prevent him from escaping.

The operations between the Chiliq and the Charin are described in greater detail and several geographical names are mentioned, which unfortunately are not to be found on modern maps and cannot be exactly located. From the Chiliq, a body of 1,000 horsemen with 20 scouts was sent with orders to advance only by night without lighting fires. These precautions proved superfluous. The detachment reached Abish without making contact with the enemy and returned to Ulugh-beg. On his way to Abish, at a place called Buralghu, Ulugh-beg ordered his men to build a watch-tower of loose stones, a so-called *oba* <sup>1</sup>. From Abish he headed in person an attack upon a Moghul detachment which had occupied a height near Abish, but the Moghuls took to flight before the encounter and could not be overtaken. Beyond Abish, at a place called Qush-bulaq, Ulugh-beg received Amir KHU-DAYDĀD's ambassador who brought assurances of submission and was dismissed with presents. Still further on, at Arpa-Yazī, Ulugh-beg learnt that JAHĀNSHĀH was on the Issik-kul, preparing to join the Sadr-Islam and the Malik-Islam. To bar his progress a force was sent on to occupy the San-Tash pass <sup>2</sup> on the border of Jahānshāh's dominions. At the pass the vanguard of Jahānshāh's army was overtaken; the men were killed, and the women and children carried off into captivity. From Arpa-Yazī Ulugh-beg crossed the Charin and marched *via* Tash-buynaq and the Qizil-su, where he was joined by Khudaydad. Until then Ulugh-beg had suspected Khudaydad's sincerity and had even sent a body of 1,000 men to bring him by force if need

<sup>1</sup> The artificial mounds designated by this term exist, as we know, to this day on the steppe. *Oba* corresponds to the Mongolian *obo*, on which see A. Pozdneyev, *Mongolia* (in Russian), II, 172.

<sup>2</sup> In the text *Sang-tash*. On this pass and on the legend attached to it see my *Report*, p. 61.

be, but Khudaydad came of his own free will and was received with full honours <sup>1</sup>.

At the same place Ulugh-beg learnt that the Sadr-Islam and the Malik-Islam, who were on their way to join Shir-Muhammad, were encamped on the banks of the Aq-Quyash, which corresponds to the river ILI <sup>2</sup>. Ulugh-beg sent against them an army of 20,000 men reinforced by the detachment, 3,000 strong, which was stationed near San-Tash. The enemy succeeded in crossing the TEKES <sup>3</sup> in time and the pursuit was abandoned as inexpedient. At Amir Khudaydad's request some of his people, who had greatly suffered during the preceding winter, were sent off to Samarqand with an escort of Ulugh-beg's soldiers. Khudaydad himself remained with Ulugh-beg. One of his intimates, Shaykh Darvish Kükeltash, who had waited upon Ulugh-beg in Qushbulaq, guided Ulugh-beg's vanguard of 20,000 that was sent forward on reconnaissance. They reported that the troops previously stationed on the Ili had now entrenched themselves in the mountains, and that Shir-Muhammad had concentrated his forces at Ketmen-tepe <sup>4</sup>, leaving their families, flocks and baggage-train beyond the Tekes. The two armies clashed at Ketmen <sup>5</sup>.

On the way, Ulugh-beg had given orders for every soldier to light five fires every night, apparently with the intention of giving the enemy an exaggerated idea of the number of his

<sup>1</sup> After the Charin, HAbu and AR mention: *Ghurban-nerges* (many variants) and *Kök-tepe* (several variants), where the meeting with Khudaydad took place.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the words in the text on the size of the river which was as large as the Jayhun (Amu-Darya). The name *Quyash* was borne in the thirteenth century by Chaghatay's ordu on the southern bank of the Ili. See *Four Studies*, I, 114.

<sup>3</sup> In the text: Tākä. Cf. on this name by *Report*, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently the mountain Ketmen, with a pass and a village of the same name; not in AR.

<sup>5</sup> In connection with this battle several places are mentioned and among them *Boghutu* where Ulugh-beg's army had taken up position. AR., Univ. MS., f. 230b, refers to *Toqutu* (?) as the place from which Ulugh-beg's army caught sight of the enemy.

troops. The nomads had a special term for this ruse<sup>1</sup>.

Ulugh-beg's army waited in a fortified camp for the attack of the enemy descending from the heights<sup>2</sup>. On both sides, the offensive was taken by the right wing<sup>3</sup>. The battle ended in a rout of the Moghuls. The prisoners were brought to Ulugh-beg and at his orders were put to death. In order to weaken the Moghuls permanently it was decided to seize their flocks and property and to march on their summer headquarters called QARSHI ("the palace")<sup>4</sup>. The heavy baggage-train set out in this direction. Ulugh-beg with the vanguard crossed the Aq-Quyash (Ili)<sup>5</sup> and from thence sent part of this troops downstream, while he himself set out towards the TEKES. He crossed several rivers without bridges and arrived "at the place Kūnges", i.e. evidently on the bank of the river of this name<sup>6</sup>. During this march several Moghul detachments which had sought safety in the mountains were annihilated. From KÜNGES Ulugh-beg marched to Qarshi and thence home.

The return of the army was probably hastened by news from the rear. JAHĀNSHĀH had taken advantage of the recall of the force guarding the San-Tash pass to cross the latter from the direction of the Issik-kul. He attacked Khudaydad's men who were on their way to Samarqand under the escort of Ulugh-beg's soldiers, routed them and seized their belongings. Ulugh-beg immediately sent troops to the West, but Jahānshāh - contrary to his

<sup>1</sup> *Arghaja ot* [*argha* — in Mongolian "to deceive", *ot* — in Turkish "fire" V.M.].

<sup>2</sup> Mirkhond does not give the date. According to HAbu and AR the battle took place on 15 Jamādī II/4 May.

<sup>3</sup> According to HAbu, f. 422b, each of the three divisions of Ulugh-beg's army - the centre, the right and left wings - consisted of 20,000 men.

<sup>4</sup> According to HAbu and AR, Ulugh-beg reached the "principal summer quarters (*yaylaq*)" of the Moghuls on the Yulduz, and entered Qarshi only on his way back from there.

<sup>5</sup> According to HAbu, f. 425b, the river Ili (Ila) was reached only by a detachment of 10,000 horsemen sent in pursuit of the enemy. The crossing of the river is not mentioned. AR does not give the name of the river.

<sup>6</sup> He must have returned to the left bank of the Ili and then crossed the Tekes. HAbu, f. 425b, speaks only of the concentration of the army after the battle fought between "Pāy-āb and Toqtu"; several variants in AR.

previous plan — returned to the Issik-kul, instead of proceeding to Abish. To cut off his retreat Ulugh-beg sent two detachments: one, under Arslan-Khoja over the Buam gorge, the other by some other route <sup>1</sup> probably along the southern shore of the lake.

Arslan-Khoja learnt that Jahānshāh had gone West from the Issik-kul through the Qochqar and Jumghal valleys <sup>2</sup>, and started in pursuit. Muhammad, Iskandar and Shah-Walī, who were in command of the other detachment, knew only that the enemy had taken flight and tried to overtake him. They did not expect to be attacked and their troops did not even keep in battle-order. Jahānshāh's army fell unexpectedly upon the Chaghatays. The greater part of the detachment immediately turned tail, and only the chiefs with a handful of men offered resistance. They were saved only by the swift arrival of Arslan-Khoja who, on learning of their plight, had crossed the Jumghal and was on the spot just in time. On his approach the Moghuls fled into the mountains. The news reached Ulugh-beg while he was in the fortress of Issik-kul, built by Timur on the northern shore of the lake <sup>3</sup>. He immediately, despatched a relief force of 2,000 horsemen, but it proved impossible to overtake the enemy. Muhammad, Iskandar and Shah-Walī were severely reprimanded by Ulugh-beg, but later were pardoned thanks to the intercession of Khudaydad.

This account shows that on his way back from Semirechye Ulugh-beg followed the northern shore of the Issik-kul. Another route was probably taken by the body of 2,000 men <sup>4</sup> which had been given the task of transporting to Samarqand two large blocks of nephrite <sup>5</sup> that were in Qarshi and for which the

<sup>1</sup> Text: *gīrū* [possibly *girīva* "as pass"].

<sup>2</sup> Mirkhond seems to have taken *Yūmqāl Qochqār* for the name of one river.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 51 and 64. On the town of Issik-kul cf. my *Report*, p. 60, and *Semirechye*, see *Four studies*, I.

<sup>4</sup> The number is given by HAbu, f. 426b, and AR.

<sup>5</sup> HAbu and AR mention only one stone. According to Mirkhond there were originally three blocks of nephrite, of which one had been taken away by Timur. Apart from the removal of the stones HAbu and AR give no other information on the movements of the army from Qarshi to Samarqand.

Chinese Emperors were said to have offered large sums of money. To transport these stones small carts were built and drawn alternately by horses and oxen. The historians fail to add that on reaching Samarqand the two blocks were placed on Timur's tomb<sup>1</sup>. Besides the inscription on these stones, another memento of Ulugh-beg's campaign is the well-known inscription in the Jilan-utī gorge to which the written sources make no reference.

Ulugh-beg returned to Samarqand on 27 June<sup>2</sup>. Victory celebrations lasted several days. News of the successful termination of the campaign had reached Herat somewhat earlier<sup>3</sup> and had allayed the anxieties of Shahrukh and his government. Shahrukh seemed completely reconciled to the fact that the expedition had been made against his orders. On 26 October<sup>4</sup> Ulugh-beg arrived in Herat where he was solemnly received by Shahrukh, and his victories celebrated anew. He remained in Herat till 10 November<sup>5</sup> and a week later was back in Samarqand.

37. Ulugh-beg's military fame was short-lived. BORAQ, whom he had helped to obtain the Uzbek khanate and who had expressed his gratitude in the previous year, now, in 1426, advanced claims on territories on the Sīr-Darya which had always belonged to the descendants of Juchi and only under Timur had been annexed by the Chaghatay state. A Chaghatay historian<sup>6</sup> attributes to the Uzbek khan Erzen, son of Sasī-Buqa — who lived in the fourteenth century and was buried in Saghanak — the majority of the charitable institutions (madrasas, khanaqas, mosques etc.) in Otrar, Sabran, Jand and Barchkent. The towns of Jand and Barchkent had apparently ceased to exist towards the end of the fourteenth century<sup>7</sup>, but SAGHANAK retained its importance for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZVO, XXIII, 31.

<sup>2</sup> 10 Sha'bān according to Mirkhond.

<sup>3</sup> Beginning of Sha'bān (about 18 June) according to AR, f. 231a.

<sup>4</sup> 15 Dhul-Hijja, HAbu, f. 427b; AR, f. 231a.

<sup>5</sup> 28 Dhul-Hijja.

<sup>6</sup> An. Isk., MS. As. Mus., f. 241b, Lond. MS., f. 254b. The chronology of this author is very unreliable.

<sup>7</sup> Barthold *Irrigation*, p. 153 sq.



several centuries. Here, about 1377, stood the camp of Boraq's grandfather Urus-khan, during his war with Tokhtamish whom Timur was supporting<sup>1</sup>. The reconstruction of the town was ascribed to Urus-khan, and for this reason Boraq now claimed it as his grandfather's heritage according both to the Shari'at and to common law. When Ulugh-beg's governor ARSLAN-KHOJA apprised him of Boraq's pretensions, he decided to march against the Uzbeks and informed Shahrukh of his intention. On this occasion Shahrukh behaved as ambiguously as in the preceding year: he forbade his son to begin the war but at the same time sent him an auxiliary force under the command of another of his sons, JŪKĪ. The latter left Herat on 15 February 1427<sup>2</sup> and joined Ulugh-beg on the way to Samarqand to Saghanak. After the joining of their armies the two princes felt so strong that, — as is the case of Ulugh-beg's military chiefs on the Jumghal in 1425, — they neglected to take any precautionary measures. When Boraq's envoy came to them with excuses and requests for peace, he met with a refusal<sup>3</sup>. In a hilly tract near Saghanaq the princes were attacked by an Uzbek army far less numerous than their own. Taken unawares, the Chaghatays took to flight. The princes were carried away by force from the battle-field.

Ulugh-beg's defeat produced so deep an impression on the inhabitants of Mawarannahr that a party was formed in Samarqand which demanded the closing of the city gates to the defeated army. The dignitaries succeeded in restoring order so that Ulugh-beg and Jūkī could return to Samarqand. The victors did not approach the city but devastated the surrounding country. Already in March news of these events had reached Herat<sup>4</sup>. On Wednesday, 2 April<sup>5</sup>, Ulugh-beg's envoy arrived. Shahrukh was at the time recovering from a wound inflicted by a fanatic-

<sup>1</sup> ZN, I, 279.

<sup>2</sup> 17 Rabī' II 830, AR, f. 233 b.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to HAbu's continuator, f. 422a-b. AR does not mention Boraq's request.

<sup>4</sup> Already in the month of Jamādī I, *ibid.*, f. 441b.

<sup>5</sup> Jamādī II, *ibid.*, f. 443a.

ic on Friday, 21 February <sup>1</sup> of the same year, but he sent both troops and money to his sons. Jūkī, who was ailing, remained in Samarqand. Ulugh-beg incorporated in his army the detachments of Qandahār (Jūkī's men) and of Herat. He crossed the Sīr-Darya at Shahrūkhiya and reached Tashkent where he was informed that the Uzbeks had turned back.

38. The danger was thus removed. Nevertheless, on 28 May <sup>2</sup> Shahrūkh set out from Herat at the head of an army. His son BAYSUNQAR accompanied him. The latter's presence in the army alarmed Ulugh-beg who evidently feared that Shahrūkh would take Mawarannahr from him to give it to Baysunqar. At his request, Baysunqar was sent back from Balkh, returning to Herat on 16 July <sup>3</sup>. At about the same time Shahrūkh's army, which was moving very slowly, reached the Amu-Darya. The troops crossed the river in 200 boats and the crossing took nearly a month. Ulugh-beg who had left his army stationed in Tashkent, joined his father in Tirmidh. In reply to Shahrūkh's enquiry about the state of his troops Ulugh-beg said that they had lost most of their horses, and Shahrūkh ordered him to disband them. Shahrūkh stayed in Samarqand until Monday, 6 October <sup>4</sup>. Those responsible for the military reverses were punished with the bastinado. Ulugh-beg was severely reprimanded: he was temporarily deprived of his governorship, which was restored to him only as an act of clemency.

The humiliation of 1427 seems to have left its mark on the remainder of Ulugh-beg's reign. During the next twenty years he took no personal part in military expeditions. The armies he sent won no laurels, and towards the end of that period both Moghuls and Uzbeks were able to raid his possessions with impunity.

Even the victorious campaign of 1425 seems to have brought no lasting advantages beyond the short lived military glory. The account of the campaign shows that Ulugh-beg was obliged to

<sup>1</sup> Rabi' II in AR; in HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 434b, by mistake Rabi' I.

<sup>2</sup> I Sha'bān. HAbu's continuator, f. 445b, and AR, f. 235a, both have the same date.

<sup>3</sup> 21 Ramadan, Faṣīḥ, f. 419, AR, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> Dhul-Hijja, AR, *l.c.*

return in all haste from Moghulistan, some of his detachments suffering heavy losses on the way. There was no question of leaving garrisons, building fortresses or reducing the nomads and their chiefs. The Dughlat amir KHUDAYDAD, who had submitted to Ulugh-beg, accompanied him to Mawarannahr, whence he went on the Mecca, finally to die in Medina. His descendant, the historian Muhammad-Haydar seeks to justify his betrayal of Vays-khan by the argument that only thus could he have satisfied his long cherished desire to accomplish the pilgrimage, for which Vays-khan had refused his permission<sup>1</sup>. None of his relatives followed his example, and despite his treason, Vays-khan appointed his eldest son to succeed him as amir of the ulus of Moghulistan<sup>2</sup>.

39. Shir-Muhammad soon died of illness<sup>3</sup> and the power again passed to his rival VAYS-KHAN. Ulugh-beg set up in opposition to him SATUQ-KHAN, the nominal khan of Samarqand, whom he sent with an army to Moghulistan. About 1429<sup>4</sup> Vays-khan was killed on the banks of the Issik-kul in a battle with Satuq-khan, but the latter was also compelled to seek refuge in Kashghar, where he was killed during a raid on that town by Khudaydad's grandson, QARAQUL-AHMAD MIRZA. Qaraqul mirza was subsequently taken prisoner by Ulugh-beg's troops, sent to Samarqand and there put to death<sup>5</sup>.

Muhammad-Haydar, the only historian who gives an account of these events, mentions no precise dates. The part played by Qaraqul-mirza's raid and his capture in the struggle of the Chaghatays with the Moghuls for the possession of Kashgar remains obscure. According to Muhammad Haydar<sup>6</sup>, the struggle was between the Dughlat amir Sayyid Ali (Khudaydad's grandson), master of Aq-su, and Ulugh-beg's governors. Muhammad Shāy-

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72. The exact date is not given. It is only said, p. 73, that Vays-khan's eldest son Yūnus was then 13 years old. According to Haydar's calculations, p. 84, Yūnus was born in 819/1416.

<sup>5</sup> He was cut in two.

<sup>6</sup> *TR*, p. 75 sq.

ista marched with an army of 30,000 men against Sayyid Ali who had only 7,000. The battle took place 3 farsakhs from Kashghar. The Chaghatays deserted their chiefs and fled, in consequence of which the Moghuls called this battle *Salay begüm*, which the historian translates as "I shall abandon my amir". The fugitives were let into the town by the inhabitants, while the Moghuls devastated the surrounding country and withdrew with their booty. The raid was repeated in the next year. This time the governor kept to the safety of the town walls without interfering with the enemy's plundering of the country. The Moghuls again retired after taking a neighbouring fortress. Khoja Sharif who, according to Muhammad-Haydar, had in 1416 betrayed Kashghar to the Timurids, now sought help in Samarqand. Ulugh-beg<sup>1</sup> recalled the old governor and appointed PIR-MUHAMMAD in his place. When however, the Moghuls appeared for a third time, Pir-Muhammad too proved helpless to stop their depredations. The loss of the third harvest in succession threatened the country with famine.

With the Khoja's assent the inhabitants got in touch with the Moghuls. Pir-Muhammad was bound, delivered up to SAYYID ALI and killed. Sayyid Ali entered Kashghar where, according to the historian, he ruled for twenty-four years until his death. The year of his death, A.H. 862, is quoted from the date on his mausoleum which was still extant in Kashghar in the historian's time<sup>2</sup>. One may thus conclude that the conquest of Kashghar took place in the year 838, i.e. in 1434 or 1435 A.D., preferably 1435, for the devastation of the country was connected with harvest time. It is difficult to make these dates agree with the same historian's statement that the Timurids reigned for forty years in Kashghar<sup>3</sup>. Muhammad-Haydar is often guilty of chronological contradictions. Factual details in his account are also much open

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad-Haydar reproduces an incredibly rude conversation between Ulugh-beg and the Khoja. Ulugh-beg is alleged to have asked whether there were many asses in Kashghar, to which the Khoja replied: "Many since the Chaghatays have come".

<sup>2</sup> *TR*, p. 87. On Sayyid Ali's youth see above, p. 89, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

to doubt, for he was writing towards the middle of the sixteenth century from oral tradition. But he seems to be fairly accurate in outlining the general course of the conquest of Kashghar by the Moghuls. The stratagem which he records had been used by the nomads in the early thirteenth century, when Küchlük the Naiman, without besieging the town or accepting open battle, deprived the population of the harvest for four consecutive years and thus forced it into surrender<sup>1</sup>. It was apparently impracticable to remedy the situation by importing the necessary quantity of grain along the mountain roads separating Kashkhar from Farghana and other agricultural regions.

40. Authors nearer in date to the events say nothing of the loss of Kashghar by the Timurids. Abd al-Razzaq reports that a force sent by Ulugh-beg in the spring of 1434 to MOGHULISTAN returned "victorious"<sup>2</sup> but he gives no details of this success. He does not even mention an event recorded both by Muhammad-Haydar and Babur namely the arrival in Samarqand of fugitives from Moghulistan headed by Prince YŪNUS, son of Vays-khan. The deaths of Vays-khan and Satuq-khan were followed by a struggle between the partisans of Vays's two young sons, YŪnus and Esen-Buqa, in which the latter's adherents got the upper hand. YŪnus and the leaders of his party, Irazan and Mirāk-Turkman, together with their supporters numbering 3000-4000 families, sought refuge with Ulugh-beg<sup>3</sup>, who is said to have married, at some earlier date, his young son 'Abd al-'Aziz to YŪnus's sister. By Ulugh-beg's order the Moghul chiefs were treacherously killed: they were admitted into the citadel through one gate, with the promise of being provided with provisions, and intercepted at another. The others were partly imprisoned and partly sent into different provinces. The young prince, with a fifth part of the booty, was taken to Shahrukh. In Herat the prince was well received and sent on to the West. He stayed for over a year in Tabriz with the Turcoman ruler JAHĀNSHĀH,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Turkestan*, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> In AR, Univ. MS., f. 244b, the expression *muḡaffar-u-mansūr*.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in *Babur-nāma*, p. 10; according to the *TR*, p. 73. 30,000.

<sup>4</sup> [Of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty].

after which he joined Shahrukh's son, prince Ibrāhīm, in Shiraz. This occurred five or six months before Ibrahim's death which took place on 3 or 4 May 1435<sup>1</sup>. From what Babur says it may be inferred that the massacre of the Moghul chiefs in Samarqand occurred in 1433<sup>2</sup>. This event produced such an impression upon the Moghuls that they reckoned their years from that date. The expedition mentioned by Abd al-Razzaq, and the struggle between the Moghuls and Chaghatays for the possession of Kashghar may have been connected with it.

Under khan ESEN-BUQA, who survived Ulugh-beg, the Moghuls were able to plunder the Timurid possessions with impunity. Muhammad-Haydar speaks of the fortresses built by the Moghuls: on the Ala-bugha whence they raided Farghana, and on the Issik-kul whence they raided Sayram, and even Yasī (alias Turkestan)<sup>3</sup>. During the troubles which occurred in the last years of Ulugh-beg's life, and after his death, Esen-Buqa took Andijan and came as far as Kandi Bādām<sup>4</sup>.

41. Still less is known about Ulugh-beg's relations with the UZBEK KHANS after 1427. In 1429 Shahrukh, who was then in western Persia, heard through Ulugh-beg of the death of Boraq. BORAQ perished in the Moghul country at the hands of one Sultan-Mahmūd-oghlan who was killed in turn by a certain Muhammad-Ghāzī<sup>5</sup>. In 1427 Boraq seems to have devastated the country without enlarging his dominions at the expense of the Timurid state. Saghanak remained in Ulugh-beg's possession and was not conquered by the Uzbeks until twenty years later under the new

<sup>1</sup> The date is in AR, f. 245b, and Faṣīḥ, f. 423b: Wednesday, 4 Shawwal 838. Jahānshāh, however, ascended the throne later; according to Daulatshah, p. 457, in 839/1435-6. In 1434-6 Shahrukh was at war with Jahānshāh's brother Iskandar (AR, ff. 245a-248a).

<sup>2</sup> In another passage Muhammad-Haydar, *TR*, p. 84, places it in 832/1428-9, though at the time he adds that the khan was 16 years old, which points to 835/1431-2, cf. p. 104, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *TR*, p. 78 sq. This suggests that Sayram was at the time the north-eastern frontier-point of Ulugh-beg's possessions.

<sup>4</sup> *Babur-nama*, f. 10a.

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 238a. Faṣīḥ, f. 419b.

khan ABUL-KHAYR who <sup>1</sup> had been proclaimed as early as 1428 somewhere in Siberia. After the death of his rival Boraq, his army approached the Timurid frontiers, but its early operations were not directed against Mawarannahr. In addition to the lower reaches of the Sīr-Darya, Khwarazm and the shores of the Caspian had always attracted the nomads, being regions convenient for wintering. From these winter quarters, when circumstances were favourable, raids were made into agricultural lands <sup>2</sup>. In the winter of 1430-1, Abul-Khayr succeeded in making himself temporarily master of northern Khwarazm with the town of Urganj, whereas southern Khwarazm, with Kāt and Khiva, remained under the Timurids. According to the Uzbek historian, only climatic conditions forced Abul-Khayr to evacuate the country, but according to Abd al-Razzaq the army sent by Shahrukh pursued the Uzbeks and devastated their country <sup>3</sup>. The Timurid possessions were attacked not only by Abul-Khayr's subjects but also by the so-called QAZAKHS, i.e. the tribes which had seceded from Abul-Khayr. Some of the Qazakhs entered Moghulistan and were settled by khan Esen-Buqa on the banks of the Chu <sup>4</sup>. Another group <sup>5</sup> raided Astarabad. At Shahrukh's orders strong bodies of troops, under the command of princes or eminent amirs, were always stationed during the winter in this region to repel such invasions. There is no mention of troops from Mawarannahr taking part in these operations.

In the fourteen-forties the Uzbeks were again active on the SĪR-DARYA. About the time of Shahrukh's death Abul-Khayr <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On him cf. my article in EI.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Narshakhi, ed. Schéfer, p. 16, on Paykand: "the winter which was the time of infidels' invasions".

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 240a.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. TR, pp. 82 and 272. Veliaminov-Zernov, *Researches on the kings of Kasimov* (in Russian), II, 139, and *Semirechye*. See Four studies I, 152 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See AR, f. 255a. On the term *qazaq* (*qazakh*) which appears in the Oriental sources at this period for the first time, see P. Falev in *Proverbs of the Crimean Tatars* (in Russian), Simferopol 1915, p. 54. The time and place of the appearance of the term *qazaq* hardly allow to accept the theory lately advanced by N. Y. Marr, *Journal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, June, 1915, p. 286.

<sup>6</sup> *Tārīkhi Abul-Khayr-khānī*, Univ. MS., 852, f. 416 b sq.

had his governors in Saghanak, Sūzak and Uzkan. One may infer from the account of subsequent events, and especially of the struggle between Abu-Sa'id and Abdullah, that on the Sīr-Darya the frontier town of the Timurid state was Yasī (or Turkestan).

42. Under Shahrukh and Ulugh-beg, the Timurid state entertained peaceful trade relations with the more distant eastern countries. The plan of a campaign against CHINA was abandoned immediately after Timur's death. The Chinese ambassadors whom he had detained were released under Khalil-Sultan. They returned to China in 1407 and were accompanied by Khalil-Sultan's ambassador Khudāyād<sup>1</sup>. At about the same time Shaykh Nur al-din's ambassador arrived with horses and camels for the Emperor. In 1408 An-Chi-tao, who had been at the head of the embassy of 1395, was again sent from China to the West. This embassy which arrived in Herat in the beginning of 1409, brought condolences to Shahrukh on the occasion of Timur's death<sup>2</sup>. It returned to China<sup>3</sup> in the same year and was accompanied by ambassadors from Herat and Samarqand. In 1410 a Chinese embassy passed through Bish-baliq on its way to Samarqand<sup>4</sup> and in the same year, an ambassador from Herat arrived in China. The Chinese embassy just mentioned may have been the one which reached Herat in 1412 and was received with extraordinary pomp. In honour of the ambassadors, the inhabitants were made to decorate their houses with silks and carpets<sup>5</sup>. In any case,

<sup>1</sup> On this and subsequent Chinese embassies to Samarqand see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II, 261 sq.

<sup>2</sup> HAbbru, MS. Dorn, 290, f. 313b; AR, f. 179b sq. According to the *Ming-shi* the duty of offering sacrifice in memory of the late king and of bringing presents to the new one was entrusted to Pai-a-êrh-hsin-t'ai, *Med. Res.*, II, 262, but the latter, as may be seen from what follows, left China after An.

<sup>3</sup> On relations between China and Herat see Bretschneider, *ibid.*, II, 279 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Bretschneider, *ibid.*, II, 240.

<sup>5</sup> HAbbru, MS. Ind. Off., f. 175b sq.; MS. Dorn 290, f. 316b; MS. Oxf., f. 183b sq.; AR, f. 192b sq. The text of the letters also in Blochet, *Introduction* etc., p. 244 sq. The Chinese original from the *Ming-shi* in Bretschneider, II, 280.



the journey of the Chinese ambassadors to the West took several years, for in the letters they brought with them the Chinese Emperor exhorted Shahrukh and Khalil-Sultan to put an end to their differences and conclude peace. The embassy headed by Pai-a-êrh-hsin-t'ai returned to China in 1413. It was accompanied by ambassadors from Herat and other centres, such as Shiraz <sup>1</sup>. In the same year, another embassy was sent from China; it did not return until 1415, being accompanied by ambassadors from Herat, Samarqand and Shiraz. The Khorasanian historians do not mention the arrival of this embassy in Herat. Other ambassadors from Herat arrived in China in 1416. An embassy which in the same year was sent from China to Samarqand, Andkhoy <sup>2</sup>, Herat and Isfahan <sup>3</sup>, returned in 1417. From the works of Hāfiẓi-Abrū and Abd al-Razzaq <sup>4</sup> we know that the ambassadors stayed in Herat in April and May 1417. Their farewell audience which was accompanied by the customary festivities took place on 11 May <sup>5</sup>. Ulugh-beg who had arrived in Herat on Friday 7 May <sup>6</sup> also took part in arranging this entertainment. Ardashīr-Tuvaji from Herat and an envoy from Samarqand were sent with the Chinese ambassadors. The former returned to Herat on 13 October 1419 <sup>7</sup> together with another Chinese embassy. On their way to Herat, in August of the same year, the Chinese ambassadors visited Samarqand with presents for Ulugh-beg and left on 23 August, <sup>8</sup> the day following their reception. In October, on their way home they revisited Samarqand. Ulugh-beg again participated in the return embassy which left Herat on 4 December 1419 <sup>9</sup> but on arriving in Samarqand on 6 February 1420 <sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the relations between China and Shiraz see Bretschneider, II, 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 276.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

<sup>4</sup> HAbbru, MS. Dorn 290, f. 328b; Oxf. MS., f. 296b; AR, f. 209a.

<sup>5</sup> 23 Rabī' I, 820. AR gives no date.

<sup>6</sup> 19 Rabī' I.

<sup>7</sup> 23 Ramadan 822. HAbbru, Oxf. f. 314b; AR, f. 212 b, without any definite date.

<sup>8</sup> 1 Sha'bān. HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 319b; AR, f. 213b.

<sup>9</sup> AR. 16 Dhul-qa'da 822; HAbbru: the 6th.

<sup>10</sup> 22 Muharram 823.

the Herat ambassadors learnt that Ulugh-beg's envoys to China had left two months before, though the Chinese ambassadors were still there. The embassy left Samarqand together with the latter on 25 February <sup>1</sup>. In Peking, where the embassy remained from December 1420 till May 1421, the ambassadors saw the black horse with white legs which Ulugh-beg had presented to the Emperor. In this embassy, Shahrukh, Ulugh-beg and Baysunqar had two envoys each, and Suyurghatmish and Shah-Malik one each. The diary of this embassy, composed by one of Baysunqar's envoys, the painter (*naqqāsh*) GHIYĀTH AL-DIN, is one of the most detailed and popular Muslim works on China <sup>2</sup>.

The embassies were less frequent in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, a fact that the Chinese explain by the altered policy of the Chinese Emperors. In the letter from the Chinese Emperor to Shahrukh, brought in 1432 by the eunuch Li-kui, the interruption in the trade is explained by external obstacles on the road, i.e. the troubles in Central Asia <sup>4</sup>. By 1432 relations were regarded as restored, and the Emperor requested Shahrukh to give protection to the merchants. Already in 1427, an ambassador from Herat had visited Peking, and an ambassador from Samarqand in 1430. Li-kui was accredited to both these courts <sup>5</sup>. Chinese sources also quote the text of a letter from the Emperor Chêng-T'ung to Ulugh-beg in 1445 <sup>6</sup>.

One of the main items of Chinese export was china, the production of which had attained a high perfection in the fifteenth century <sup>7</sup>. In one of the gardens outside the town, in the vicinity

<sup>1</sup> 10 Şafar 823.

<sup>2</sup> It was utilised by HAbbru, Oxf. MS., ff. 383b-412a, from which with certain abbreviations it was reproduced by AR, ff. 224b-228b. Abd al-Razzaq's text, frequently reproduced by oriental authors, was published in the original and in French translation by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, part, I, 308-341, 387-426. On Hafiz-i-Abbru's text [published by K. M. Maitra, Lahore 1934] cf. *al-Muzaffariya*, p. 27, and *Mir Islama*, I, 107, note 1 (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup> *Bretschneider*, o.c., II, 285.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>5</sup> He also visited Bukhara, *ibid.*, 271.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

<sup>7</sup> Münsterberg, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*, II, 274.

of the Chapan-ata height, Ulugh-beg had a pavilion built with the inner walls entirely faced with china brought to Mawarannahr in several consignments <sup>1</sup>.

In the winter of 1421-2 Ulugh-beg received in Bukhara an embassy from TIBET. Unfortunately the record is very brief and nothing is said about its purpose, the route it followed or the impression it made at Ulugh-beg's court <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Babur-nama*, ff. 47a-b. AR, f. 283a.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 223a. In the text *T.l.b.* but the correct reading *T.b.t.* = *Tubbat* in the As. Mus. MS., 574, p. 472a, and 574a, f. 345b, Mirkhond, L. 1292 and C 322a, and Quatremère, *ibid.*, XIV, part. I, p. 306.

## V. INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF MAWARANNAHR UNDER ULUGH-BEG

43. Far more than in his military undertakings, Ulugh-beg followed his grandfather's example in his concern for the prosperity of Mawarannahr and the magnificence of its capital. Under his rule, life in Samarqand was as it had been under Timur, and Ulugh-beg's court had nothing in common with his father's court in Herat. Shahrukh visited the mosque on Fridays like any other Muslim without taking any precautions to protect himself from the crowd. This made possible an attempt on his life in 1427<sup>1</sup>. In Ramadan he strictly observed the fast, even when travelling. Four times a week, on Mondays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays readers of the Qor'an were summoned to the court<sup>2</sup>. Shahrukh was called a Muslim monarch *par excellence*<sup>3</sup> and to him was applied the *hadīth* on the renovator of the faith who appears at the beginning of every century<sup>4</sup>. Pleasures condemned by religion were severely repressed. The *muhtasibs* (controllers of manners), of whom the town had two, were invested with full powers. Even the old custom which placed private houses outside the muhtasibs' concern was no longer respected, and the muhtasibs of Herat were free to enter the houses of high personages and pour away the wine if they found any. In 1440 it was reported to Shahrukh that wine-cellars remained only in the houses of the princes Jūkī and 'Alā al-daula, Shahrukh's son and grandson, which the muhtasibs did not dare enter. Shahrukh in person rode with the muhtasibs and their men to the princes' houses, and saw that the wine was poured away<sup>5</sup> in his presence.

<sup>1</sup> HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 435b.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i Khayrāt*, f. 299a.

<sup>3</sup> The expression used by a shaykh in the *Rashahāt*, Tashk, lith., p. 294, Univ. MS., f. 195a, MS. As. Mus., f. 209a.

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 253b. On the *hadīth* and its application see also *Mir Islama*, I, 1912, pp. 103 and 391.

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 254a.

Meanwhile, in Samarqand there was feasting with music and song. Samarqand musicians and singers were invited by the rich of other towns. In the biography of Khoja Aḥrār there is a record of the invitation of Samarqand musicians and singers to Tashkent, for a banquet given by a local wealthy resident in the early twenties of the fifteenth century <sup>1</sup>. It is a remarkable fact that Ulugh-beg enjoyed the support of the Shaykh al-Islām ‘Iṣām al-Dīn, son of Abd al-Malik and successor of Abd al-Avval <sup>2</sup>. The darvish shaykhs, who attacked Ulugh-beg for his disregard of the Shari‘at, were equally obliged to level their accusations against the official head of the Muslim clergy. On one occasion the Shaykh al-Islam gave a banquet to celebrate the completing of the public baths built at his expense, at which singers were present. The muhtasib SAYYID-‘ĀSHIQ, appointed to that dignity by Ulugh-beg, addressed the Shaykh al-Islam in terms of severe reproach: “Shaykh al-Islam without Islam, what *mazhab* (school of law) makes it licit for men and women to sit together and sing?” <sup>3</sup>.

44. The mode of life of the Shaykh al-Islam in Samarqand was no isolated phenomenon. Since the twelfth century — the times of the Bukharan SADR-JAHĀNS <sup>4</sup>, — there were in Central Asia divines whose life of luxury was a source of temptation for the true believers. Both the Sadr-Jahāns of Bukhara and the Shaykh al-Islams of Samarqand belonged to the aristocracy which in Ulugh-beg’s time enjoyed the support of the supreme power. The interests of the popular masses were defended by the darvish shaykhs, particularly the NAQSHBANDIS. As the learned theologians had become the leaders of the aristocracy, the struggle of darvishism against learned theology assumed a different charac-

<sup>1</sup> Khoja Aḥrār, born in 806/1404, was at the time eighteen years old (*Rashahāt*, Univ. MS. 253, f. 134a; MS. As. Mus., f. 167b sq.; Tashk. lith. p. 239).

<sup>2</sup> The sources give no definite date for Abd al-Avval’s death. We have seen (p. 74) that he is still mentioned in the record of the events of 1409-1411; in 1422, during Ulugh-beg’s journey to Herat, the Shaykh al-Islam who accompanied him was ‘Iṣām al-dīn himself, see AR, f. 224a.

<sup>3</sup> HS, Tehran edition, III, 219.

<sup>4</sup> On them see *Turkestan*, 326, 329-31, and the article *Burhān* in *EI*.

ter in Turkestan, as compared with Western Asia. In the West the doctors of law demanded a strict observance of the Shari‘at, whereas the darvishes and sufis stood for a more liberal interpretation of religious laws, and it is a well-known fact that in Persia the term Sufism gradually became a synonym for religious free-thinking. In Turkestan, on the contrary, the darvishes upheld the Shari‘at and accused both the representatives of the supreme power and the official head of the Muslim clergy of failing in its observance. In so doing they claimed to represent the interests of the popular masses.

As consistent communists in [Medieval] Europe rejected science and art inaccessible to the popular masses, so the darvishes of fifteenth century Turkestan opposed all book-learning, including theology <sup>1</sup>.

The history of Central Asian darvishism, composed in the beginning of the sixteenth century (*Rashahatu ‘ayni-hayāt*) has many tales illustrating the hostility of the darvishes towards Ulugh-beg and the Shaykh al-Islam. Even the head of the Bukharan darvishes, SHAYKH MUHAMMAD PĀRSĀ, one of the persons responsible for Khalil’s downfall, —and therefore for Ulugh-beg’s accession, — was out of favour both with Ulugh-beg and the Shaykh al-Islam. When SHAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD IBN-MUHAMMAD AL-JAZARI <sup>2</sup> (probably Timur’s contemporary mentioned above, p. 47) came to Samarqand to verify the *isnād* (the chain of transmission) with which the ‘traditions’ (*hadīth*) were handed down, Muhammad Pārsā was summoned by Ulugh-

<sup>1</sup> Among the doctors of law in Ulugh-beg’s time, besides the Shaykh al-Islam ‘Isām al-din, Khwāndamīr names: ‘Alā al-din Shāshī (also mentioned by Daulatshah, p. 366), Muhammad ‘Alim (exiled by Ulugh-beg for his rudeness, he retired to Herat where he died), Afḍal al-din Kāshī (according to AR, f. 244b, he was with Ulugh-beg in Herat in 1434; in 1404 in company with the Shaykh al-Islam of Samarqand he visited Timur in Qarabagh, ZN, 560, and above p. 20), Sayyid ‘Āshiq (on him see above; on his relations with Ulugh-beg see below), Faḍlullāh Abul-Laythi (who also visited Herat in 1434, AR, *ibid.*). See HS, Ind. ed., III, 159 sq. which is more complete than the Tehran edition, III, 219 sq.

<sup>2</sup> He died on 5 Rabī‘ I, 833/2 December 1429 in Shiraz, Brockelmann, II, 201; AR, f. 239b.

beg to Samarqand to explain from whose words he had been giving out the traditions. The test took place in the presence of the Shaykh al-Islam Shams al-din and other scholars. When one of the *isnād* quoted by Muhammad Pārsā seemed doubtful to Shams al-din, the former asked that a volume of a *Musnad*, recognised as an authority by Shams al-din himself, should be brought from the Shaykh al-Islam's collection; it is added that, though Muhammad Pārsā had never set foot in that library, he indicated the shelf on which the book was to be found and the page containing the *hadīth* with the corresponding *isnād* <sup>1</sup>.

A well-known shaykh, NIZAM AL-DIN KHĀMŪSH <sup>4</sup> was persecuted by the sovereign and by the Shaykh al-Islam for his son's misdeeds. The Shaykh's son who was accused of improper relations with some ladies of the harem (it is not clear whether the harem was Ulugh-beg's own) sought safety in flight. The shaykh was accused of aiding and abetting his son and was brought before Ulugh-beg bare-headed and seated on a horse's crupper. Ulugh-beg was then in the Garden of the Public Place (*Bāgh-i Maydān*). His reception of the shaykh was rough and he showered reproaches on him. The shaykh replied: "All these words I can answer with but one word: I am a Muslim. If you believe me, it is well, if not, do what your heart commands you". This speech impressed Ulugh-beg so deeply that he ordered the shaykh to be released. The author quotes Khoja Ahrār to the effect that Ulugh-beg paid for his affront to the shaykh by many misfortunes and was soon after killed by his own son <sup>3</sup>. In connection with this incident it is also reported that, some time before, Nizam al-din, at the request of the Shaykh al-Islam's

<sup>1</sup> *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 37a-b, MS. As. Mus., f. 43b, Tashkent lith., p. 61. The summoning of Muhammad Pārsā to Samarqand could have taken place only in the first years of Ulugh-beg's rule, for the shaykh went to Mecca in the beginning of 822/1419 and died in Medina in the same year on Thursday 24 Dhul-Hijja/11 January 1420 Cf. *Nafahāt*, p. 253 sq.; *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 38b; MS. As. Mus., f. 45b; Tashkent lith., p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> He is mentioned in the *HS*, III, 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Rashahāt* MS, As. Mus., f. 82a (lacuna in the Univ. Ms.); Tashkent lith., p. 114 sq.

sons, had visited their father who was dangerously ill, and had taken his illness upon himself. Later, when the Shaykh al-Islam did not support him in his plight, Nizam al-din revoked his decision and the Shaykh al-Islam instantly fell down dead <sup>1</sup>.

KHOJA AHRĀR himself, according to his biographers, had in his youth suffered indignities at the hands of Ulugh-beg's officials. There was at Ulugh-beg's court an old *yasaul* who dispensed justice in person, knocking down the offenders and beating them up. One day he let it be known in Tashkent that he was coming to have a look at "the descendants of shaykhs" (*shaykh-zāda-hā*) and ordered them to assemble in the *mazār*. Seventeen men gathered there, including Khoja Ahrar, who was the youngest among them. The *yasaul* made his appearance and started knocking them down one after the other. Khoja Ahrar alone contrived to avoid the blow. The nimbleness of the young darvish pleased the *yasaul* so much that he showed him preference over the others in spite of his youth, and when addressing them looked only at him. To his fellows astonished by his performance, Khoja Ahrar explained that he had been once a murid of Khoja Hasan-ʿAṭṭār on whose advice he had learnt the art of wrestling, when to his great disappointment he had failed in his performance of esoteric tasks (*sabaq-i bāṭin*). His teacher had declared to him that he was destined to serve at the court of sultans and lighten the lot of the oppressed, and had given him an introduction (*sipārish*) to Saʿīd <sup>2</sup>, one of Ulugh-beg's amirs.

One cannot say to what extent the single facts of this tale are worthy of credit. Khoja Hasan-ʿAṭṭār is mentioned by Daulatshah as one of the principal shaykhs of Ulugh-beg's time <sup>3</sup>. Close relations between him and Khoja Ahrar could have been established only in Samarqand, but Khoja Ahrar went to Samarqand

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, f. 85a-b; Tashk. lith., p. 118. Cf. *Nafahāt*, p. 259, where Khoja ʿImād al-dīn is named instead of Shaykh al-Islam ʿIṣām al-dīn, and the whole story is told somewhat differently.

<sup>2</sup> *Rashahāt* in the Univ. MS., f. 132a sq.; MS. As. Mus., f. 165a-b; Tashk. lith., p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshah, ed. Browne, p. 366.



at the age of twenty-two<sup>1</sup>, i.e. in 1426, and Khoja-‘Aṭṭār died in Shiraz in 1423 after some years spent at Shahrukh’s court<sup>2</sup>. It is curious to note that the author of the story thinks that “the descendants of shaykhs”, i.e. the young darvishes, were subjected to military discipline under the orders of a yasaul<sup>3</sup>, while, on the other hand, the chief shaykhs commanded respect at Ulugh-beg’s court and their recommendations carried weight.

Another important shaykh of Ulugh-beg’s days<sup>4</sup> was YA‘QŪB CHARKHI, also regarded as one of Khoja Ahrar’s teachers<sup>5</sup>. After the death of his teacher Bahā al-din Ya‘qūb retired first to Badakhshan, then to Chaghāniyān<sup>6</sup> and, as far as is known, entertained no relations with the court at Samarqand. Of the centres of darvishism, Bukhara alone seems to have had any political importance. Its clergy, as we have seen, contributed to the downfall of Ulugh-beg’s predecessor, and later it was in Bukhara that the rising against Ulugh-beg took place. Ulugh-beg was conscious of the importance of the Bukharan divines, and he endeavoured to secure their good will. The madrasa of Bukhara was perhaps the first building he erected. In 28 November 1419 during his

<sup>1</sup> *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 135b; MS. As. Mus., f. 169b; Tashk. lith., p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the information about him in *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 54b sq.; MS. As. Mus., f. 65b sq.; Tashk. lith., p. 93 sq.; *Nafahāt*, Oriental edition, p. 255 sq.

<sup>3</sup> On the role of the yasaul at Ulugh-beg’s court see below, p. 126, the story of Ulugh-beg’s clashes with the muhtasib.

<sup>4</sup> Nizām al-din Khāmūsh and Ya‘qūb Charkhi are named together in *HS*, III, 209, as shaykhs of Mawarannahr and upholders of the tradition of Bahā al-din Naqshband.

<sup>5</sup> *Rashahāt*, MS. Univ., f. 3b; MS. As. Mus., f. 3b; Tashk. lith., p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the Shaykh’s biography in *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 40a sq.; MS. As. Mus., f. 47b sq.; Tashk. lith., p. 66 sq. and in *Nafahāt*, Orient. ed., p. 256; on his meeting with Khoja Ahrar also *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 143a; MS. As. Mus., f. 181b; Tashk. lith., p. 250. With Chaghāniyān were also linked the activities of Hasan-‘Aṭṭār; his father, ‘Alā al-din ‘Aṭṭār, who died in 1400 (on Wednesday 20 Rajab 802, *Nafahāt*, p. 252), was buried in a village of Chaghāniyān; Hasan-‘Aṭṭār’s body was brought from Shiraz and buried beside that of his father. Khoja Ahrār came to Chaghāniyān several years later than to Samarqand.

visit to Bukhara he stayed in the madrasa and distributed presents to students and other "deserving persons" <sup>1</sup>.

45. Religious foundations hold an equally important place among Ulugh-beg's buildings in Samarqand. The site for them was chosen on the market-square of Samarqand, which like the famous square in Bukhara, is now called REGISTAN <sup>2</sup>. This name does not seem to have existed in the fifteenth century. Abd al-Razzaq speaks about a MADRASA built by Ulugh-beg at a place which was called "the head of the two *atīk* (?)" <sup>3</sup> and was occupied by the bazaar. <sup>4</sup> The inscriptions show that the building was begun in 820/1417 and finished in 823/1420, the latter date being confirmed by Hafizi-Abru <sup>5</sup> and Abd al-Razzaq. We do not know the name of the architect who designed this magnificent building, which artistically was on a par with Timur's constructions and in solidity was superior to them <sup>6</sup>. The madrasa was two-storied, with four lofty domes and four minarets at the corners. Every room was divided into two cubicles for two students <sup>7</sup>.

The madrasas built by Ulugh-beg in Samarqand and Bukhara have proved the most enduring of his constructions, and of his works in general. Both these buildings fulfil their purpose to this day, whereas all the other madrasas in both towns, dating from the fifteenth century and earlier, have disappeared without leaving a trace <sup>8</sup>. About the MADRASA in Bukhara we know only

<sup>1</sup> HA, Oxf. MS., f. 321a. AR, f. 214a. The date is 10 Dhul-qa'da 922.

<sup>2</sup> ["Place where sand is abundant", *arena*. VM.]

<sup>3</sup> [Perhaps *etāk* "a skirt, or foot of a mountain"?]

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 217b. MS. As. Mus., 574, p. 458, *anīk*; also 574a, f. 337b.

<sup>5</sup> Oxf. MS., f. 341a.

<sup>6</sup> According to N. I. Veselovsky, during the siege of the Samarqand citadel by the rebel natives, the garrison tried to destroy the minaret of the madrasa from whence the soldiers were being shot at but the sturdy building defied their efforts.

<sup>7</sup> *Tārīkh-i Rāqīmī*, Univ. MS. 949, ff. 53a-b.

<sup>8</sup> The builder of the Samarqand madrasa was Ulugh-beg's tutor Shah-Malik, *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 141a; MS. As. Mus., f. 178b; Tashk. lith., p. 254. Other madrasas mentioned are: the madrasa of Mubārak-Shah in Bukhara (*ibid.*, Univ. MS., f. 28; MS. As. Mus., f. 32b; Tashk. lith., p.

that in 1841-2, when Khanikov stayed in that town, it contained eighty rooms; the students received  $3\frac{1}{2}$  tillas a year <sup>1</sup>. In the sources accessible to me, I have not come across any other record of this madrasa after it had been founded. In the nineteenth century a legend was current to the effect that Ulugh-beg in person had taught in the Samarqand madrasa <sup>2</sup>, but this is not supported by any earlier sources <sup>3</sup>.

In the sixteenth century, it was only said that Ulugh-beg took part in person in the building of the madrasa <sup>4</sup>. The same nineteenth century author of the *Samariya* names the astronomer QĀDĪ-ZĀDA RŪMĪ <sup>5</sup> as *mudarris* (professor) of Ulugh-beg's foundation. This is apparently the "Qādī of Asia Minor (*Qādī-yi Rūm*)" who actually lectured in the madrasa of Samarqand. Jāmī, born in 817/1414 <sup>6</sup>, came in his youth to Samarqand to attend his lectures. According to Wāsifī, MAULĀNĀ MUHAMMAD KHWĀFĪ was the first mudarris to be appointed by Ulugh-beg. When the building was nearing completion a question was put to Ulugh-beg as to who would be appointed mudarris. Ulugh-beg replied that he would find a man learned in every branch of science. His words were overheard by Maulānā Muhammad who, poorly dressed, was sitting near by "among heaps of bricks" <sup>7</sup>.

46) and the madrasa of Sadr Qutb al-din in Samarqand (*ibid.*, MS. Univ., ff. 136b and 141a, MS. As. Mus., ff. 171a and 178b, Tashk. lith., pp. 244 and 154); on the latter see V. L. Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 18 sq.

<sup>1</sup> N. Khanikov, *Description of the khanate of Bukhara*, p. 86. [Engl. transl. by de Bode]. The following inscription still exists over the doors: "To acquire knowledge is the duty of every Muslim and (female) Muslim".

<sup>2</sup> *Samariya*, p. 16. Vyatkin, VI, 170.

<sup>3</sup> N. P. Ostroumov, *The madrasas of Turkestan* (in Russian), p. 4, suggests that the subject of Ulugh-beg's lectures was astronomy.

<sup>4</sup> Wāsifī, f. 18a.

<sup>5</sup> *Samariya*, p. 16; Vyatkin, VI, 170.

<sup>6</sup> *Rashahāt*, MS. As. Mus., ff. 98a, 99a and 105a; Tashk. lith., pp. 140 and 148. One of his subjects was the commentary of Qādī-zāda on the *Mulakhkhas* of Chaghmīnī (*ibid.*, MS. As. Mus., f. 99b, Tashk. lith., p. 140). On this work cf. Brockelmann, GAL, I, 173.

<sup>7</sup> It is evidently on this phrase that V. L. Vyatkin, VI, 235, grounds his assertion, unsupported by references to sources, that Maulānā Muhammad

He immediately laid claim to this appointment. Ulugh-beg questioned him and having satisfied himself as to his learning, ordered him to be taken to the baths and given proper clothes. On the inauguration day, Maulānā Muhammad delivered a lecture in his capacity of mudarris, and of the ninety scholars present, only Ulugh-beg and Qāḍī-zāda Rūmī were capable of following it. In the biographical records of Khoja Ahrar, there is mention of one of his pupils ABU-SA'ID AUBAHI who had been studying in Ulugh-beg's madrasa and had become disappointed in booklearning. Having come to know the *ishān* (Khoja Ahrar) he gave away to his fellow students at the madrasa the entire contents of his room, including the books <sup>1</sup>. This indicates that Ulugh-beg's madrasa was the centre of learned theology as opposed to darvishism. According to Daulatshah it counted more than a hundred students <sup>2</sup>.

In the sixteenth century the number of students seems to have grown, for the madrasa possessed ten mudarrises. The chief mudarris was looked upon as the head of all the scholars of Samarqand <sup>3</sup>. In 1580 Ulugh-beg's madrasa was visited by Khan Abdullāh <sup>4</sup>. During the troubles of the late seventeenth century the madrasa fell into decay and at the beginning of the eighteenth century stood empty <sup>5</sup>. Soon after, the rebels who had seized the citadel destroyed the upper story of the madrasa which overlooked it <sup>6</sup>. In 1752 Amir (later, Khan) Muhammad Rahīm used the empty buildings of the Samarqand madrasas for storing grain <sup>7</sup>. Only in the nineteenth century were measures taken to restore the madrasas and their waqfs. Under Amir Haydar (1799-1825)

"took part in the building of the madrasa as a simple labourer". It is probably the scholar Shams al-din Muhammad Khwāfī, who died on Friday 16 Rajab 845/1 December 1441, who is meant here, see Fasih, f. 430a.

<sup>1</sup> *Rashahāt*, MS. Univ., f. 191a, MS. As. Mus., f. 269b, Tashk. lith., p. 369 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Daulatshah, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Wāsifī, ff. 17b sq., 26a sq.

<sup>4</sup> *‘Abdullah-nāma*, MS. As. Mus. 574 age, f. 277b.

<sup>5</sup> *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, l.c.

<sup>6</sup> *Samariya*, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Tuhfat al-Khānī*, f. 130b.

there were again students in Ulugh-beg's madrasa. In 1906, it had two mudarrises, receiving 40 roubles a year, and sixty students (mullas) receiving 10 roubles each. The lectures took place in the students' rooms, for the part of the building where the lecture-rooms were situated was unsafe<sup>1</sup>.

On the same square, facing the madrasa, Ulugh-beg built a KHANAQA for darvishes. According to Babur, the khānaqā was famous for its lofty dome, the like of which there were few in the world<sup>2</sup>. What happened to the khanaqa is unknown. In 1028/1619, when the Shīrdār madrasa was built on this site, it was evidently no longer in existence. We even know nothing of any remains of this building which may have subsisted till the seventeenth century. We hear only of "a vaulted structure" adjoining the southern front of the Shīrdār madrasa and thought to be the tomb of the Shi'a imam Muhammad, son of Ja'far al-Sādiq<sup>3</sup>, although earlier sources do not mention such a mausoleum. There are grounds for presuming that the khanaqa was less patronised by Ulugh-beg than the madrasa. According to Abd al-Razzaq, both were liberally endowed with waqfs, which yielded greater revenues than could actually be spent. The sums in excess were used to form a special capital which was the property of both foundations<sup>4</sup>.

In Babur's time, to the south of Ulugh-beg's madrasa there was a mosque called MASJID-I MUQATTA', the walls and ceilings of which were faced with panels of carved wood (*qit'a*). There was a considerable difference in the orientation of the madrasa and the mosque. The *qibla* of the mosque was regarded as the more reliable, for its orientation had been determined by observation of the stars<sup>5</sup>. This building too was later linked with the name

<sup>1</sup> N. P. Ostroumov, *Madrasas in Turkestan*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Babur-nama*, f. 46a.

<sup>3</sup> *Samariya*, p. 34. [Imam Ja'far died in A.D. 765].

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 217b. According to Khwāndamīr, III, 208, in the fifteenth century, the administration of all the waqf foundations in general was the duty of the sadrs. Under Ulugh-beg, the sadr was Fathullāh Tabrizī (*Ras-hahāt*, Tashk. lith., p. 140), who survived his master (AR, ff. 297b and 300a).

<sup>5</sup> *Babur-nama*, f. 46b.

of Abdullāh, son of the Caliph 'Omar I and one of the zealots of the early days of Islam. It was called "Mosque of Omar",<sup>1</sup> but, in this case too, the attribution is not confirmed by earlier sources. To the north of the mosque, between it and Ulugh-beg's madrasa, the madrasa of Abu Sa'id khan was built in the sixteenth century; of it there now remains only the Shībanid mausoleum known as CHIHIL-DUHTARAN<sup>2</sup>.

A new CATHEDRAL MOSQUE was built during Ulugh-beg's reign although the first place was still retained by Timur's cathedral mosque BĪBI-KHANĪM<sup>3</sup>. The builder of this new mosque was not Ulugh-beg himself but Shahrukh's former tutor ALĪKE-KÜKELTASH who lived till over ninety and died on Friday, 14 October 1440<sup>4</sup>. This dignitary does not seem to have taken any part in affairs of the state<sup>5</sup> but used his influence and wealth to protect the oppressed. Anyone who felt let down (*furū-mānda*) could turn to him for protection and received it. On hearing of some act of injustice Kükeltash immediately took steps to have it righted, whoever the perpetrator might be. Unjust rulers feared Kükeltash<sup>6</sup>. His name is also linked with a number of other constructions, such as the madrasa in Herat<sup>7</sup>, and a group of charitable foundations in Marv (*'imārāti khayr*)<sup>8</sup>. His activities extended beyond the limits of the Timurid possessions. He bought land and developed agriculture as far away as Asia Minor and Egypt. Questioned by Shahrukh on such expenditure, he replied

<sup>1</sup> Or "Blue Mosque" (*Masjidi-kabūd*).

<sup>2</sup> *Samariya*, pp. 13 and 29.

<sup>3</sup> After Shibani's death (1510) the oath of allegiance to Suyunchuq-khan was taken in Timur's mosque, *ZVO*, XV, 198; here too was held the Friday religious service during the plague of 939/1532-3 (*ibid.*, 211). Cf. also Vyatkin, VI, 241.

<sup>4</sup> The date (17 Jamādī I, 844) is in AR, f. 254b, and Fasih, f. 429a; also in V. L. Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 18. A different date in Vyatkin, VI, 246.

<sup>5</sup> He is often mentioned in accounts of military expeditions; in his ripe old age he spent the winter of 1431-2 with Baysunqar in Mazandaran, AR, f. 240b.

<sup>6</sup> Fasih, *l.c.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 423b.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 427a; also AR, f. 250b (on the events of 842/1438-9).

that he had at heart the fame of his monarch: let it be said that Shahrukh's servant was buying land in such distant countries <sup>1</sup>.

In 936/1529 khan Küchkünchi set up a marble *minbar* in Kükeltash's cathedral mosque <sup>2</sup> but towards the end of the eighteenth century <sup>3</sup> it fell into ruins and even its site has not been exactly determined <sup>4</sup>. Abū Ṭāhir Khoja locates it to the south of Ulugh-beg's madrasa <sup>5</sup>. In that case, Alike-Kükeltash's mosque might be identified with Babur's Masjid-i Muqatta' and the "Mosque of Omar".

At a short distance from the madrasa and the khānaqā Ulugh-beg built public baths which in Babur's time were called the BATHS OF THE MĪRZĀ. The floor in this building was paved with every variety of stone. Neither in Samarqand nor in Khorasan were there baths like these <sup>6</sup> but no traces now remain of this building <sup>7</sup>.

The sources do not mention any other building erected by Ulugh-beg within the town-walls, nor do they refer to the alterations made in the GŪR-I AMĪR which, in his reign, became the mausoleum of the Timurids <sup>8</sup>. What we know about Ulugh-beg's constructions *extra muros* we owe exclusively to Babur <sup>9</sup>. Somewhat to the west of the OBSERVATORY, the site of which was determined by the excavations of 1908, was situated the BĀGH-I MAYDAN ("Garden of the Public Place"). From what Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū says about it one may conclude that, contrary to Babur's assertion, this garden was already in existence under Timur. Immediately after it Ḥāfiẓi-Abrū names the "Garden of Mirza

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 254b.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, Univ. MS. 949, f. 121b.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Abū Ṭāhir Khoja, see below. The building was still intact under Sayyid Rāqim in 1113/1701-2 (cf. *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, f. 49a), and under Muhammad-Ṣāliḥ, Vyatkin, VI, 241.

<sup>4</sup> V. L. Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Samariya*, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Babur-nama*, f. 46a.  
49a), and under Muhammad-Ṣāliḥ. Vyatkin, VI, 241.

<sup>8</sup> ZVO, XXIII, 31.

<sup>9</sup> *Babur-nama*, f. 47a.





Gūr-i Mīr  
(Samarqand)





Ulugh-beg”<sup>1</sup> which may have been planted by Timur for his infant grandson. In the centre of the Bāgh-i Maydān stood the two-storeyed CHIL-SUTŪN (“Forty Columns” — a common name for this type of pavilions). The ground-floor consisted of pillars, some of them wreathed. At the four corners there were towers like minarets which gave access to the upper floor, built as a hall with a view on all four sides. The foundations of the building were of stone. According to V.L.Vyatkin, the Chīl-Sutūn was situated on the right bank of the Siyāb “exactly opposite the highest mound on the Afrāsiyāb site”, i.e. facing the citadel of old Samarqand. “Somewhat further up, on the Halwā road, are the remains of a huge wall of the Bāgh-i Maydān”<sup>2</sup>. Adjoining the Bāgh-i Maydān in the direction of Chupan-Ata, there was a small garden (*bāghcha*) and in it a hall (*ayvān*); in the latter stood a large throne of stone, 14-15 cubits long, 7-8 cubits wide and 1 cubit thick. The stone had been brought from distant parts. In the middle of the throne there was a fissure said to have appeared after the stone had been set up. A pavilion tiled and faced with china (see above, p. 112) was situated in this garden.

46. The suburban palaces were probably used under Ulugh-beg, as under Timur, for royal banquets. As in Timur’s days, religious commandments were disregarded at these banquets to the great indignation of zealots for the Shari‘at. Under Ulugh-beg, this indignation was openly manifested, which would have been unthinkable in Timur’s time. When celebrating the circumcision of his youngest son ‘Abd al-Azīz, Ulugh-beg granted the *tarkhānī* (exemption from taxes) to the population, probably that of Samarqand. The nobles and the populace drank wine on the plain of Kāni-gil, and feasting went on at Ulugh-beg’s court. During the feast, the muhtasib SAYYID ‘ĀSHIQ entered and said to Ulugh-beg: “You have destroyed the faith of Muhammad and have introduced the customs of the infidels”. Ulugh-beg repressed his irritation and replied: “You have won fame through your descent from Sayyids and your learning, and have attained old age. Apparently you also wish to attain martyrdom and therefore

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Muzaffariya*, p. 15 (text) and 17 (translation).

<sup>2</sup> Vyatkin, IV, part IV, p. 34, note 3.

utter rude words, but I shall not grant you your wish" <sup>1</sup>.

At another feast the muhtasib risked still graver consequences by insulting the Shaykh al-Islam. The latter complained to Ulugh-beg who on the following day convoked the cadis to try the offender. This came to the ears of ABUL-FATH DAYYAR <sup>2</sup>, a divine whom Ulugh-beg greatly respected and who enjoyed the privilege of reporting to his master personally on all occasions. On hearing the details of the case from Ulugh-beg, he gave as his opinion that the monarch was quite right and that the muhtasib did deserve to be punished for his insolence. At that moment a soldier entered with the complaint that his brother's widow, whom according to nomad custom he had the right to take to wife, refused to marry him and proposed to marry a cloth merchant instead. Ulugh-beg immediately ordered the yasaul to see that the petitioner's demand should be complied with. Dayyār, who had witnessed the scene, intervened, telling the monarch that his decision was contrary to the Shari'at, according to which marriage could be only by mutual consent. He added that this made him suspect that the muhtasib's allegations regarding the breach of religious laws under Ulugh-beg's rule were not without foundation. The remark so impressed Ulugh-beg that he immediately ordered the repeal of the muhtasib's trial.

The details of these stories are of too anecdotal a nature to be entirely real, but they reflect the attitude of the representatives of the Shari'at towards Ulugh-beg. Like nearly all Muslim rulers who reigned after the "righteous" caliphs, Ulugh-beg, in the eyes of the clergy, was a tyrant under whom no self-respecting representative of the Shari'at could accept the charge of cadi without some loss of dignity. It is said of one of the shaykhs of Bukhara, HUSĀM AL-

<sup>1</sup> This and the following account are in Khwandamir, Tehran ed., III, 219. Cf. also the typical conversation between Ulugh-beg and Sayyid 'Āshiq in *Samariya*, VI, 191 sq. (there is a lacuna in the text, p. 37). The *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 158b, MS. As. Mus., f. 209b, Tashk. lith., p. 293, quotes Khoja Ahrar's opinion of Sayyid 'Āshiq as an extraordinarily eloquent preacher, comparable to Moses.

<sup>2</sup> In Ind. ed., p. 159, *Dhiyāba* (?).

DIN SHĀSHĪ, that he became *cadi* of Bukhara only under direct pressure from Ulugh-beg <sup>1</sup>.

In Samarqand the charge of *cadi* was held by SHAMS AL-DIN MUHAMMAD MISKIN. The following anecdote illustrates his sense of justice and his courage. Like many oriental rulers, Ulugh-beg used to entrust money to merchants and in return receive part of the profits. One day a merchant, who had received from Ulugh-beg a precious stone to be traded, died without having paid him any profit or returned the value of the stone. Ulugh-beg wished to seize his property and brought forward witnesses. On learning this the *cadi* sent the following message to the sovereign through one of the courtiers: "It will not bring you much profit to produce witnesses and take action in this case because the gist of it is clear to me. If you wish me — whatever the merits of the case — to return a verdict in your favour, order me to be plunged, bound hand and foot, into cold water until I lose consciousness. Then I shall order the property of the merchant to be handed over to you in exchange for what you have lost". Ulugh-beg was so struck by these words that he waived his claim <sup>2</sup>.

This anecdote about the *cadi*, like the stories about Ulugh-beg's skirmishes with the *muhtasib*, show that at least the representatives of the *Shari'at* did not see in Ulugh-beg a deliberate and implacable opponent. If from the Muslim point of view Ulugh-beg was not the ideal ruler guided in his decisions by religious precepts, neither was he a tyrant setting his

<sup>1</sup> *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 28b, MS. As. Mus., f. 32b, Tashk. lith., p. 46: *ba-zūr qāḍī sākhta*. See also in *Habib al-siyar*, Tehr. ed., III, 219, Ind. ed., III, 160 sq., on the *cadi* whose beard Ulugh-beg wanted to shave off in punishment for an unjust verdict, then to have him taken through the town in that state. Khoja Abd al-Mumīn, one of Ulugh-beg's intimates (*nadīm*), pleaded for the *cadi* and the latter was pardoned and let off with a fine of 20 horses. Abd al-Mumin appropriated the horses and, when Ulugh-beg remembered about them, replied that the *cadi* had been unable to produce the horses and preferred to lose his beard. Ulugh-beg laughed and let the matter drop.

<sup>2</sup> *HS*, III, 219 sq. The tale is quoted by Khwāndamir from the mouth of the Shaykh al-Islam of Herat, Sayf al-din Ahmad Taftāzānī, on whom see *Babur-nama*, f. 177b; Brockelmann, II, 218.

will above the commandments of God and his Prophet<sup>1</sup>.

47. Still less do we know about the conditions of life of the popular masses during Ulugh-beg's reign. According the Daulatshah, land taxes were brought down to the lowest possible level<sup>2</sup>, which of course contributed to the prosperity of the peasants. On the other hand Ulugh-beg attached a great importance to the *tamghā*<sup>3</sup>, i.e. the taxes on trade and industry<sup>4</sup>. Ulugh-beg's insistence on the *tamgha* must have been regarded by the clergy as a lack of piety. In the entire Muslim world<sup>5</sup> including Mawarannahr<sup>6</sup> these taxes were always taken to be an offence against the Shari'at. They were often repealed by the rulers to please the clergy, but were always re-established. As far as it is known, the *tamgha* was never in abeyance during Ulugh-beg's reign.

Historians do not mention any public works by Ulugh-beg outside Bukhara and Samarqand. Even the legend ascribing to him the cutting of the Mirza-ariq out of the Zarafshān<sup>7</sup> finds no support in the sources. There is no information as to whether Ulugh-beg ever travelled over his dominions, apart from military expeditions. It is hardly probable therefore that Ulugh-beg could have been a popular ruler, but down to 1447 there were no risings in his kingdom. It is only the behaviour of his son 'Abd al-'Aziz and the events of the last years of his life — most of which were beyond his control — that finally impelled the army and the people to turn away from their sovereign.

<sup>1</sup> According the Khwāndamīr, III, 211, Ulugh-beg was the murid of the famous Sufi Qāsim-i Anvār who lived for some time in Samarqand, and died in 837/1433-4. Daulatshah, 348, gives the date of his death as 835/1431-2. Ethé, *Grundriss*, II, 295 and 299, also gives 837.

<sup>2</sup> Daulatshah, p. 362. According to this text, 2/3 of a dirham in copper, or 1/3 in silver, were paid on one *jarīb* (0.45 acre) of land yielding four donkey-loads of grain (*circa* 800 lbs.).

<sup>3</sup> Khwāndamīr, *Habib al-siyar*, III, 218; cf. Mirkhond, L, 1320.

<sup>4</sup> On the *tamgha* see Barthold, *A Persian inscription ... in Ani* (in Russian), p. 33 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the remark of Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, 65 and 92.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. an anecdote from Timur's times in *Habib al-siyar*, III, 176, and the words ascribed to Timur on the *tamgha* as the "most lawless" (*ḥarāmtarīn*) of levies.

<sup>7</sup> Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 116.

## VI. ULUGH-BEG'S PRIVATE LIFE AND SCIENTIFIC OCCUPATIONS

48. Before Ulugh-beg, the Muslim world had possessed no scholarly monarch. In this regard, the Muslim writers could liken him only to Aristotle's royal pupil <sup>1</sup>. There is nothing in the sources to show when and under whose influence he acquired a taste for scholarship. Neither his grandfather nor his guardian, the queen Sarāy-Mulk-khanīm, could have been responsible for it, and it seems highly improbable that he could have indulged in study during the years of Amir Shah-Malik's tutelage. In his childhood and early youth Ulugh-beg surely did not exceed in learning the standards of the other Timurids. In all probability, his scientific studies began only after he had become ruler of Mawarannahr. In his time there still were in Samarqand representatives of Persian culture brought there by Timur, and it must have been their influence that aroused in Ulugh-beg his enthusiasm for the exact sciences <sup>2</sup> which were studied with particular intensity in Persia under Mongol dominion. The Mongol khans encouraged the exact sciences in view of their practical value. Ulugh-beg, being a product of a more enlightened age, held science above theology and literature, deeming that its results endure for all time and all nations and are not affected by the disappearance of religions and languages <sup>3</sup>. This remarkable, though fundamentally mistaken, idea <sup>4</sup> is typical of Muslim culture whose representatives had assimilated ancient culture "including

<sup>1</sup> Daulatshah, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> In AR, f. 287b *'ulum-i riyāḍī-va-hikamī*, also f. 217b. The word *riyāḍ* or *riyāḍa* is a translation of the Greek term "mathematics". On the meaning of the term *riyāḍī* see also *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 133 (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, i.e. the sciences of the mediaeval *quadrivium*).

<sup>3</sup> Sédillot, texte, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> It is enough to confront the undying beauty of the masterpieces of Greek literature with the theories of Greek scholars which have but a historical interest.

Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, Euclid and Ptolemy, but excluding Homer, Sophocles and Euripides, Thucydides and Polybius" <sup>1</sup>.

Among Ulugh-beg's first teachers in Samarqand was the "Plato of his times" ṢALĀḤ AL-DIN MŪSĀ IBN-MAHMŪD QĀḌĪ-ZĀDA RŪMĪ. Another scholar, GHIYĀTH AL-DIN JAMSHĪD IBN-MAS'ŪD was invited by Ulugh-beg from Kāshān, probably on QāḌĪ-zāda's advice. Abd al-Razzaq speaks of the invitation of yet another Kāshī, MU'ĪN AL-DIN <sup>2</sup>; though he is not mentioned by Ulugh-beg, he seems to have founded a school, for among the astronomers named are his son, MANṢŪR KĀSHĪ, and his pupil 'ABD AL 'ALĪ IBN MUHAMMAD BĪRJANDĪ <sup>3</sup>. Curiously enough, among Ulugh-beg's collaborators Khwandamir names only the Kāshīs, and says nothing about the Samarqandis <sup>4</sup>.

In his account of the events of 823/1420, in the passage recording the construction of the madrasa and the khānaqā <sup>5</sup>, Abd al-Razzaq refers also to the building of the observatory. This alone is not sufficient reason for assuming that it was erected simultaneously with the other two buildings. The year 1492, given by Dorn <sup>6</sup> and Brockelmann <sup>7</sup> as the date of QāḌĪ-zāda Rūmī's death, is undoubtedly wrong. According to Ulugh-beg, QāḌĪ-zāda died after Ghiyāth al-dīn Jamshīd. Two dates approximately determine the time when he entered Ulugh-beg's service: in the month of Dul-qa'da 818/January 1416 he wrote a small treatise on astronomical instruments for Sultan Iskandar (probably, of the Qara--Qoyunlu dynasty) <sup>8</sup> and therefore could not yet have been in Ulugh-beg's service; on 3 Jamādī 830/2 March 1427 he finished a mathematical work for Ulugh-

<sup>1</sup> *Mir Islama*, I, 1912, 416.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 217b, see the text quoted in E. Blochet, p. 87 sq.

<sup>3</sup> On his works see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 473, 511, 512. Rieu, *Pers. Man.*, p. 453.

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, III, 214.

<sup>5</sup> AR, *l.c.*

<sup>6</sup> Dorn, *Catalogue de la Bibl. Imp.*, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Brockelmann, *o.c.*, II, 212. The date is borrowed from Ḥājji Khalīfa, I, 322. It is contested by Rieu, *o.c.*, p. 456.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *IAN*, 1914, p. 459 sq.

beg's library <sup>1</sup>. Thus he must have been invited to Samarqand between 1416 and 1427. The former works of the author are enumerated in the preface to the mathematical treatise; first in order come "the Khāqān's tables for perfecting the Ilkhan's tables" <sup>2</sup>. These latter tables are the famous work of Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī, whereas the "khaqan" for whom Jamshīd's work was written must have been Shahrukh. Before coming to Samarqand the author probably spent some time at the court of Herat.

The astronomical tables of Ghiyāth al-dīn Jamshīd have not come down to us so that we cannot tell how far they differed from Ulugh-beg's work. In any case Ulugh-beg must have acquired enough proficiency in astronomy to be able to discuss scientific problems with Ghiyāth al-dīn <sup>3</sup>. According to some reports, Ghiyāth al-dīn was a rough mannered man, and Ulugh-beg put up with his rude ways for the sake of his learning <sup>4</sup>. The fact is that the dedication to Ulugh-beg in Ghiyāth al-dīn's mathematical treatise is written in the most refined style. The author calls his monarch "possessor of the sacred spirit, human perfections, angelic qualities and traits of Muhammad's nature", and expresses the wish, — somewhat strange in Shahrukh's lifetime, — that "God should render eternal Ulugh-beg's caliphate and sultanate in the inhabited part of the world".

The exact date of Ghiyāth al-dīn's death is unknown. Suter tentatively places it *circa* 840 <sup>5</sup>, *i.e.* the late fourteen-thirties. His death was soon followed by that of Qāḍī-zāda Rūmī who also did not live to see the completion of the observatory and of the astronomical tables. Ulugh-beg found a new collaborator in 'ALĀ AL-DĪN 'ALĪ IBN MUHAMMAD QUSHCHI, "the Ptolemy of his times". The appellation *qushchi* ("falconer") suggests that

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Miftāḥ fil-ḥisāb*, MS. Publ. Library Dorn 131, the date is at the end, f. 122a.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-zīj al-musammā bil-khāqānī fī takmīl al-zīj al-īlkhānī*.

<sup>3</sup> An example is in Sédillot, trad., p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Rieu, *Pers. Man.*, p. 456b, according to the *Haft Iqlīm* of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī.

<sup>5</sup> Suter, *Mathematiker*, No. 429.



this scholar was a member of the court<sup>1</sup>. He was younger than Ulugh-beg who called him his "son"<sup>2</sup>. Apparently he took up astronomy under the influence of his sovereign, but not merely out of desire to please him, for he continued his studies to the end of his life. Besides sharing Ulugh-beg's scholarly pursuits, 'Alī Qushchi was also his personal friend<sup>3</sup> from whom he had no secrets.

49. There is very little information in the sources<sup>4</sup> regarding the arrangement of Ulugh-beg's OBSERVATORY, the remains of which were discovered by V. L. Vyatkin in 1908. Excavations of the site have yielded rather poor results<sup>5</sup>. Part of a quadrant of huge dimensions was unearthed. According to written reports, its height was equal to that of the cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople<sup>6</sup>. Babur says that the entire building had three storeys<sup>7</sup>. Abd al-Razzaq speaks of pictures of the nine heavens, the nine heavenly spheres, with degrees, minutes, seconds and tenths of seconds, the skies of rotation (*aflāk-i tadāvir*), the seven planets, the fixed stars, the terrestrial globe divided into climates, with mountains, seas, deserts etc.<sup>8</sup>. The words *nuqūsh* and *ru-qūm* suggest a mural painting and not maps and separate globes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Rashahāt*, MS. As. Mus., f. 99b, Tashk. lith., p. 140, the report about Ali Qushchi visiting Jāmī in Herat dressed in Turkish garb.

<sup>2</sup> Thus he is called by Ulugh-beg in his Preface to the tables (*Sédillot*, texte, p. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Ulugh-beg's words in Mirkhond's report (L 1320 and 1491, C. 364a) quoting Ali Qushchi.

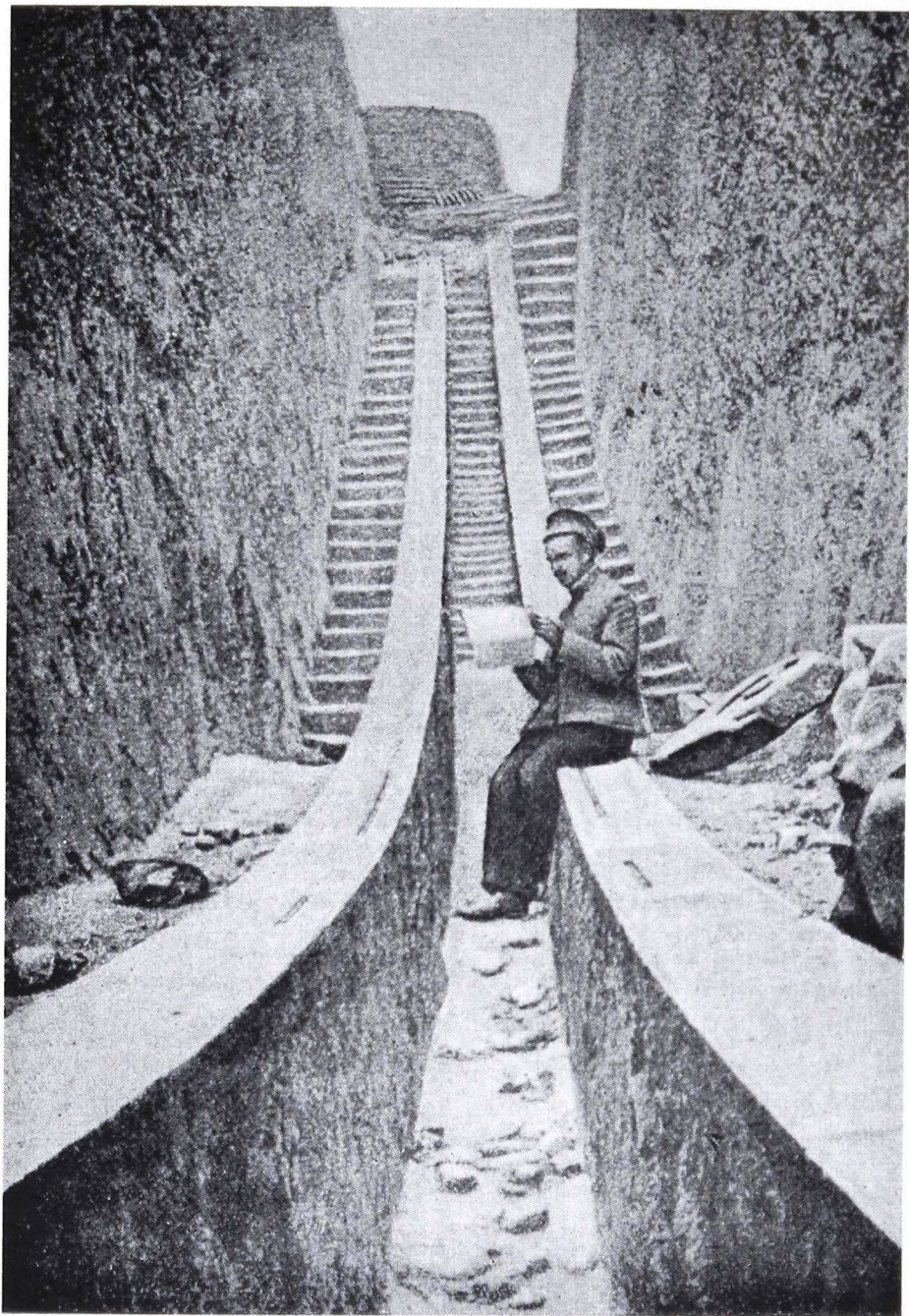
<sup>4</sup> AR and Babur and, partly, the commentator on Ulugh-beg's works.

<sup>5</sup> On the results of the excavations see V. L. Vyatkin's article in *Bulletin of the Russian Committee for the study of Middle and Eastern Asia* (in Russian), ser. II, No. 1, pp. 76-93. From a personal letter from V. L. Vyatkin I gather that further excavations did not help to establish the organisation of the observatory.

<sup>6</sup> *Sédillot*, introd., p. CXXIX, with reference to Graves (17th century). The comparison was probably made by Ali Qushchi when he visited Constantinople. [This seems to be an exaggeration. In 1911 I accompanied the late V. L. Vyatkin to the spot when an astronomer was checking the meridian of the observatory. V.M.]

<sup>7</sup> *Babur-nama*, f. 46b.

<sup>8</sup> AR, f. 217b. Blochet, p. 88.



Remains of Ulugh-beg's quadrant in Samarkand.



(such as existed in some observatories, *e.g.* in Marāgha) <sup>1</sup>. We do not know whether Ulugh-beg's library (see above) was attached to the observatory, or was situated in one of the palaces, nor do we know if the observatory possessed a special staff and a school for the study of secular objects, as was the case in Ghāzān-khan's observatory in Tabriz in the fourteenth century <sup>2</sup>.

The date of the completion of ULUGH-BEG'S TABLES is taken to be the beginning of 841/1437 <sup>3</sup>, but Ulugh-beg continued to work on them after that date and finally completed them in the year of his death (853/1449) <sup>4</sup>. In the tables themselves the date is not indicated, but in several places the year 841 is mentioned as the basis of the author's calculations <sup>5</sup>; however, in the comparison of the Muslim and Chinese eras, Tuesday, 8 Shawwal 847/28 January 1444 is indicated as the beginning of the *Shang-yüan* cycle <sup>6</sup>.

Ulugh-beg's observatory was not destined to play the same part in the world of science as the observatory of NAṢĪR AL-DĪN TŪSĪ, which was built in Marāgha in 1259 A.D. <sup>7</sup> and was still functioning in 1300 when Ghazan khan visited it <sup>8</sup>. Ulugh-beg's observatory ceased its activities immediately after its founder's

<sup>1</sup> D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 264. Wassāf's actual words, Ind. ed., p. 32, are: "he made a model (*shikl*) of the terrestrial globe, with utmost accuracy, and clearly indicated the division of the inhabited quarter into 7 climes, together with the length of the days, and the latitude of (each) country, the height of the Polar Star in various places, as well as the position and name of (each of the) countries, the form of the islands and the seas".

<sup>2</sup> Rashīd al-dīn, MS. As. Mus. a 566, f. 393a, Cf. *Mir Islama*, I, 1912, 87.

<sup>3</sup> Sédillot, Introduction, p. CXXIX; *Samariya*, p. 17; Vyatkin, VI, 170.

<sup>4</sup> Sédillot, p. CXXXI.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, transl., pp. 131, 135, 146.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 317, transl., p. 34. [The correct date seems to be Monday, 29 Ramadan, or 20 January 1444. V.M.]

<sup>7</sup> 657 A.H.; Wassaf *l.c.* [See *Marāgha* in *EI.*]

<sup>8</sup> Rashīd al-din, MS. As. Mus. a 566, f. 368a D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 271. In 1339 the observatory lay already in ruins, cf. Hamdullāh Qazvīnī's text in *Siasset Nameh*, Supplément, ed. Schéfer, p. 219. [An attempt to restore the observatory was made in 949/1542, under Shah Tahmāsp, see *Ahsan al-tawārīkh*. V.M.]

death. His only pupil and collaborator Ali-Qushchi left Samarqand and died in Constantinople in 879/1474 <sup>1</sup>. Another commentator of Ulugh-beg's works, besides Ali-Qushchi, was MARYAM-CHELEBI, a grandson of Qādī-zāda <sup>2</sup>, but after Ulugh-beg's death Muslim astronomy made no progress. After him "real astronomers disappeared and their place was taken by *muwaqqits* (compilers of almanacs) attached to the mosques" <sup>3</sup>. Ulugh-beg's works are remarkable for the accuracy of his observations but they contain no gropings after new ways, such as we find in the works of the Persian astronomer Qutb al-dīn Shīrāzī <sup>4</sup>.

50. However great Ulugh-beg's passion for astronomy might have been, it would be a mistake to think that he devoted all his time, or even all his leisure to it. He was a passionate hunter and, like the Seljuk Sultan Malikshāh <sup>5</sup> in the eleventh century, kept a list of the game killed. As a proof of Ulugh-beg's extraordinary memory, Daulatshāh quotes an occasion when this list was mislaid and re-written from memory by Ulugh-beg. When the lost book was later found, only four or five discrepancies were discovered between the old list and the new <sup>6</sup>. Ulugh-beg's winter trips to Bukhara were probably made for the purpose of fowling <sup>7</sup>. Like all Shahrukh's sons, Ulugh-beg had some notions of Persian literature, and a correspondence on literary subjects went on between him, Baysunqar and Ibrahim <sup>8</sup>. Of the principal Persian poets, Ulugh-beg's preference went to Nizāmī, and

<sup>1</sup> C. Brockelmann, *GAL*, II, 234 sq.

<sup>2</sup> According to Sédillot, his son, see *Prolégomènes*, introduction, p. CXXXII, trad., p. 225. Brockelmann, *o.c.*, II, 235, calls him the grandson of Ali Qushchi. Apparently he was the grandson of both astronomers, see E. Blochet, *Man. persans*, II, 68, No. 791.

<sup>3</sup> Nallino, in *EI*, under 'Astronomy'.

<sup>4</sup> On him see Baron V. R. Rosen in *Collections scientifiques*, III, 307.

<sup>5</sup> *Recueil de textes des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma, II, 69.

<sup>6</sup> Daulatshah, p. 362.

<sup>7</sup> On fowling on lake Qarakul see Narshakhy, ed. Schéfer, p. 17; *Turkestan*, 118, 455. Describing his uncle Sultan-Ahmad, Babur characteristically remarks, f. 19a, that *after Ulugh-beg* there was no such "king falconer".

<sup>8</sup> Daulatshah, p. 351.

Baysunqar's to the Indian poet Khusrau-Dihlavi, which led to a discussion between the brothers <sup>1</sup>. In this respect Ulugh-beg's literary taste is nearer to that of modern European specialists, but Baysunqar had a great reputation among his contemporaries as a lover and connoisseur of literature and the fine arts <sup>2</sup>. Daulatshah also quotes, without sharing them, Ulugh-beg's, or his entourage's appreciations of three other Persian poets (of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) <sup>3</sup>. The best known Persian poet of Mawarannahr, among Ulugh-beg's contemporaries, was 'Iṣ-MATULLĀH BUKHĀRĪ. After the deposition of Khalil-Sultan he declined the honour of singing Ulugh-beg's praises and withdrew from the court. He spent the remaining years of his life in retirement, but the other poets continued to visit him and called him their master <sup>4</sup>. The "King of Poets" at Ulugh-beg's court was KAMĀL BADAQSHĪ whose poetry still enjoyed some popularity in Mawarannahr in the days of Daulatshah <sup>5</sup>. Abu Ṭāhir Khoja, the nineteenth-century historian, asserts that Ulugh-beg himself composed poetry in Persian and quotes a verse in illustration <sup>6</sup>, but Daulatshah says nothing about Ulugh-beg's personal excursions into poetry <sup>7</sup>.

There is nothing to show whether Ulugh-beg bestowed any attention upon the divans of "Chaghatay" poets who during the Timurid epoch tried to create a Turki poetry in imitation of the Persian. One of these poets, SAKKĀKĪ, whose divan has come

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Faṣīḥ's opinion of him, f. 422a.

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshah, p. 103 (on Falakī), 126 (on Sayf al-din Isfarangī), 141 (on Jamāl al-dīn Isfahanī).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361, and Rāqim (under the year 840). According to Daulatshah, 361, he died in 829/1426, or in 840 according to Rāqim (*Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, MS. Univ. 949, f. 48b sq.).

<sup>5</sup> Daulatshah, p. 420 (also 366). From what he says it appears that "in Mawarannahr, Badakhshan and Turkestan" greater fame was enjoyed by the divan of Khiyālī of Bukhara, another of 'Ismatullāh's pupils.

<sup>6</sup> *Samariya*, p. 17; Vyatkin, VI, 171.

<sup>7</sup> In the fifteenth century writing poetry was considered beneath the dignity of a monarch. Cf. the words of Faṣīḥ, f. 422b, on Baysunqar: "His Highness was above writing poetry, or being suspected of doing so".



down to us <sup>1</sup>, extolled Ulugh-beg, as well as Khalīl-Sultan <sup>2</sup> and Muhammad Pārsā <sup>3</sup>. In one of these poems the poet humbly begs the sovereign's assistance <sup>4</sup>; in another he praises Ulugh-beg's learning above that of the great scholars of antiquity and of the Muslim world <sup>5</sup>; in still another he proudly declares: "the heavens will have to complete their circle many years (in succession) before they again produce such a poet of Turkish nationality as I, such a learned monarch as thou" <sup>6</sup>. LUTFĪ <sup>7</sup>, another poet of that epoch, also mentions Ulugh-beg in his verses. There is no information as to what Ulugh-beg thought of this poetry and whether he was interested in poetical literature in his mother-tongue.

51. Another work linked with Ulugh-beg's name is the historical composition THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR ULUS (*Tārīkh-i ulūs-i arba'a*), i.e. the four states formed after the break-up of the Mongol empire: viz., "the great yurt," i.e. China and Mongolia, the kingdom of the Juchids (of the Golden Horde), under Hulagu's descendants, and Central Asia under the descendants of Chaghatay. Ulugh-beg could hardly have taken part in the composition of this work. Khwāndamīr definitely states that the history was written by "one of the best men of Shahrukh's times in the name of Ulugh-beg" <sup>8</sup>. An adequate impression of the contents can be gathered from Khwāndamīr's numerous quotations and from the abridged version in a London MS. <sup>9</sup>. The author utilised the works of Rashīd al-dīn and Nizām al-dīn Shāmī. The history of the Mongol empire was preceded — as

<sup>1</sup> MS. Br. Mus. Or. 2079. Rieu, *Turk. Man.*, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> F. 7a sq. The date, f. 7b, is 810 A.H.

<sup>3</sup> F. 5a sq.

<sup>4</sup> F. 9a.

<sup>5</sup> F. 12a.

<sup>6</sup> F. 14b. [Or perhaps: "to produce, among the Turks, such a poet and such a learned king".]

<sup>7</sup> A. Z. Validi, 'The Chaghatay poet Lufti' (in Russian), p. 23 see above p.

<sup>8</sup> HS, III, 4.

<sup>9</sup> B. M. Add. 26190, cf. Rieu, *Pers. Man.*, p. 163 sq., and *Turkestan*, 56.

in Rashīd al-dīn — by an outline of the legendary history of the Turkish and Mongol peoples <sup>1</sup>.

For his own times the author has made several additions to Nizam al-din. To the list of the fourteen Ilkhans of the "Great Yurt" he has added the names of another five <sup>2</sup>, of whom the only historical personage seems to be the last khan Aday <sup>3</sup>. Sharaf al-din Yazdi knew nothing of these names for he ended his own list with Tayzi-oghlan (see above p. 50). In the history of the Juchids, fourteen names <sup>4</sup> are added to Nizam al-din's twenty-five (down to Shadi-beg). This list is more complete and more reliable than that of Sharaf al-din which is brought down to 831/1428. Three names <sup>5</sup> out of those quoted in the *History of the Four Ulus* are omitted in Sharaf al-din, and after the last khan in Sharaf al-din's list (Muhammad khan, successor of Darvish-oghlan), the *History of the Four Ulus* names four more khans: Devlet-berdi, son of Tash-Timur; Boraq; Ghiyāth al-din, son of Shadi-beg, and Muhammad, son of Timur khan, i.e. "Kuchik Muhammad" <sup>6</sup>. The author gives only their names without any further information <sup>7</sup>. In his account of the Chaghatay ulus, Sharaf al-din mistakenly calls the queen Ergene [Orghana]-khatun, daughter of Ariq-bögä [buqa]. The *History of the Four Ulus* does not repeat this mis-

<sup>1</sup> HS, II, 4, quotes from this work the etymology of the name Qalach = *qal ach*, which is also in Rashīd al-dīn. Cf. in Berezin's edition, VII, p. 25, and Radloff, *Kudatku Bilik*, Einleitung, p. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> HS., III, 18 and 25; Ind. ed., III/3, pp. 28 and 42.

<sup>3</sup> On him see D. Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols* (in Russian), p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> HS, III, 26. MS. Br. Mus., ff. 127b-128a. Miles, *The Shajrat ul — Atrāk*, London 1838, p. 239 sq.

<sup>5</sup> The twenty-seventh (according to Ulugh-beg): Timur, son of Timur-Qutluq, on whom see A. Markov, *Catalogue of the coins of the Imp. Hermitage* (in Russian), p. 498; the thirty-second: Jabbār-berdi, son of Tokhtamish, and the thirty-third: Sīdī-Ahmad.

<sup>6</sup> S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan dynasties*. Golden Horde, Rival dynasties.

<sup>7</sup> HS, III, 26. "as the details of these kings are unknown, one has to limit oneself to an enumeration of their names".



take <sup>1</sup> and restores the name of her father in accordance with Rashid al-din <sup>2</sup>. Among the puppet khans of the years 1358-1370, both Khwāndamīr <sup>3</sup> and the London MS. <sup>4</sup> name Kābul-Shāh *after* 'Ādil-Sultan <sup>5</sup>. This mistake in the order of enumeration evidently existed in the *History of the Four Ulus*. All this points to the fact that the *History* was entirely independent of Sharaf al-din. The historical work attributed to Ulugh-beg would probably be of some interest as a literary composition and as material for historical criticism, but its discovery would scarcely enrich our knowledge of the history of the Mongol empire and of the states which arose out of its disintegration.

The outstanding representative of medical science in Samarqand under Ulugh-beg was a certain Maulānā Nafīs <sup>6</sup>. As to Herat, it is curious that Shahrukh's pious inclinations set their mark even on medicine, and some records anticipate present-day "Christian science". In July 1441 there died in Herat the learned and pious physician Shams al-din Muhammad "who treated patients by faith" <sup>7</sup>.

52. It remains to see how far Ulugh-beg's family life differed from that of a common Oriental despot. According to Khwāndamīr <sup>8</sup>, Ulugh-beg had five wives, three of whom he names:

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 28: "according to the author of the introduction to the *Zafar-nāma*, she was the daughter of Ariq-bögä [buqa], son of Tuli-khan, but according to the author of the *Four Uluses*, daughter of Nur-elchi [sic] gurkan".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ed. Blochet, 185 *h* [daughter of Tūrālchī-gürkān].

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, III, 32 [here the name is spelt Qabūl-shāh].

<sup>4</sup> MS. Br. Mus., Add. 26190, ff. 181a; Miles, p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> On him and his predecessor see above p. 13, after Iskandar's Anonym. According to Sharaf al-din, Kābul-Shāh was set upon the throne as early as 765/1364, *ZN*, I, 96. This is more probable than the Anonym's report because the author, f. 251a, also states that Kābul-Shāh's reign lasted one year and four months, and 'Ādil-Sultan's five years. In the *ZN*, I, 185, 190, 'Ādil-Sultan is mentioned in 1369; he was killed after Timur's victory in 1370, I, 206.

<sup>6</sup> Khwāndamīr, Tehran ed., III, 219; Ind. ed., III/3, p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Fasih, f. 429b: *mu'ālaja ba-i'tiqād kardī* [rather by persuasion?]. On him cf. AR, f. 256b.

<sup>8</sup> *HS*, III, 219. In the Tehran edition this information is given in the margin. The Indian edition omits it.

1. ÖGE-BEGÜM (or Öge-biki), daughter of Muḥammad-Sultan, was Ulugh-beg's first wife, whom he married in 1404, at the age of ten (see above, p. 46). She died in 1419 and was buried by the side of her father in the madrasa built by him <sup>1</sup>, i.e. probably in the Gūr-Amīr, where, however, her tomb has not survived. In 1412, during her first pregnancy, she was brought to Herat and there, on Friday 19 August <sup>2</sup>, gave birth to a daughter who received the name of Ḥabība-Sultān (or Ḥasība-Sultān) and the title of Khānzāda-begüm, probably on the strength of Muhammad-Sultan's descent from khans (see above, p. 35). According to Khwāndamīr this princess died when she was two years old. If so, she must have had a sister who bore the same name and title <sup>3</sup> and lived in Herat. In 1438 Ulugh-beg asked for his daughter to be sent to him to Samarqand <sup>4</sup>. The princess duly arrived, but in April 1439 returned to Herat <sup>5</sup>.

2. AQ-SULTĀN KHĀNĪKA, daughter of Sultan-Mahmud khan, the nominal sovereign, in whose name coins were struck under Timur. It is probably she who is meant in the following story reported by Mirkhond on the authority of Alī-Qushchi <sup>6</sup>. Ulugh-beg questioned Muhammad Ardistānī, an expert in the art of divination (*'ilm-i raml*), on the events of the near future. The diviner declared that the events involved the harem and refused to speak in Ali-Qushchi's presence, but Ulugh-beg told him to speak freely before Ali-Qushchi who was his friend. The diviner

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZVO, XXIII, 30. In AR, Univ. MS. 157, f. 213b, by mistake "in the *gunbad* of her mother's madrasa"; the MS. As. Mus. 574, p. 448, and 574a, f. 332b, reads: "of her father"; similarly in HAbu, Oxf. MS., f. 319a.

<sup>2</sup> 10 Jamādī I 815; the date is already in HAbu, MS. Ind. Off., f. 180a; Oxf. MS., f. 191a.

<sup>3</sup> Khwandamir supposed that the name Khānzād-begüm belonged only to the late princess and the name Ḥabība-Sultān to her sister.

<sup>4</sup> Fasih, f. 427a. AR, f. 251a, reports that the princess was first brought to Herat from Samarqand by the queen Gauhar-Shād. Fasih, f. 411b, places this event in 822/1419, i.e. the year of her mother's death.

<sup>5</sup> Fasih alone mentions this, f. 427.

<sup>6</sup> C. 364a, L 1320 and 1491, also HS, III, 219. In L 1320, "the daughter of Khizr-khan", but neither the MSS., nor Khwāndamīr have the name "Khizr". L 1491: "daughter of the khan of Turkistan".

then foretold that, out of two of his wives, Ulugh-beg would within a few days kill one and repudiate the other ("the khan's daughter"). Ulugh-beg refused to believe this prophecy, for he was greatly attached to the "khan's daughter" who was his constant companion. However, some days later, when the first part of the prophecy had come to be fulfilled, the "khan's daughter" manifested her joy so noisily <sup>1</sup> that Ulugh-beg in disgust pronounced the formula of divorce. Despite the legendary tone of this story, one might infer that Ulugh-beg had a strong attachment for one of his wives, the daughter of the former khan, and that some family tragedy destroyed that feeling.

3. HUSN-NIGĀR-KHĀNĪKA, daughter of Khalil-Sultan.

The names of six concubines are also mentioned:

1. RUQIYA-SULTAN-KHATUN, the mother of two of Ulugh-beg's daughters, Aq-Bash and Sultan-Bakht.

2. MIHR-SULTAN, daughter of Tevkel, [Tükel?], son of Sarbuqa.

3. DAULAT-BAKHT-SA'ĀDAT, daughter of Bayan-Kükeltash. By her Ulugh-beg had a daughter, Qutluq-Turkân [Tärkân]-  
-agha.

4. DAULAT-SULTAN, daughter of Khwānd-Sa'id.

5. BAKTHĪ, daughter of Aqa-Sūfī Uzbek.

6. DAULAT-BAKHT, daughter of Shaykh Muhammad Barlas.

Among Ulugh-beg's daughters Khwāndamīr does not mention RABĪ'A-SULTAN-BEGÜM who after the taking of Samarqand by Mirza Abū-Sa'id (855/1451), became the wife of the Uzbek khan Abul-Khayr. She bore him two sons, the future khans Küch-künchi and Süyünich <sup>2</sup>, and was buried in the town Yasī (*alias* Turkestan) where her tomb is to be found to this day <sup>3</sup>. It is curious that Khwāndamīr names only the mothers of some of

<sup>1</sup> Some versions, probably erroneously, read: "she reproached Ulugh-beg so bitterly", or words to that effect.

<sup>2</sup> See Baron Demaison's note on his translation of Abul-Ghāzī, p. 192; also P. Lerch, p. 20, quoting the *Shībānī-nāma* and the *'Abdullāh-nāma*.

<sup>3</sup> P. Lerch, *ibid.*, p. 19 sq. (the date is 890/1485); also V. L. Vyatkin's article in *Turkestanskiye vedomosti*, 1906, No. 93.

Ulugh-beg's daughters <sup>1</sup>, and says nothing about the wives or concubines who bore him sons, viz. the princes;

1. 'ABDULLĀH, born in July 1420 <sup>2</sup>. He must have died in early childhood for he is not mentioned again.

2. 'ABD AL RAḤMĀN, born in 1421 <sup>3</sup> in Bukhara. He died in Samarqand in 1432 <sup>4</sup>. According to Mirkhond, in 1425 this prince met Ulugh-beg on his return from his expedition to Moghulistan.

3. 'ABD AL-LATĪF, the future murderer and successor of Ulugh-beg. The date of his birth is not given. In 1427 he was circumcised in Herat <sup>5</sup> where he was being brought up under the care of the queen Gauhar-Shād. Towards the end of 1439 he was present with the other princes at the solemn reception of the Egyptian embassy <sup>6</sup>. In 1441 he quarrelled with his guardian, angered by the preference shown by her to Baysunqar's son 'Alā al-daula. 'Abd al-Latīf returned to his father in Samarqand <sup>7</sup>. Early in 1442 the queen came to Samarqand to fetch "her son who had been taken from her" <sup>8</sup>, and persuaded him to return to Herat <sup>9</sup>. Of all Ulugh-beg's sons he was the only one to give him grandsons. Both of them, in 1457 and 1464 respectively, came to the same end as their father and grandfather.

<sup>1</sup> According to Khwāndamīr, Ulugh-beg had altogether seven daughters; we do not know the mothers of two of them: Tugha-Turkān [Tärkän] (who died in childhood) and Öge-Tughan-Shah.

<sup>2</sup> The date in is HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 342b, and in AR, f. 218a: beginning of Rajab 823.

<sup>3</sup> According to AR, f. 223b, 8 Muharram 824 (13 Jan.); according to Fasih, f. 416a, 20 Rabi' I (25 March). According to HAbbru, f. 374b, this was the date on which news of his birth reached Herat.

<sup>4</sup> According to Fasih, f. 421a, on Tuesday 11 Jamādī I 835/15 January 1432. Cf. AR, f. 241a. Mirkhond applies to 'Abdullāh all that HAbbru and AR say about Abd al-Rahman, and vice-versa (C 321b and 322a. In L 1292 Abd al-Rahman is not mentioned at all).

<sup>5</sup> According to Fasih, f. 421a, on Tuesday 11 Jamādī I 835/15 January

<sup>6</sup> AR, f. 248b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 252a.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 256a.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, the queen's own words.

<sup>9</sup> According to Fasih, f. 430b, the queen left Herat on Wednesday 20 Sha'ban 845/3 January 1442, and returned on Monday 14 Shawwāl/26 February in the evening. Abd al-Latif arrived towards noon of the next day.

4. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ. The date of his birth is also not given. All we know is that he was younger than Abd al-Latīf <sup>1</sup>. Already in 838/1434-5 he bore the title of khan and buildings were erected in his name (see above p. 86). Apparently he grew up at his father's court in Samarqand, where his circumcision was celebrated with great pomp (see above, p. 125). The report on the events of 1433 (see above, p. 106) shows that by that time Ulugh-beg had already chosen a daughter of Vays-khan of Moghulistan as a bride for Abd al-Aziz.

It is evident from all these details that, under Shahrukh, the custom of bringing up the princes at the court of the head of the empire under the supervision of persons appointed by him was not kept up with the same consistency as under Timur. Abd al-Rahmān and Abd al-Azīz grew up at their father's court in Samarqand. It may be that Shahrukh, or rather his wife Gauhar-Shād — who was the real ruler of the kingdom — strove to bring up the eldest children of each prince at the central court of Herat. This would explain why Ulugh-beg's young wife was brought to Herat when she was expecting her first child, and also why Abd al-Rahmān and Abd al-Azīz were left with their father, while Abd al-Latīf, and probably Abdullāh, were brought up in Herat.

53. Of his two sons who reached manhood, Ulugh-beg naturally preferred ABD AL-AZĪZ who had grown up under his care. Ulugh-beg's weakness for him is the probable clue to this prince's behaviour in Samarqand in 1449, which became one of the main causes of his father's ruin. ABD AL-LATĪF was a man of entirely different character. He was ambitious and as gifted as his father <sup>2</sup>, but, unlike him, possessed great strength of character, made himself more feared by his enemies and pursued his aims with more ruthlessness. According to one report father and son mistrusted each other from the first: both studied astronomy and — as it is alleged — read in the stars that each had reason

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 285a: *birādār-i khurdi-ū*.

<sup>2</sup> Like Ulugh-beg he liked science and scholars and studied astronomy, poetry and history. See his characteristic in Mirkhond, C 370b, L 1324.

to fear the other <sup>1</sup>. In all probability this legend was invented only in the wake of the events of 1449. Until 1448 Abd al-Latīf's interests entirely coincided with his father's, and it is only after that date — a year before the final catastrophe — that their ways parted.

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 285a.

## VII. ULUGH-BEG'S LAST YEARS AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW EPOCH IN THE LIFE OF TURKESTAN

54. During his father's lifetime, Ulugh-beg was only an occasional guest at the imperial court and took no part in decisions affecting the realm as a whole. Of such questions, the problem of succession was far more important to him, as the eldest of Shahrukh's sons, than to the other Timurids. Shahrukh lived to a still greater age than Timur, but unlike his father, he never publicly nominated an heir to the throne. Gauhar-Shād's favourite was Baysunqar's son 'ALĀ AL-DAULA, born on 17 June 1417<sup>1</sup>, but the queen could not openly proclaim him for fear of Ulugh-beg and his son Abd al-Latīf (who represented Ulugh-beg's interests in Herat). In addition, another of Shahrukh's sons, MUHAMMAD-JŪKĪ, ruler of Balkh, born in 1401 or 1402<sup>2</sup> was regarded as a candidate for the succession<sup>3</sup>. Shahrukh "secretly" wished to appoint him his heir, but his mother Gauhar-Shād, who wielded the actual power, would not even admit him to the affairs of the "divan", in which both Abd al-Latīf and 'Alā al-daula took part<sup>4</sup>. In 1444 Shahrukh fell dangerously ill and his death was expected in Herat. Muhammad-Jūkī hurried from Balkh to the capital and there learnt that, at the queen's instance, the leader of the military forces, Jalāl al-dīn Fīrūzshāh, had taken the oath of allegiance to 'Alā al-daula as heir to the throne<sup>5</sup>. Contrary to all

<sup>1</sup> The date in AR, f. 270b, is Thursday 1 Jamādī I 820; also in HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 293a-b, where the name of the prince is omitted (the date is also given according to the eras of Alexander and Yezdegerd).

<sup>2</sup> He was three years old at the time of Timur's death (ZN, II, 735). Muhammad-Jūkī spent most of his time in Herat. He took part in Shahrukh's expeditions into Western Persia (AR, ff. 237b and 247a); in 1438 he visited Ulugh-beg in Mawarannahr (*ibid.*, 250b); in 1433 he was ruler of the Garmsīr and of the Afghan province (*ibid.*, 244a); in 1443 he was sent to Balkh (*ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshah's expression, p. 395.

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 268a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 266a.

expectations, Shahrukh recovered, while Muhammad-Jūkī died in the same year (848/1444-5). This premature oath of allegiance may have been the cause of the disgrace which in the same year befell Jalāl al-dīn and his son, to whom the charge of commander-in-chief reverted on his father's death <sup>1</sup>. Later events show that the problem of succession remained open even after 1444. 'Alā al-daula's nomination remained in suspense for fear of infringing the rights of Ulugh-beg, Shahrukh's eldest and, at the time, only living son.

55. In 1446 the aged monarch undertook another campaign in the West, where the young prince SULTAN-MUHAMMAD, son of Baysunqar, had rebelled against his grandfather, seized Hamadan and Isfahan and besieged Shiraz <sup>2</sup>. 'Alā al-daula remained in Herat, while Gauhar-Shād and Abd al-Latif accompanied Shahrukh and the army. In Western Persia Shahrukh encountered no resistance. Sultan-Muhammad fled to the mountains. The fomenters of the revolt were severely punished <sup>3</sup>. At Gauhar-Shād's instigation the pious Shahrukh had several sayyids in Sāva executed — a measure which neither Timur nor Ulugh-beg would have dared to take. The tragic fate which befell Shahrukh's descendants was later explained by the curse laid on him by these sayyids <sup>4</sup>. During his stay in his winter-quarters Shahrukh was again taken ill and died on Sunday 12 March <sup>5</sup>.

To please Ulugh-beg, Gauhar-Shād offered the command of the army to ABD AL-LATĪF. The latter immediately sent a courier to his father, left the right wing, which he had commanded until then, and took up his position under the principal standard. Gauhar-Shād, on her part, sent a secret messenger to 'ALĀ AL-DAULA in Herat. No sooner did the news reach him than Ulugh-beg gathered his troops and moved towards the Amu-Darya. According to Abd al-Razzaq, he considered himself heir

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 266b.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 268 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The historian Sharaf al-din Yazdī was saved by the intervention of Abd al-Latif (f. 270b).

<sup>4</sup> Daulatshāh, p. 339.

<sup>5</sup> 25 Dhul-hijja 850 (AR, f. 271b).



to the whole of his father's possessions, as his only surviving son <sup>1</sup>, and this meant that he did not recognise the rights of any of his nephews. The Amu-Darya was crossed before Ulugh-beg by MIRZA ABU-BAKR, Muhammad-Jūkī's son. After Muhammad-Jūkī's death the province of Balkh had been divided between his two sons <sup>2</sup>, MUHAMMAD-QĀSIM and ABU-BAKR. The former, born in 1422 <sup>3</sup>, received Balkh, the latter, born on 18 January 1427 <sup>4</sup>, the lands to the north of the Amu-Darya: Khuttalān, Ārhang and Salī-Sarāy. After Shahrukh's death Abu-Bakr also seized his brother's fief: Balkh, Shapūrqān, Qunduz and Baghlān. Ulugh-beg summoned the young prince to his court and promised him his daughter in marriage. While in his future father-in-law's camp, Abu-Bakr was convicted of plotting. He was sent to Samarqand and imprisoned in the castle Kōk-Sarāy, where he was later put to death on Ulugh-beg's orders <sup>5</sup>. Ulugh-beg crossed the Amu-Darya and occupied Balkh. There he received the news of Abd al-Latif's failure.

After taking over the command of Shahrukh's army Abd al-Latif had to contend with certain rebellious elements. ABUL-QĀSIM BABUR, son of Baysunqar, born in 1422 <sup>6</sup>, and KHALIL-SULTAN, son of Muhammad-Jahāngīr by Shahrukh's daughter, left the army, plundered *Ordu-Bazar*, i.e. probably the main baggage-train of the army <sup>7</sup>, and fled to Khorasan. Abd al-Latif succeeded in restoring discipline by a few executions, and on the third day after Shahrukh's death led the army back to the East. Ulugh-beg expected that from the western frontier of Khorasan <sup>8</sup> he might march northwards (by way of Nasā and Abīvard) and, carrying Shahrukh's body with him, lead the army to Sa-

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 276a.

<sup>2</sup> On the partition see AR, f. 268a.

<sup>3</sup> HAbbru, Oxf. MS., f. 383a. AR, f. 224a, Fasih, f. 416a.

<sup>4</sup> The date is in Fasih, f. 419b, and AR, f. 235b: 28 Muharram 831.

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 276a; Daulatshah, p. 397.

<sup>6</sup> HAbbru, f. 380b. AR, f. 224a: year 825.

<sup>7</sup> [The usual meaning of *ordu-bazar* is "the camp of merchants and camp-followers" V.M.].

<sup>8</sup> According to AR, ff. 273b and 276a, from the bridge over the river Abrisham.

marqand. Between Rayy and Simnān Abd al-Latif ordered the queen Gauhar-Shād and her supporters, the *tarkhans*, to be taken into custody. The first resistance offered to him was in Dāmghān and the town had to be taken by storm. In Bistām he learnt that the forces stationed in Gurgan to contain the Uzbeks had made their submission to Abul-Qāsim Babur, after which the latter had seized Mazandaran. Thus the road to the North, and thence to Samarqand, was closed to Abd al-Latif. He therefore continued his march eastwards and reached Nishapur where he learnt that Mashhad had been occupied by ‘Alā al-daula’s troops.

For fear of Ulugh-beg, ‘Alā al-daula did not dare proclaim himself sovereign immediately upon receiving the news of Shahrukh’s death. It was intended to continue to mention the name of the late monarch in Friday prayers. Only after hearing about Abd al-Latif’s actions, and especially about his ill-treatment of the queen, did he decide to seize the throne. He shared out Shahrukh’s treasure amongst the troops<sup>1</sup> and sent a detachment to Mashhad. On Saturday, 20 April 1447<sup>2</sup>, near Nishapur, Abd al-Latif was suddenly attacked by Ala al-daula’s army, defeated and taken prisoner. The liberated queen, with the captive Abd al-Latif, set out towards Herat, and was met by Ala al-daula in Sa’dābād, in the neighbourhood of Jām. Abd al-Latif was brought to Herat and imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyār al-dīn. Shahrukh’s body was buried in Baysunqar’s mausoleum in the madrasa of Gauhar-Shād<sup>3</sup>. After that the Herat army under the command of Ala al-daula marched north-eastwards against Ulugh-beg and crossed the Murghāb.

56. In the face of these events, and acting on the advice of his

<sup>1</sup> According to Daulatshah, p. 414, the treasure on Shahrukh’s death contained 20,000 tomans (*circa* 10 million pounds sterling), which is probably an exaggeration.

<sup>2</sup> 13 Safar 851, AR, f. 274a.

<sup>3</sup> The building of the madrasa was completed in 1431 (AR, f. 241b). The report on Baysunqar’s burial, in the following year, mentions “the madrasa and lofty dome” (*ibid.*, f. 243b). Muhammad-Jūkī was buried in the same mausoleum (*ibid.*, f. 268a). On the remains of the building and the tombstones see C. E. Yates, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 30 sq.

military chiefs, ULUGH-BEG gave up the idea of further conquests and opened negotiations with ALA AL-DAULA. His envoy, Şadr Nizām al-dīn Mīrak Mahmūd declared to Ala al-daula that Ulugh-beg regarded him as a son and harboured no evil intentions against Herat. Nor was Ala al-daula capable of continuing the fight, for Herat was threatened from the West by ABUL-QĀSIM BABUR who had defeated the Herat outpost near Jām. A treaty was concluded, according to which the Chechektü valley<sup>1</sup> was recognised as the boundary of Abd al-Latif's possessions and the basin of the Murghab became the north-western march of his kingdom<sup>2</sup>. Abd al-Latif was allowed to join his father and was appointed governor of Balkh with its dependencies on either side of the Amu-Darya<sup>3</sup>. In the same year a treaty was concluded between Ala al-daula and Babur, fixing Quchan as the frontier point between the dominions of these two princes.

Already in the winter of 1447-8 military operations had been resumed, first of all between Abd al-Latif and Ala al-daula. The latter, contrary to the provisions of the treaty, retained Abd al-Latīf's *nukars* who had been taken prisoner with him as hostages. Furthermore, at the head of the frontier detachment stationed at Chechektü was put an enemy of Abd al-Latif, MĪRZĀ ŞĀLIḤ<sup>4</sup>, who had taken part in the battle of Nishapur. All this moved Abd al-Latif to resume hostilities. Şāliḥ was defeated and fled to Herat. Upon this, Ala al-daula ordered Abd al-Latif's *nukars* to be put to death, and in spite of the winter season immediately marched on Balkh. Abd al-Latif was compelled to retreat, entrench himself in Balkh and appeal to Ulugh-beg for help. Ulugh-beg sent word to Ala al-daula that he should have made his complaint in Samarqand, instead of starting a war. At

<sup>1</sup> Chechektü lay at 10 *aghach* (farsakhs) to the east of the Murghab, cf. Babur, f. 187b.

<sup>2</sup> Both in earlier and later times the Murghab on many occasions figured as the eastern boundary of Iran. Cf. for the Sasanian epoch J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 52 sq., and for the seventeenth century Iskandar Munshi, pp. 397, 427 sq. (who also refers to Chechektü).

<sup>3</sup> This is clear from AR, f. 278b.

<sup>4</sup> Son of Pir Muhammad and grandson of Omar-Shaykh.

his request, Ala al-daula consented to return to Herat, but also took measures to protect his dominions against any further attack. A fort was built in Chechektü and as the cold made the building of brick-kilns impossible, bricks were obtained by demolishing water-tanks, rest-houses (*langar*) and other buildings intended for the poor<sup>1</sup>. After his return to Herat Ala al-daula applied himself to restoring the prosperity of the population which had suffered from the war<sup>2</sup>.

57. In the spring of 1448 Ulugh-beg himself, together with Abd al-Latif, raised an army 90,000 strong<sup>3</sup> and resumed hostilities. Ala al-daula marched out to meet his enemies, and the battle took place at Tarnāb, 14 farsakhs from Herat<sup>4</sup>. The engagement ended in a complete victory for Ulugh-beg. Ala al-daula fled to Mashhad and from thence to Quchan, where he took refuge with his brother Babur. The vazir and military chiefs of Herat, as well as the queen Gauhar-Shād, also left the town as soon as news of the defeat reached them. The only places to offer any resistance to Ulugh-beg were the fortress of Neretü, which was besieged and taken, and the citadel of Ikhtiyar al-din, which was taken by Abd al-Latif. From Herat Ulugh-beg marched further westwards and occupied Mashhad without opposition, but he was unable to take the fort of 'Imād which had been built by Ala al-daula in the days of Shahrūkh. In the spring, before his expedition against Ulugh-beg, Ala al-daula had left part of his treasure here<sup>5</sup>, and after his defeat he succeeded in retrieving it and in distributing it among his soldiers. Undis-

<sup>1</sup> *Biqā'i khayr* AR, f. 278b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 280a. In Herat preparations were going on for the celebration of the circumcision of Ala al-daula's son and the granting of the *tarkhānī* to the citizens, i.e. exempting them from taxes, when the news came that Ulugh-beg had crossed the Amu-Darya.

<sup>3</sup> On the number of the troops and on Gauhar-Shād see Daulatshah, p. 363.

<sup>4</sup> On the way from Herat to Tarnāb there was the pass called Sanjāb, AR, f. 280b.

<sup>5</sup> 4,000 tomans (about £ 2,000,000) in coin were left by him in the citadel of Ikhtiyar al-din (AR); there too were 200 tomans (about £ 100,000) belonging to Abd al-Latif, *ibid.*, f. 281b.

mayed by this set-back, Ulugh-beg continued the campaign. In Rādkān he was met by the envoys of Babur who offered to recognise his suzerainty, introduce his name into the *khutba* and strike coins in his name. Ulugh-beg graciously dismissed the envoys, but did not suspend military operations <sup>1</sup>. For some reason, he stopped at Isfarāyīn for twenty days and from thence sent Abd al-Latif against Bistām and Astarābād. Babur fled to Damghan only to learn that, after reaching the bridge over the Abrīsham river, Ulugh-beg had returned to Mashhad. The historian Abd al-Razzaq looks upon this withdrawal as a grave mistake on Ulugh-beg's part, as his enemies Ala al-daula and Babur were already preparing to escape to Iraq, and consequently all their possessions would have fallen into his hands. What prevented Ulugh-beg from advancing further must have been the fear of leaving behind him a country where, as subsequent events were to prove, his authority was not sufficiently well established. His return, however, reduced only temporarily the rebellious elements of Khorasan, while at the same time it enabled the fugitive princes to recover strength.

Abd al-Razzaq's account of Ulugh-beg's meeting with the Shaykh al-Islam of Herat <sup>2</sup> shows — as one might have expected — that his conquest of Khorasan did not please the local clergy. The SHAYKH AL-ISLAM BAHĀ AL-DĪN had been asked by Ala al-daula to act as intermediary between him and Ulugh-beg, but he had been unable to reach Ulugh-beg in time before the battle at Tarnāb. After the battle the meeting took place in Chil-dukhtarān (near Kūshk). Ulugh-beg's soldiers robbed the Shaykh and, although Ulugh-beg saw that his litter was returned to him and otherwise tried to make amends, the Shaykh was not appeased. It was rumoured that he predicted that Ulugh-beg would be killed by his son upon the verdict of the *cadi*, pronounced in accordance with the Shari'at.

The expedition of Khorasan did in fact do much to arouse ill-feeling between Abd al-Latif and his father. During the battle at

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 282a.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 281a.

Tarnāb Ulugh-beg entrusted the left wing to Abd al-Latif and the right (probably only nominally) to Abd al-Aziz. Although Abd al-Latif greatly contributed to the success by his valorous conduct, the proclamation of the victory sent out to all the provinces was made, on Ulugh-beg's orders, in the name of Abd al-Aziz<sup>1</sup>. Still more painful slights awaited Abd al-Latif in Herat. Under Shahrukh the fort of Ikhtiyār al-dīn seems to have been regarded as Abd al-Latif's property, just as the fort of 'Imād was considered as Ala al-daula's own. When in 1446 Abd al-Latif left with his grandfather for the West, all his property remained in the citadel. The treasure consisted of gold and silver vessels weighing several thousand dirhams, and of 200 tomans in coin (about £ 100,000). During the Khorasanian expedition the citadel was recaptured by Abd al-Latif, but Ulugh-beg would not allow him to regain possession of his treasure<sup>2</sup>. Altogether, Abd al-Latif suffered many humiliations at his father's hands in Herat, where under Shahrukh he had spent years "of grandeur"<sup>3</sup>. Apparently Ulugh-beg planned to return to Samarqand after reducing his enemies and to leave Abd al-Latif in Herat. By treating his son as he did, he probably wished to show the inhabitants of Herat that Shahrukh's days were over and that Herat with its province was to become again nothing more than a simple fief, as it had been in Timur's time.

The news of Ulugh-beg's withdrawal incited Babur to move eastwards from Damghan<sup>4</sup>. Abd al-Latif was obliged to retreat from Bistam to Nishapur so hastily that at one of the stages he left behind the banner and the drum. In Nishapur he fell ill, and a report reached Ulugh-beg that his illness was feigned and that he was plotting against his father. The prince was summoned to Mashhad whither he was brought on a litter. Only then, on seeing his son's condition did Ulugh-beg realise the falsity of the accusation<sup>5</sup>. Ulugh-beg remained in Mashhad until Novem-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 281a. the expression: *jaldū-yi fath raqam zad*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 281b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 285a (*ba-'aẓamat*).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 283b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 282a.

ber<sup>1</sup>, when news of a rebellion in the fort of Neretü impelled him to return to Herat and hand over Mashhad to Abd al-Latif.

58. The fomenter of the rebellion was the Turcoman prince YĀR-‘ALĪ, son of Sultan-Iskandar of the Qara-Qoyunlu dynasty. He had fled from his father to the Shirvānshāh, and in 1432 the latter had sent him to Shahrukh by sea, *i.e.* by the Caspian sea, probably *via* Astarabad<sup>2</sup>. In the autumn of 1432 he was present in Herat at the trying out of a newly invented war machine<sup>3</sup>. Shahrukh noticed that the good looks of the young prince had made a strong impression on the crowd. Some time later Yar-Ali was imprisoned and then sent to Samarqand<sup>4</sup> where he remained till 1448. For reasons of his own, Ulugh-beg took the prince with him on his Khorasanian expedition, and after Neretü had been taken, shut him up in that fort. Here too was imprisoned the military chief of Herat<sup>5</sup>, SULTAN-ABU-SA‘ĪD, who had fled from Herat with the queen Gauhar-Shād and had been captured by Ulugh-beg’s soldiers<sup>6</sup>. One of Abu-Sa‘īd’s men sent him a large loaf (*kumāj*) inside which a file (*sūhān*) was concealed<sup>7</sup>. Sultan-Abu-Sa‘īd and Yar-Ali burst their fetters, broke out of prison, killed the guards and seized the fortress with its treasure. This money allowed them to collect together a troop of followers. At the head of it they marched on Herat, which was then governed in Ulugh-beg’s name by BĀYAZĪD-PARVĀNA-CHI. The military forces at Bayazid’s disposal were inadequate. He had to mobilise the Tājik (Iranian) population and every man who had a horse received the order to march. This army was defeated near Kārūkh, to the north-east of Herat, and the enemy invested the town. The militia proved more useful in the

<sup>1</sup> Till the end of Ramadan, *ibid.*, f. 282b.

<sup>2</sup> Fasih, f. 421b.

<sup>3</sup> It could throw stones weighing 400 *mans*.

<sup>4</sup> AR, ff. 241a-b.

<sup>5</sup> The father of this amir, Muhammad-Darvish, who died in February 1433, was *darughā* (military chief) of Herat, and his son inherited his charge (AR, f. 242a, Fasih, f. 421b sq., where the date is given as 22 Jamādī II, 836).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 281b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 282b.

defence of the town than in the open field. One assault, during which the "Samarqand Turks" <sup>1</sup>, i.e. Ulugh-beg's warriors, were routed, was beaten off by the Tajik archers from Bākharz <sup>2</sup>. Ulugh-beg came up with his army only 17 days after the beginning of the siege, and the enemy withdrew to Neretü. Ulugh-beg ordered an investigation of the reasons which had favoured the revolt. The inhabitants of the Herat suburbs were accused of aiding the enemy. As a punishment the suburbs were given up to three days' looting, after which the inhabitants were allowed to return to their empty houses. The ruined population suffered from the lack of food and clothing, the more so as the cold was severe. During the celebration of Bayram (28 November), a darvish ran in front of Ulugh-beg's horse crying: "righteous Padishah! Thou hast indeed arranged a fine feast for the darvishes, may thy life and reign be prolonged!" <sup>3</sup> Daulatshah asserts that in 1448 Khorasan became "desolate and waterless", and that in his own days (at the end of the fifteenth century) traces of the devastations wrought by Ulugh-beg's troops were still to be seen <sup>4</sup>. And yet, Herat and the surrounding country suffered even more after Ulugh-beg's departure.

59. On his return to Herat Ulugh-beg remained there for some time, but not long enough to consolidate his power. At ABUL-QĀSIM BABUR'S approach Abd al-Latif hastily left Mashhad and joined his father in Herat. Yar-Ali and his adherents remained in the fort Neretü which Ulugh-beg's troops were evidently unable to take. Finally the Uzbek khan ABUL-KHAYR, taking advantage of the absence of Ulugh-beg and his sons, raided Mawarannahr. He came up to the very walls of Samarqand and, according to Abd al-Razzaq, plundered the surrounding country during those very days (end of Ramadan, i.e. end of November)

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 282b.

<sup>2</sup> To the west of Turbat-i Shaykh Jām, cf. on modern maps the name of the mountains: Kūh Bākharz.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 283b.

<sup>4</sup> Daulatshah, p. 363.



when Ulugh-beg's soldiers were looting the suburbs of Herat<sup>1</sup>. Abul-Khayr's biographer alleges that the governor of Samarqand, Amir Jalāl al-dīn son of Bāyazīd (probably the governor of Herat) and the dignitaries of the town offered him presents and told him that Ulugh-beg "was favourably disposed towards the khan's governors and was carrying out the conditions of unanimity and obedience"<sup>2</sup>. It is very unlikely that Ulugh-beg's governor would have dared to lower his sovereign's dignity so much before the khan, especially as this was unnecessary. It is more likely that the nomads, as it had happened before, withdrew from the fortified capital without having been bought off by gifts, but plundering the country as they went.

60. Such were the circumstances under which Ulugh-beg left Herat carrying with him Shahrukh's body and certain valuables<sup>3</sup> deposited by Shahrukh in the madrasa of Gauhar-Shād. Abd al-Latif was left in Herat. The withdrawal could not be carried out without loss. On the way to the Amu-Darya, Ulugh-beg was overtaken by a body of Khorasanians under the command of HINDŪKA whom Babur — who had arrived in Sarakhs from Mashhad with an army — had sent from Sarakhs in the direction of Marv. Hindūka inflicted heavy losses on Ulugh-beg's army and captured Ibrahim, son of Idigü-Timur, one of his chief amirs. During the actual crossing of the river on a pontoon-bridge, Ulugh-beg was attacked by the Uzbeks who also captured part of the baggage-train and took many prisoners. Ulugh-beg spent the rest of the winter in Bukhara, from whence he sent on Shahrukh's body to Samarqand to be interred in Timur's mausoleum<sup>4</sup>.

Simultaneously with his march towards Sarakhs, Babur sent a body of troops against Abd al-Latif in Herat. The latter, a fortnight after Ulugh-beg's departure, left the town and made for the

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 283a. On this occasion the Uzbeks destroyed the "China" pavilion, see above p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Yak-jihatī-va-inquiyyād*, MS. SPb. Univ. No. 852, f. 448a.

<sup>3</sup> Among them were "several pairs of steel gates (?)"; MS. As. Mus. 574, p. 626; 574a, f. 429a.

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 283b.

Amu-Darya by way of Andkhoy<sup>1</sup>. After crossing the river, he received orders from Ulugh-beg to proceed to his fief of Balkh, much to his relief, for he feared meeting his father.

According to Abd al-Razzaq, one of Abd al-Latif's grievances against his father was that he had not given him timely aid at Bistām, Mashhad and Herat<sup>2</sup>. This can hardly have been the case, because the conditions under which Ulugh-beg's retreat took place made it impossible for him to render military assistance to his son. Ulugh-beg undoubtedly valued Herat and would hardly have left Abd al-Latif in charge if he had not trusted him.

Abul-Qasim Babur's forces, which had captured Herat, set to plundering the town. Three days later YAR-ALI came up from Neretü. After a three days' siege the town passed into his hands and remained in his power for twenty days. Then BABUR arrived in person and Yar-Ali was defeated and executed in the centre of the town near the *chārsū* (bazaar). This happened in the last days of A.H. 852, i.e. towards the end of February 1449<sup>3</sup>.

Abd al-Razzaq avers that the events of 1448 deprived Ulugh-beg of all popularity with the troops and the population<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1449 Ulugh-beg wished to renew the attempt to conquer Khorasan, but instead he had to wage war on his own son.

61. Abd al-Latif, as the feudal lord of a vast province, was the suzerain of other princes with smaller fiefs. In the spring of 1449, one of these, a certain MĪRĀNSHĀH, about whom it is only known that he was a descendant of Timur, raised a revolt which was quelled by Abd al-Latif. MĪrānshāh was killed and among his effects Abd al-Latif was said to have found a letter from Ulugh-beg revealing the latter as the real instigator of the revolt<sup>5</sup>. It was this action of his father's that Abd al-Latif invoked as his excuse when he openly broke with him, seized all the river-craft on the Amu-Darya and abolished the *tamgha*, i.e.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the route by which his father had travelled.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 285a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 284a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 284b.

<sup>5</sup> The episode is mentioned only by Mirkhond, L. 1320.

the tax on trade to which Ulugh-beg attached particular importance, especially in Balkh which stood on the trade-route to India <sup>1</sup>.

Ulugh-beg was forced to lead his army against Abd al-Latif, and on this occasion he entrusted his capital to his youngest son, Abd al-Aziz. With Ulugh-beg's army was his nephew, prince 'ABDULLĀH, son of Ibrāhīm, born on 19 March 1433 <sup>2</sup>. After his father's death, which occurred on 4 May 1435 <sup>3</sup>, he was nominally regarded as the ruler of Fars. In 1447, after the departure of Shahrukh's army, Fars fell into the power of Sultan-Muhammad. Abdullāh withdrew to the East. In 1448 he was with Ala al-daula's army and on the eve of the battle of Tarnāb went over to Ulugh-beg <sup>4</sup>. According to Daulatshah Ulugh-beg gave him one of his daughters in marriage <sup>5</sup>.

For a long time (three months, according to Daulatshah) the armies of Ulugh-beg and Abd al-Latif remained facing each other across the Amu-Darya <sup>6</sup>. Single detachments made attempts to cross the river and in the ensuing skirmishes success was usually with Abd al-Latif's men. During one such encounter Abdullāh was taken prisoner. In addition to the hostilities with his son, Ulugh-beg had to contend with rebellious tendencies among his own troops. News came that in Samarqand Abd al-Aziz was oppressing the families of the amirs who were with Ulugh-beg. The amirs resented this so strongly that Ulugh-beg was in danger of being seized and delivered up to Abd al-Latif. He had great difficulty in allaying this discontent. A letter in Ulugh-beg's name was sent to Abd al-Aziz with exhortations and threats <sup>7</sup>. Shortly after, another disturbance arose in Ulugh-beg's rear which forced him to return to Samarqand.

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 284b. On the importance of the *tamgha* under Ulugh-beg see Mirkhond, L 1320; on the transit through Balkh see AR, f. 260b. Compare also above, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> The date 27 Rajab 836 is in AR, f. 241b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 245b (4 Shawwal 838) and Fasih, f. 423b. (Wednesday).

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 280b.

<sup>5</sup> Daulatshah, p. 425. Also Babur, f. 50b.

<sup>6</sup> Daulatshah, p. 364.

<sup>7</sup> AR, f. 286b.

62. Our information as to the origin of this movement and the person of its leader is not clear. The Turcoman <sup>1</sup> tribe ARGHUN proclaimed the twelve-year-old <sup>2</sup> MIRZA ABU-SA'ID as their ruler and laid siege to Samarqand. Abu-Sa'id was said to be the grandson of Miranshah, and the son of Sultan-Muhammad. However, no "Sultan-Muhammad" is found in the list of Miranshah's sons quoted in Timur's history <sup>3</sup>. It is said that he was Ulugh-beg's constant companion, though his name is never mentioned in the records of earlier events. He is said to have taken part in the war against Abd al-Latif and to have abandoned Ulugh-beg only on the Amu-Darya, when he led away the Arghuns. On the other hand, from Abd al-Razzaq's account it would appear that Ulugh-beg learnt about the revolt only after the siege of Samarqand had begun <sup>4</sup>. The revolt of a single Turcoman tribe, which could hardly have been very numerous, could not have forced Ulugh-beg to leave the banks of the Amu-Darya with his entire army.

Undoubtedly Ulugh-beg's return was caused by fresh intelligence received from Samarqand. The movement against Abd al-Aziz must have assumed such proportions that Ulugh-beg could not remain away from the capital. The rebels could hardly been limited to the members of the military class, offended by Abd al-Aziz, and the Arghun tribe, which had taken an oath of allegiance to Abu-Sa'id. From the very first Abu-Sa'id found support among the clergy <sup>5</sup>, especially in Bukhara, and it is probably they who were responsible for setting up this real, or spurious, descendant of Timur in opposition to Ulugh-beg.

After having restored order in Samarqand and forced Abu-Sa'id to flee to the steppes, Ulugh-beg resumed his campaign against Abd al-Latif this time taking Abd al-Aziz with him.

<sup>1</sup> Thus according to Daulatshah, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to AR, f. 287a.

<sup>3</sup> ZN, II, 734 sq., enumerating Miranshah's sons: Abu-Bakr, Omar, Khalil-Sultan and Suyurghatmish. This fact, however, has no decisive importance, cf. above p. 83, note 5, the case of Sidi-Ahmad.

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 287a. According to Khwāndamīr, III, 218, the news of the siege reached Ulugh-beg only a week after it had started.

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 287a: on the importance which Abu-Sa'id attached to the views of the divines.

Mīrānshāh-Qauchin<sup>1</sup> was appointed governor of Samarqand. By this time Abd al-Latif had crossed the river and occupied Tirmidh and Shahrisabz, where he was joined by the local military forces. The engagement between father and son took place near Dimishq, on the outskirts of Samarqand, in the month of Shaʿbān<sup>2</sup>, i.e. in September or October 1449. Ulugh-beg's army was defeated. He tried to take refuge in the citadel of Samarqand but found the gates closed before him by Mīrānshāh. Accompanied by Abd al-Aziz and a few *nukars* he set off northwards and reached the fort of Shahrukhiya. The local governor, the mamluk Ibrahim son of Pulad, denied him entrance and tried to seize him and deliver him up to Abd al-Latif. Ulugh-beg preferred to surrender to his son, and together with Abd al-Aziz and his followers returned of his own accord to Samarqand. At first Abd al-Latif gave him permission to travel to Mecca with a former pilgrim, the amir MUHAMMAD KHUSRAU as guide. At the same time a trial of the deposed monarch was instituted, without Ulugh-beg's knowledge. Overtly Abd al-Latif took no hand in deciding his father's fate. As in Timur's time a certain wretch (*maflūk*) of Chingizid descent was proclaimed khan. One ʿAbbās<sup>3</sup>, on Abd al-Latif's instigation knelt before the new khan and pleaded that, in accordance with the Sharīʿat, he should be granted the right to avenge his father's death which had been ordered by Ulugh-beg. The khan commanded that the Sharīʿat be complied with in full. The religious authorities drew up a *fatvā* to this effect to which all the imams<sup>4</sup> of Samarqand, with the exception of the cadi MISKĪN, apposed their seals. When Ulugh-beg's power was at its zenith the cadi had courageously stood up to his monarch, and now he had the moral courage to refuse to confirm the iniquitous verdict pronounced against him.

<sup>1</sup> Thus according to AR, f. 287a, MS. As. Mus. 574, p. 624; 574a, f. 434b; in Daulatshah, p. 364: Mīrānshāh-qorchi.

<sup>2</sup> The date is in Daulatshah, p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Mirkhond, L 1321, C 365b. AR, f. 287b, mentions several men who avenged their relatives.

<sup>4</sup> Imāms, according to Mirkhond, faqīhs, according to Khwāndamīr, III, 218.

63. Mirkhond gives a detailed account<sup>1</sup> of Ulugh-beg's end from the mouth of Hājji Muhammad-Khusrau who accompanied him. Ulugh-beg and the Hajji rode out of Samarqand in the evening. Ulugh-beg was in good spirits and conversed on a variety of topics. After they had travelled a short distance they were overtaken by a Chaghatay of the Sulduz clan. He ordered them, in the khan's name, to halt at a neighbouring village for the purpose, so he said, of completing the arrangements for Ulugh-beg's journey; the latter was meant to proceed in circumstances that would gain the approval of "great and small, Tajiks and Turks". Ulugh-beg, much perturbed by this order, was obliged to stop at the nearest village<sup>2</sup> where he entered one of the houses. It was cold, and he gave orders to light a fire and cook some meat. A spark from the fire kindled by the *nukars* fell on Ulugh-beg's cloak and burnt a hole in it. Ulugh-beg looked at the fire and said in Turkish: *sän hām bildin* "you too have understood". His thoughts took a gloomy turn and the Hajji vainly sought to cheer him up. Suddenly the door was flung open and Abbas entered with another man. At this sight Ulugh-beg, beside himself with rage, threw himself on Abbas and hit him in the chest with his fist. Abbas's companion held him off and tore his "Altai fur coat"<sup>3</sup> from his shoulders. While Abbas went off to fetch a rope, the Hajji secured the door with a chain to allow Ulugh-beg time for his ablutions. When Abbas returned Ulugh-beg was bound and dragged out, while the Hajji and Ulugh-beg's other companions hid themselves. Abbas seated Ulugh-beg near a lighted lantern and killed him with one stroke of his sword. The Hajji and the *nukars* returned to Samarqand. It is not stated whether they took Ulugh-beg's body with them, nor where, when and by whom it was buried. According to Daulatshah, Ulugh-beg was killed on the banks of a small river (or canal) Sūj, on 8 Ramadan 853/25 October 1449<sup>4</sup>). The inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> Mirkhond, L 1321; the best text is in C 365b-366a.

<sup>2</sup> L: *qal'a*, "a fort, a walled village".

<sup>3</sup> *Pūstīn-i Altā'i*.

<sup>4</sup> Daulatshah, pp. 364 and 366. In Mas'ūd Kūhistānī's *Tārīkhī Abul-Khayr khānī*, f. 407b: *āb-i Sōkh*.

tion on Ulugh-beg's tomb bears another date — 10 Ramadan.

64. The struggle between father and son was brought to its conclusion without the intervention of other members of the dynasty, because war had broken out in Persia at the very same time. SULTAN-MUHAMMAD marched from Fars to Khorasan, defeated the army of his brother ABUL-QASIM BABUR at Farhād-jird<sup>1</sup>, between Mashhad and Jām, and occupied Herat. Abd al-Latif, who at the beginning of his war against Ulugh-beg had sent an envoy to Babur with assurances of friendship<sup>2</sup>, now congratulated Sultan-Muhammad on his success and expressed the hope that he would enjoy the possession of Khorasan just as he himself enjoyed that of Mawarannahr. Sultan-Muhammad was grieved by the news of Ulugh-beg's death<sup>3</sup> but did not dare to make war on Abd al-Latif.

A few days after Ulugh-beg's death Abd al-Latif made away with his brother ABD AL-AZIZ, this time apparently without having recourse to the authority of judges and men of law. On the day of the capture of Samarqand, four of Ulugh-beg's amirs overtook a detachment which was on its way to join Abd al-Latif under the command of Sultan-Shah Barlas and his son Jalāl al-dīn Muhammad. Both were wounded in the affray and taken prisoner; the father died on the way to Samarqand and his son a few days later. On Abd al-Latif's orders all four amirs were arraigned before the *cadi*<sup>4</sup>, condemned to death and executed. Mīrzā Abdullāh was spared and imprisoned. The same fate was allotted to Abu Sa'īd whom Abd al-Latif succeeded in taking prisoner. Towards winter, Abd al-Latif's supremacy in Mawarannahr seemed fully assured. Even the Uzbeks did not venture to renew their raids on Mawarannahr. According to Abd al-Razzaq, they used in former times to approach Samarqand every winter to a distance of five farsakhs, while now their fear of Abd al-Latif

<sup>1</sup> On the battle-field see Daulatshah, p. 408. AR, f. 286a, mentions only the region of Jām.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 284b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 286b and 288a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 287b; in MS. As. Mus. 574, p. 624, and 574a, f. 434b, and in Khwāndamīr, Tehr. ed., III, 221, "in a special (or private) session".

kept them throughout the winter 100 farsaks from the town <sup>1</sup>.

During the winter of 1449-1450 life in Samarqand became altogether different from what it had been under Ulugh-beg. Like his father, Abd al-Latif indulged in the study of secular sciences, such as astronomy and history, but the "men of God", i.e. the darvishes were treated with utmost consideration <sup>2</sup>. Abd al-Latif listened respectfully to their discourses and frequented their lectures. Shams al-din Muhammad Jājarmī relates from the mouth of a member of the clergy that at one of these lectures Abd al-Latif took part in the discussion on the Arabic verb *fa'ala* ("to do") which was sometimes explained by the verb *dhahaba* ("to go away"). Abd al-Latif quoted the example of a similar use of the Persian verb *raftan* ("to go") in the phrase *fulān kas nīk raft*: the monarch's remark won unanimous approval. On Fridays the *khutba* was read in the cathedral mosque by the monarch in person, as was the custom under the first caliphs <sup>3</sup>. This attitude of Abd al-Latif towards the clergy easily explains why Abu Sa'īd, who escaped from Samarqand in the spring of 1450, failed to find in Bukhara the support on which he had counted. The *darugha* and the *cadi* <sup>4</sup> took him into custody and were about to execute him when suddenly news came of Abd al-Latif's death.

In contrast to the clergy, the population and the army had a harder time under Abd al-Latif than under Ulugh-beg. Abd al-Latif mercilessly repressed any kind of insubordination, admitting, as Abd al-Razzaq puts it, neither respect for old age, nor leniency towards youth. The malcontents, afraid to revolt openly, plotted in secret. The conspiracy was headed by the former *nukars* of Ulugh-beg and of Abd al-Aziz who felt it their duty to avenge the death of their begs <sup>5</sup>. One of Abd al-Latif's famili-

<sup>1</sup> AR, *l.c.*

<sup>2</sup> Mirkhond, L 1324, C 370b, and AR, f. 289b: on the respectful attitude of the king at the meetings of the "men of God".

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 289b, where *khalaf* stands instead of *khulafā* (correct in MS. As. Mus. 574. p. 628, 574a, f. 437b). There too see on subsequent events.

<sup>4</sup> Thus in Mirkhond. L 1325; in AR: *dārūgha-va-umarā*.

<sup>5</sup> On the *nūkars* and their rights to blood-vengeance for their beg see above, p. 18.



ars later told the historian Abd al-Razzaq that he had been aware of the plot but did not venture to warn Abd al-Latif for fear of his wrath.

65. Abd al-Latif fell victim to the conspiracy on the eve, or in the early morning, of Friday, 8 May 1450<sup>1</sup>, as he was on his way to the mosque from the suburban garden BĀGH-I CHINĀR, situated to the south of the town<sup>2</sup>. Mas'ūd Kūhistānī writes that Abd al-Latif had spent the night in the BĀGH-I MAYDĀN, in the northern suburbs of Samarqand, and that he dreamt that his own head was presented to him on a platter (*tasht*)<sup>3</sup>. Terrified by this vision he took an augury by opening at random a copy of Nizami's poems, and his eye fell on the verse: "Kingship does not become a parricide; though he obtain it, he will not endure more than six months"<sup>4</sup>. The same author gives a detailed description of the spot where the murder took place. The assassins met Abd al-Latif in the narrow space between the town moat and the garden BĀGH-I NAU: the latter was separated from the town wall "only by the moat of the fortress and the road running along its bank"<sup>5</sup>. Mas'ūd names as the only murderer a Bābā-Husayn Bahādur<sup>6</sup>. This man brought Abd al-Latif down with one shot from his bow, and, while the prince's following were crowding round his body, he made his escape and safely reached Yasī (Turkestan)<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, Mirkhond's report sug-

<sup>1</sup> AR: 26 Rabi' I, 854.

<sup>2</sup> Mirkhond, I, 1325, C 371a. On the site of the garden see *Babur-nama*, f. 46a; V. L. Vyatkin's translation, IV, part IV, p. 33. Differently in Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Tārīkh-i Abul-Khayr khānī*, Univ. MS., 852, ff. 407b-408a. According to this source, Abd al-Latif was on his way from the *Bāgh-i Maydān* to the *Bāgh-i Chinār*, apparently passing through the town, as he went out of the gate of Chahār-rāna (or Chahār-su). This gate was situated "somewhat to the west of Timur's mausoleum" (Vyatkin, *Materials*, pp. 18 and 82), but those who were going to the *Bāgh-i Maydān* had also to use this gate, Babur, f. 80a.

<sup>4</sup> Ditto in Babur, f. 50a, and Mirkhond, L 1325.

<sup>5</sup> V. L. Vyatkin, *Materials*, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> Also in AR, f. 289, and Babur, f. 50b.

<sup>7</sup> *Tārīkh-i Abul-Khayr khānī*, f. 469a.

gests that the murderer had no reason for seeking safety in flight for immediately upon Abd al-Latif's death the power passed to his enemies. When Abd al-Latif fell from his horse crying: "Allah! The arrow has struck!" his retinue immediately dispersed. The conspirators fell upon the wounded man, cut off his head and later exposed it over the entrance arch of Ulugh-beg's madrasa <sup>2</sup>.

66. The conspirators released MĪRZĀ ABDULLĀH, and set him upon the throne. One of this prince's most zealous partisans was the SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM BURHĀN AL-DĪN, son and successor of 'Iṣām al-dīn <sup>3</sup>. Though nothing is known about the shaykh's activities during the deposition of Ulugh-beg and Abd al-Latif's reign, it is probable that he took part in the plot. Abdullah began his rule by distributing to the troops a large sum of money from the Samarqand treasury <sup>4</sup>. Nothing is said as to whether the conspirators were rewarded, or the authors of the events of the preceding year punished. At all events, there were no executions, for the historians would hardly have omitted to mention them. After the stern reign of Abd al-Latif the inhabitants of Samarqand enjoyed times recalling the comparatively mild rule of Ulugh-beg, whom Abdullāh and the Shaykh al-Islām apparently strove to emulate. It must have been under Abdullah that Ulugh-beg's body was moved to the Gūr-Amīr and the inscription on his tomb composed, in which Abd al-Latif's parricide is openly condemned <sup>5</sup>.

The change of rulers was least of all welcome in Bukhara, that centre of influential clergy. On receiving the intelligence of Abd

<sup>1</sup> *Allah, oq tegdi.*

<sup>2</sup> Here probably its builder was originally buried.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 202a. Only the *Rashahat*, Univ. MS., f. 172a, MS. As. Mus., f. 233b, Tashk. lith., p. 323, says that Burhān was the son of 'Iṣām al-dīn. The story about Nizam al-dīn Khāmūsh, see above p. 116, shows that the latter died towards the end of Ulugh-beg's reign. In 1434 he was still with Ulugh-beg on his journey to Herat (AR, f. 244b).

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 290a. The sum of 100,000 tomans quoted by Daulatshah, p. 425, is definitely exaggerated.

<sup>5</sup> ZVO, XXIII, 31 sq. See the text of the inscription in E. Blochet, *Les inscriptions de Samarkand*, p. 14 sq. and pl. III.

al-Latif's death, the *darugha* and the *cadi* hastened to free ABU SA'ĪD and swear allegiance to him. Another of Abu-Sa'id's supporters was one of the most outstanding scholars of Bukhara (*iftikhār al-'ulamā*) Muhammad Ardūkujnūdī (?) <sup>1</sup>. Abu-Sa'id immediately marched upon Samarqand, but was defeated and took to flight across the steppes towards the North <sup>2</sup>. On this occasion too there is no mention of reprisals against the inhabitants of Bukhara, and the Bukharan clergy in particular, for their support of the revolt.

Abdullah had also to wage war against another enemy, Mirza 'ALĀ AL-DAULA, who had seized Shapūrqān, Balkh and Ḥiṣār from whence he intended to conquer Samarqand. Abdullah marched out against him from Shahrīsabz but the armies separated without fighting. 'Alā al-daula returned to Balkh, and 'Abdullāh went back to Samarqand <sup>3</sup>, probably after having established his power in the provinces to the North of the Amu-Darya. In 1449 Ala al-daula returned to Khorasan together with SULTAN-MUHAMMAD who gave him Ghūr and the Garmsīr, i.e. the south-western part of Afghanistan. In March 1450, when war broke out afresh between Babur and Sultan-Muhammad, the latter defeated his enemy near Mashhad <sup>4</sup>, but Ala al-daula profiting by his absence seized Herat, and from thence undertook the conquest of the North-East <sup>5</sup>. The fact that he withdrew without giving battle to Abdullah's army was probably due to the operations of Babur who soon after succeeded in re-establishing himself in Khorasan.

67. Meanwhile ABU-SA'ĪD, with a small band of followers seized Yasī (Turkestan), the northern frontier town of the Timurid kingdom in the basin of the Sīr-Darya <sup>6</sup>. In the winter of

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkhi Abul-Khayr khānī*, Univ. MS., 852, f. 448b.

<sup>2</sup> AR, ff. 290a and 291a.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 290a.

<sup>4</sup> According to Daulatshah, p. 409, on Thursday, 1 Safar 854. Either the day of the week, or the day of the month is wrong. See on Ghūr and the Garmsīr p. 409. According to AR, f. 288a, Ala al-daula received the Garmsīr and Zamīn-Dāvar from Muhammad-Sultan.

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 289a.

<sup>6</sup> On these and following events see AR, f. 291a sq.

1450-1 Abdullah sent an army which besieged the town. Abu Sa'id had recourse to a ruse: he sent men in Uzbek dress to spread the rumour that the Uzbek khan Abul-Khayr was coming to relieve the town. The besieged men pretended to rejoice at this news uttering loud cries. The men of Samarqand retreated so hastily that they left their baggage-train and their horses and mules behind them. Finally Abdullah in person marched out against Abu-Sa'id and reached the town of Shahrūkhiya. On learning this, Abu-Sa'id turned to the Uzbeks for help in full earnest. ABUL-KHAYR readily seized the opportunity to repeat his raid on Samarqand. Abu-Sa'id accompanied Abul-Khayr and his army from Yasī to Tashkent, and from thence to Khojand. At the approach of the enemy, Abdullah's army withdrew from the Sir-Darya. The Uzbeks with Abu-Sa'id crossed the Hunger steppe. The encounter with Abdullah's forces took place in June 1451<sup>1</sup>, near the village of Shiraz<sup>2</sup> on the southern border of the Bulungur steppe. The Uzbeks were completely victorious over the much more numerous army of Abdullah. During the battle the latter showed great personal courage but was overtaken during the retreat and killed. The victors entered Samarqand without meeting with any further opposition, and Abu-Sa'id mounted the throne.

68. Our sources differ in their versions of the events. In his biography, khan ABUL-KHAYR is represented as the sole hero of the expedition; Abu-Sa'id visits his *ordu*, kneels before him and thanks him for the promised help in expressions as humble<sup>3</sup> as those ascribed to Ulugh-beg's governor in the account of the raid of 1448; after the taking of Samarqand, Abul-Khayr's name

<sup>1</sup> According to AR, *l.c.*, on Saturday, 22 Jamādī I 855. The day of the week does not coincide with the date. In Mirkhond. L 1326, C 373a, there is only "during the last ten days" of Jamādī II. In Khwandamir, Tehran ed., III, 224: Saturday, 20 Jumādī I, Ind. ed., III/3, Monday 22, which would correspond to 21 June 1451.

<sup>2</sup> The village of Shiraz is named in AR, f. 292a; Bulungur in *Rasha-hāt*, Univ. MS., below, also MS. As. Mus., f. 222a, and Tashkent lith., p. 309. On the location of Bulungur (Qatwān) see Barthold, *Irrigation of Turkestan*, p. III sq.

<sup>3</sup> *T. Abul-Khayr khānī*, f. 451a.

is said to have been mentioned in the *khutba* and inscribed on coins <sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the biographer of the holy men of Bukhara <sup>2</sup> does not mention the Uzbeks at all; Abu-Sa'id and his soldiers were inspired by their faith in the protection of Shaykh 'Ubaydullah, better known as KHOJA AḤRĀR, the Naqshbandi representative in Tashkent, and it was this faith that brought them victory over a much more numerous foe. Khoja Aḥrār had predicted Abu-Sa'id's conquest of Tashkent, Samarqand and Khorasan, at a time when Abu-Sa'id's very name was unknown. The latter dreamt that Khoja Aḥrār was pointed out to him by Ahmad Yasavi. On arriving in Tashkent, Abu-Sa'id, who had faithfully retained the memory of the Khoja's name and appearance, made enquiries about him and learnt that he had gone to Parkent. Abu-Sa'id followed him there, and the Shaykh promised him victory provided his aims were the strengthening of the Shari'at and leniency towards his subjects. He also advised him not to attack the enemy until a flight of crows appeared in the rear of his army. When the two armies clashed, 'Abdullah's men crushed Abu-Sa'id's right wing and were preparing to fall upon the left when suddenly crows appeared behind Abu-Sa'id's army. At the sight of this omen Abu-Sa'id's soldiers took heart and in a mighty effort routed the foe. All this is followed by another legend from the mouth of Hasan Bahādur, a warrior of a noble Turkestan clan, who took part in the fighting. Whereas Abu-Sa'id had only 7000 men, Abdullāh's army was much more numerous and better armed. Abu-Sa'id greatly feared the outcome of the encounter until suddenly the image of Khoja Aḥrār marching in front of the army appeared to him and to Hasan Bahādur. The latter rushed forwards crying: *Yaghī qachti!* ("the enemy has fled!") <sup>3</sup>. The soldiers took up this cry,

<sup>1</sup> According to AR, f. 291b, Abu-Sa'id did not go to the *ordu* but sent an envoy to the khan to ask him for assistance.

<sup>2</sup> *Rashaḥāt*, Univ. MS, f. 165a sq., MS. As. Mus., f. 221a sq.; Tashk. lith., p. 307 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf in ZVO, XXIII, 27, the cry of Bereke before the battle with Tokhtamish.

forced Abdullah's army into flight and took Samarqand on the same day.

Such stories are undoubtedly an echo of the issue of the war and Khoja Ahrār's activity in the conquered Samarqand. There is no doubt that the leader of the expedition was neither Khoja Ahrār, nor Mirza Abu-Sa'id, but the Uzbek khan concerning whom the legend is silent. According to Abd al-Razzaq<sup>1</sup>, the soldiers, whom the legend represents as defenders of the Shari'at, had recourse to heathen magic when crossing the Hunger steppe. In order to ease the march of the army across the waterless desert, in the hot season of the year, sorcerers had produced cold, snow and rain by means of the *yada* stone<sup>2</sup>, which greatly confused Abdullah's soldiers, especially the Khorasanians who knew nothing of the power of this stone.

There remains, however, the point of Abu-Sa'id's interview with Khoja Ahrār. Abd al-Razzaq, who was the contemporary of both, maintains that Abu-Sa'id saw Khoja Ahrar before the victory and that the latter inspired him with the ambition to seek the throne. For this reason, throughout his reign, Abu-Sa'id "obeyed the Khoja and would not oppose his instructions even when this was possible"<sup>3</sup>. As head of the Tashkent Naqshbandis Khoja Ahrār was undoubtedly in touch with the clergy of Bukhara with whom Abu-Sa'id too must have kept up some kind of relations. This fact may explain the friendship that sprang up between these two. If Abu-Sa'id owed his very ambitions to Khoja Ahrar, then he must have met him during Ulugh-beg's lifetime, though Abd al-Razzaq refers to the time when Abu-Sa'id was wandering on the outskirts of the kingdom<sup>4</sup>, i.e. to the years 1450-1. The total absence of any data on Abu-Sa'id before 1449 makes it impossible to solve this question.

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 292a; repeated in *T. Abul-Khayr khānī*, Univ. MS., f. 452b.

<sup>2</sup> Reports on this stone and on rain-making are collected in Quatremère. 'Histoire des Mongols en Perse', pp. 428-435. See also *TR*, ed. N. Elias, pp. 32-3, from *ZN*, I, 102.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 298a.

<sup>4</sup> *Dar atrāf-i vilāyat*.

The victors entered Samarqand without meeting with any resistance, though hardly on the day of their victory. On receiving the news of Abdullah's death, the Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-dīn left Samarqand before the arrival of Abu-Sa'id; in Khorasan Babur received him with honours<sup>1</sup>. Khan Abul-Khayr was given Ulugh-beg's daughter in marriage and returned to his steppes with rich presents, leaving Samarqand to Abu-Sa'id<sup>2</sup>.

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* contains an article on Abu-Sa'id which reads like a panegyric. According to its author, Abu-Sa'id grew up under Ulugh-beg's supervision and won his approval by his interest in science and culture; as a ruler, he is represented as a worthy predecessor of Babur, Akbar and Shāh-Jahān whom he emulated by the dignity of his life, the greatness of his deeds, his energy and natural gifts<sup>3</sup>. In point of fact, and in complete contrast to Ulugh-beg's days, the reign of Abu-Sa'id was marked by the predominance of the darvishes, who were hostile to any form of culture. Abu-Sa'id entered Samarqand as the avenger of Abd al-Latif, not Ulugh-beg. Abd al-Latif's murderers were executed on the site of their crime and their bodies burnt<sup>4</sup>. The forty years of Ulugh-beg's reign were now succeeded by forty years of domination by KHOJA AḤRĀR, a member of the Naqshbandi order [1404, d. 1490], whom Abu-Sa'id summoned from Tashkent. A zealot of the 'Shari'at and of sufism, Khoja Ahrar was a typical *ishān*, the first perhaps of the Turkestan sufis to

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 292a.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mirkhond, L 1326 sq., Abu-Sa'id hastened to enter the town before the Uzbeks and thus save it from pillage. He deceived the "master of ceremonies" (*shighaul*) attached to him by suggesting that the Uzbeks should water their horses, and in the meantime hurried to the gates of the town and persuaded the inhabitants to let him in. On the term *shighaul* see Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits*, XIV, part I, p. 502. The khan was obliged to accept the *fait accompli* and content himself with the presents offered to him. Cf. P. Lerch, *Archeological expedition*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *EI*, under *Abu-Sa'id*. [The article is by A. S. Beveridge, with an addition by Barthold.]

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 292b.

whom the term was applied <sup>1</sup>. Even his panegyrists admit that he was a stranger to book-learning <sup>2</sup>, including theology, but his righteous life in the spirit of the Shari‘at and his personal charm won him the fame of a religious ascetic and miracle-worker. This brought him a stream of offerings, and he endeavoured to use his wealth and influence for the good of the people <sup>3</sup>. He could not understand the life and interests of the upper classes who had been represented by Ulugh-beg. Like consistent [Mediaeval] European communists, he apparently rejected all culture which was not accessible to the popular masses <sup>4</sup>.

Abu-Sa‘id’s reign ushered in the final triumph of this darvishism over the opposite tendencies as represented by the hereditary SHAYK AL-ISLAMs, descendants of the author of the *Hi-dāya*. Despite Abd al-Razzaq’s assertion that Abu-Sa‘id was completely subservient to Khoja Ahrar’s influence <sup>5</sup>, such an ascendancy of the latter was not achieved immediately. After the departure of the Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-din, there still remained in Samarqand a Shaykh al-Islam of the same family, Nizām al-din Maudūd <sup>6</sup>. During the war between Abu-Sa‘id and Babur, this divine visited Babur in Ḥiṣār and, later, took part in

<sup>1</sup> [The Central-Asian term *ishān* is derived from the Persian pronoun “they” used as a *pluralis majestatis*, similarly to “Sie” in German. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 135b; MS. As. Mus., f. 169b; Tashk. lith., p. 242, on the *ishān*’s student years in Samarqand. “the prevalence of the esoteric preoccupation prevented the *ishān* from acquiring the external sciences”. See also the words attributed to the *ishān* himself, *ibid.*, Univ. MS., f. 132b, MS. As. Mus., f. 165a, Tashk. lith., p. 236: “I was the *murīd* of Khoja Hasan ‘Aṭṭār, and for some time carried on my attendance on him. I was engaged in esoteric tasks but could not secure a success”. See above p.

<sup>3</sup> On Khoja Ahrār see V.L. Vyatkin, in *Turkestan. Vedomosti*, 1904, No. 147; N. I. Veselovsky, *Khoja Ahrar’s monument in Samarqand* (in Russian), *Vostochn. zametki*, SPb., 1895, pp. 321-335.

<sup>4</sup> [Barthold’s work was presented to the Imperial Russian Academy on 28 January 1915].

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently identical with Nizām al-din Fathullāh who, according to *T. Abul-Khayr khānī*, f. 459a, met Abul-Khayr and Abu-Sa‘id in Samarqand. [A confusion of this man with Fathullāh Tabrizī, see below, is possible. V.M.]



the conclusion of the peace treaty after Babur's unsuccessful siege of Samarqand. On both occasions <sup>1</sup> he was accompanied by the learned Jamāl al-dīn Fathullāh Tabrīzī who under Ulugh-beg had exercised the function of *ṣadr* <sup>2</sup>. These men were evidently more suitable for diplomatic negotiations than the stern *īshān* who, when Babur's representative had spoken of his sovereign's qualities, rudely replied that he spared Babur only out of respect for the merits of his grandfather Shahrukh <sup>3</sup>. It must be for the same reason, — whatever the *īshān*'s biographer may say to the contrary, — that for the final conclusion of the treaty Abu-Sa'īd sent to Babur's camp one of the *īshān*'s disciples and not the *īshān* himself <sup>4</sup>. Khoja Ahrar's original personality was bound to arouse the curiosity of the representatives of the cultured classes of Herat who were among Babur's retinue. One of these, the historian Abd al-Razzaq, visited the town for the single purpose of meeting the *īshān*. A full report of this meeting between men so widely different in outlook would have been particularly interesting, but unfortunately the historian has resumed his impressions in a single cryptic utterance: "what I found in him, I found; what I saw, I saw" <sup>5</sup>. He must have been disappointed in his expectations but could not speak frankly of the *īshān* who was still alive when he was composing his work.

In 1455 Abu-Sa'īd had to quell a rising in Otrar which was supported by his former ally, the UZBEK khan. The rebels seem to have been connected with the clergy of Bukhara, for one of them was spared through the intercession of Abu Naṣr Pārsā <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> AR, ff. 297b and 300a.

<sup>2</sup> *Rashahāt*, MS. As. Mus., f. 99a, Tashk. lith., p. 140. See above, p. note

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Univ. MS., f. 166b, MS. As. Mus., f. 223a, Tashk. lith., p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation of the author of the *Rashahāt* (Tashk. lith., p. 311) is naturally different. According to him, Abu-Sa'īd feared that the *īshān*'s companions might be attracted by the young sultan Babur, if they were to meet him, and would leave Samarqand.

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 300b.

<sup>6</sup> AR, MS. As. Mus. 574, p. 654 sq.; 574a, f. 453b sq. The Univ. MS. has a lacuna here (before the title on f. 301b). Khoja Abu-Naṣr Pārsā, son of Muhammad Pārsā, died in 865/1460-1. On him see Univ. MS., f. 39 sq.; MS. As. Mus., f. 455 sq.; Tashk. lith., p. 64 sq.

Somehow related to these facts may have been the return to Samarqand, at Abu-Sa'id's invitation, of the Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-din. Both his departure from Herat, where Babur presented him with his own litter, and his arrival in Samarqand were surrounded with much pomp and circumstance. According to Abd al-Razzaq the favours conferred upon him by Abu-Sa'id were such as he could never have dreamed of receiving under the previous monarchs. Abd al-Razzaq quotes a valedictory poem by the poet 'Ārif dedicated to the Shaykh. The poet advises the Shaykh to take the poem with him as "sweets of this kind would be hard to find in Samarqand and Bukhara"<sup>1</sup>. It looks as though, in the eyes of the men of Herat, Samarqand had become a town as dreary and as devoid of poetry as Bukhara, and that only six years after Ulugh-beg's death.

From 1455 till the end of Abu-Sa'id's reign Samarqand was the residence of the two shaykhs: one the preserver, and the other the destroyer of the traditions of Ulugh-beg's days. Both bore the title of Shaykh al-Islam<sup>2</sup> and enjoyed influence at court. While struggling against the rebels of Mawarannahr, and again when establishing his power in Khorasan after Babur's death (1475), Abu-Sa'id made use of the authority of either, as circumstances required. The *ishan's* influence was great with the people and even with the army. On the other hand, the interests of the government were more closely linked with the representative of the cultured elements, especially during risings of the popular masses against the monarch. The difference between the behaviour of the two shaykhs became particularly apparent during the long siege of Shahrukhiya seized by MUHAMMAD-JŪKĪ, son of 'Abd al-Latif<sup>3</sup>, who had rebelled against Abu-Sa'id. The revolt broke out in 1461<sup>4</sup>. At first, events in Khorasan and

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 302a.

<sup>2</sup> The full title in AR, f. 324b.

<sup>3</sup> [This is Muhammad Jūkī No. 2, different from his namesake, son of Shahrukh. The element *Jūkī* is derived from Indian *ogi*. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> AR, f. 325a sq. The *T. Abul-Khayr khānī*, f. 469 sq., gives a more

Mazandaran forced Abu-Sa'īd to raise the siege and to conclude with Muhammad-Jūkī "something like peace" <sup>1</sup>. In 1462 the siege was resumed <sup>2</sup> but it was not until a year later, in the autumn of 1463, that the town was forced to surrender. At the request of the besieged themselves, the *īshān* came twice from Samarqand, but his negotiations produced no result. Then the Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-din arrived and declared that the army of Samarqand would continue the siege for years and not give up until it had taken the town, even if it meant abandoning their native city and founding a new Samarqand near Shahrukhiya. This speech won the sultan's approval, but the besieged again asked for the *īshān*. Khoja Ahrar came for the third time and finally achieved his purpose, while making Abu-Sa'īd swear by his faith that the rebels who surrendered would be spared <sup>3</sup>. This promise seems to have been kept except with regard to the prince himself. In Shahrukhiya and Samarqand he was treated with respect, but in the beginning of January 1464 <sup>4</sup> he was transferred to Herat and shut up in the fort of Ikhtiyār al-dīn in a prison built in the form of a tower in the centre of the citadel. There he died in the same year <sup>5</sup>.

The Shaykh al-Islam Burhān al-din is mentioned in the account of Abu-Sa'īd's second conquest of Khorasan in 863/1458-9. On that occasion he accompanied Abu-Sa'īd to Herat but was allowed to return to Samarqand in the same year <sup>6</sup> Abu-Sa'īd

detailed account of the revolt. Muhammad-Jūkī received aid from Abul-Khayr and his wife, Ulugh-beg's daughter (f. 470a); an Uzbek army was sent with him, under the command of Bürke-Sultan. Some of Ulugh-beg's troops also joined him (f. 470b). Before Abu-Sa'īd had joined his army it was defeated and the enemy had advanced as far as Kufin in the neighbourhood of Karmina (f. 472a).

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 327a: *sulh-gūna*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 329b sq. From Shahrukhiya Muhammad-Juki ruled Tashkent, Akhsikat and Sayram (*ibid.*, f. 330b).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 331b.

<sup>4</sup> Abu-Sa'īd returned to Herat on 22 Rabī' II 868/4 January 1464, *ibid.*, f. 332a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 333a.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 318b.

preferred Herat to Samarqand and, after the conquest of Khorasan, made it his capital <sup>2</sup>. Here too his advent to power was accompanied by murders and executions surpassing in cruelty even those of Timur's days. In 1457 the elderly queen GAUHAR-SHĀD, accused of entertaining secret relations with her great-grandson Sultan-Ibrāhīm, son of 'Alā al-daula, was killed at Abu-Sa'īd's orders <sup>2</sup>. At the end of January 1462, the collector of taxes for the troops Khoja Mu'izz al-din and the *ṣarrāf* (money-changer) Shaykh Ahmad were accused of bribery and extortion. On Abu-Sa'īd's orders, Shaykh Ahmad was skinned alive at the northern gates of Herat, and Khoja Mu'izz al-din boiled in a cauldron, at the foot of the citadel <sup>3</sup>.

Even after Abu-Sa'īd's conquest of Khorasan, Khoja Ahrār's activities were confined to Mawarannahr. In 1460 Abu-Sa'īd learnt that the amir NŪR-SA'ĪD, who lived in the mountains near the Bukharan village of Nūr, was raiding Samarqand and Bukhara. A trusted agent was sent to talk him into submission. In case of failure, the agent was to appeal to Khoja Ahrar, but the rebel refused to listen either to Abu-Sa'īd, or to Khoja Ahrār who visited him in his mountain fastness. The forces of Samarqand then hounded him out of Nūr. He fled to the steppe <sup>4</sup>, where soon after he joined in the rising of Muhammad-Jūkī. Some time previously, Khoja Ahrar had proceeded directly from Nūr to Herat, where he remained from December 8 till December 25 of the same year <sup>5</sup>. At his instance Abu-Sa'īd consented to repeal the *tamgha* in Samarqand and Bukhara, and promised in future to abolish this levy and anything else prohibited in Islam, throughout his dominions.

69. Abu-Sa'īd spent the winter of 1467-8 in the neighbourhood of Marv. While there, he received the news of the death of the

<sup>1</sup> See the words ascribed to Abu-Sa'īd (*ibid.*, f. 311a) on his ambition to make Herat his capital (*dār al-saltāna*).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 310b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 328b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 324b.

<sup>5</sup> He arrived on 23 Ṣafar (*ibid.*), and left on 11 Rabī' I 865 (f. 325a).

powerful Turcoman ruler JAHĀNSHĀH [of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty], which fired him with the ambition to start on the conquest of Western Persia. He revealed his intentions to Khoja Ahrar, whose advice he was wont to follow <sup>1</sup>, and summoned him to his camp. The Khoja came from Samarqand to Marv and was received with every mark of honour in the sultan's army. One day the sultan would be the shaykh's guest, and on the next day the sultan would entertain the shaykh. After long consultations the expedition was decided upon, and at the end of February 1468 <sup>2</sup> Abu Sa'īd set out from his winter-quarters on the campaign which was to prove fatal to himself and to the greater part of his army (1469).

The unfortunate outcome of the war, which had been started with Khoja Ahrar's blessing, not only did not put an end to the *ishan's* influence, but on the contrary permitted him to eliminate his rival once and for all and to become the unchallenged master of Samarqand. According to the *Rashahāt* <sup>3</sup>, the news of Abu-Sa'īd's death at first caused a sudden change in the feelings of the population of Samarqand towards the Khoja. The Shaykh al-Islam BURHĀN AL-DĪN, who was constantly intriguing against him, together with several amirs headed by Abu-Sa'īd's brother-in-law Darvish-Muhammad tarkhan <sup>4</sup>, decided not to set foot in the *ishan's* house any more, nor listen to him. Only a relative of Darvish-Muhammad tarkhan, 'Abd al-'Alī tarkhan <sup>5</sup> refused to join in the plot, foretelling its utter failure. At that time the *ishan* was living in Māturīd (to the north of the town). In his desire to gloat over his opponent's discomfiture, the Shaykh al-Islam set out to visit him, taking with him a guest of his to whom he said: "you are going to see what I shall do to-day to this rustic

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 338b.

<sup>2</sup> In the first days of Sha'bān 872 (*ibid.*, f. 339a).

<sup>3</sup> Univ. MS., f. 172 sq.; MS. As. Mus., f. 233b sq.; Tashk. lith., p. 323 sq

<sup>4</sup> Thus according to Babur, f. 21b, who adds that he was chief beg under Sultan-Ahmad.

<sup>5</sup> It is curious that according to Babur this defender of the *ishan* was a "tyrant and libertine" (f. 22a), whereas Darvish-Muhammad was a "Muslim, a humane man of darvish persuasion" (f. 21b).

shaykh!" In Māturīd the visitors were welcomed by the *ishan* who brought them refreshments with his own hands. During the repast a man came in to announce the sudden arrival of the 'Mirza' (i.e. SULTAN-AHMAD, son of Abu-Sa'īd) with his amirs. Fearing that his presence in the *ishan's* house might be misconstrued by the amirs as a violation of their pact, the Shaykh al-Islam hastened to make himself scarce, while the *ishan* went out to greet the Mirza. After this incident, the *ishan* was visited by the Mirza and the amirs far more often than during Abu-Sa'īd's reign, whereas the Shaykh al-Islam lost all influence and was obliged to retire to Herat where, abandoned by all, he spent the last years of his life in the madrasa of Chaqmaq<sup>1</sup>. The author gives some details on the last illness and death of the Shaykh, adding that on his death-bed he had asked to beg the *ishan's* forgiveness on his behalf.

Other sources contain no information about the reasons for and circumstances of the Shaykh al-Islam's departure from Samarqand. When Abd al-Razzaq was writing his work, the Shaykh al-Islam was still alive<sup>2</sup>, but his arrival in Herat after Abu-Sa'īd's death is not mentioned by this historian. In the light of the account given in the *Rashahāt* only one fact can be regarded as authentic, viz. that the failure of Abu-Sa'īd's enterprise sponsored by the *ishan* provoked resentment against the latter in Samarqand, but that this movement subsided when Abu-Sa'īd's successor showed that the *ishan* continued to enjoy his unfailing respect and confidence.

70. MIRZA SULTAN-AHMAD, Abu-Sa'īd's eldest son, was born in the year in which his father conquered Samarqand (855/1451)<sup>3</sup>. Although town-bred, Sultan-Ahmad was a "simple-minded Turk"<sup>4</sup>, who never read anything. Thus he was naturally still more exposed to the *ishan's* influence than his father. In his

<sup>1</sup> One of Shahrukh's amirs is mentioned, for example, in the account of the events of 833/1429-30, cf. AR, f. 239a above.

<sup>2</sup> AR uses the formula "may God prolong the days of his life" (f. 318b). See also p. 163, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Babur, f. 18a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, f. 18b.

private life, Sultan-Ahmad always said his prayers at the prescribed times and endeavoured to comply with all the commandments of the faith, except that about drinking wine. He was subject to spells of drunkenness and could drink for twenty or thirty days at a stretch <sup>1</sup> though never neglecting to perform his *namāz* even in the midst of feasting <sup>2</sup>. As a monarch, he did his best to rule justly in the spirit of Islam and to base all his decisions on the 'Shari'at. His contemporaries regarded his rule, however, as essentially that of the *ishan* <sup>3</sup> whom he survived only by a few years <sup>4</sup>.

In enumerating the eminent men who were active under his uncle Sultan-Ahmad, Babur does not name any scholars or poets. Apparently there were none at that time in Samarqand. The representatives of urban culture, defeated by the "rustic shaykh", withdrew to Herat, to the brilliant court of SULTAN-HUSAYN BAYQARA (great-grandson of Omar-Shah, son of Timur) to whom the power in Khorasan had passed after Abu-Sa'id's death <sup>5</sup>. Not without some exaggeration, Babur affirms that Herat had become a town unequalled in the rest of the world; its splendour grew ten or twenty-fold <sup>6</sup> under Sultan-Husayn; whoever was employed at his court did his best to discharge his duties to perfection <sup>7</sup>.

71. Even in Samarqand intellectual life was not at a complete

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 19a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 18b. It is well-known that the Qoran, IV, 46, forbids praying while in a state of drunkenness.

<sup>3</sup> Babur, f. 24a. The *Rashahāt* (Univ. MS., f. 170b, MS. As. Mus., f. 230a, Tashk. lith., p. 319) contains a story about Mīrak Hasan, chief of Sultan-Ahmad's divan, who suggested to the *ishan* to abrogate even the nominal power of the Mirza. The *ishan* indignantly rejected this proposal. A fortnight later Mīrak Hasan was skinned alive for some crime, on Sultan-Ahmad's orders.

<sup>4</sup> The *ishan* died on Saturday 29 Rabī' I 895 (*Rashahāt*, Univ. M.S., f. 199b, which gives by mistake Rabī' II; MS. As. Mus., f. 286a, Tashk. lith., p. 289), i.e. 20 February 1490. Sultan Ahmed died in the middle of Shawwāl 899 (Babur, f. 18a), i.e. in July 1494.

<sup>5</sup> [See below the essay on Mir 'Alī Shīr].

<sup>6</sup> Babur, f. 188a.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 177b.

standstill. The exact sciences that Ulugh-beg had tried to foster did not find a fertile soil in Samargand, even though Sultan-Ahmad's brother and successor SULTAN-MAHMŪD, who, unlike his brothers, despised the *ishan*<sup>1</sup>, possessed some knowledge of mathematics. Ulugh-beg's epoch left more traces in the records of Muslim theology, as shown by the activities of the *madrasa* which he had founded<sup>2</sup>. Learned theology could not fail to influence even the darvishes. Already the *ishan's* son, the so-called "Great Khoja" or "Khoja of Khojas", was distinguished for his learning<sup>3</sup>. Whatever the drawbacks of Muslim scholastic theology might be, its struggle against the still more obscurantist Central-Asian darvishism is an indisputable service to humanity.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 26a.

<sup>2</sup> Babur, ff. 23b and 25b: *siyāq 'ilmini khub bilür-idi*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rashahāt*, Univ. MS., f. 179b, MS. As. Mus., f. 247a, Tashk. lith., p. 240: "he was adorned with (the knowledge of) various exoteric and esoteric sciences; he was a profound scholar holding the degree of perfection in speculative and traditional sciences".



## APPENDIX A

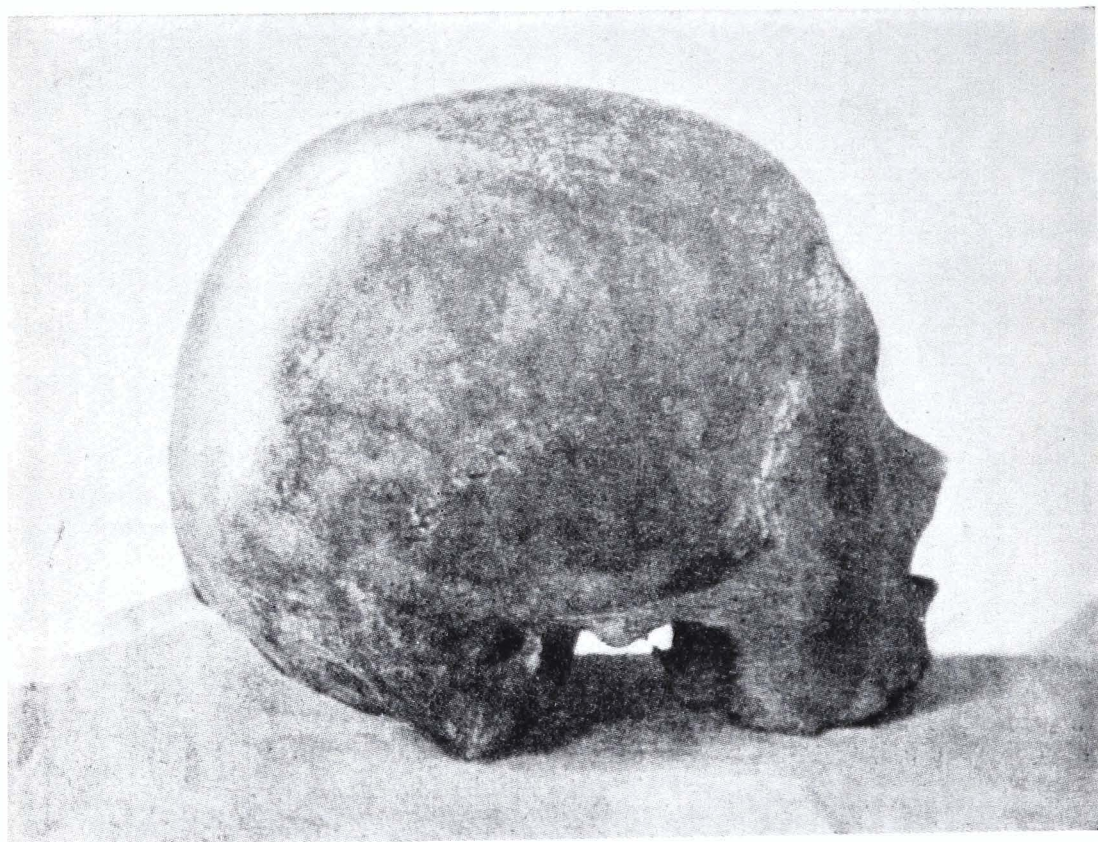
[As a supplement to his book on Ulugh-beg, Prof. Barthold published a short article 'The coins of Ulugh-beg', in *Izv. Ross. Ak. Istorii Materialnoy Kulturi*, II, 1922, pp. 190-2. In it, he points to the fact that as long as Shahrukh was alive, Ulugh-beg struck coins in the name of his father. During the remaining two years of Ulugh-beg's reign (1447-9), his coins present an original feature. Prof. Barthold offers a new decipherment of the legends from which he draws the conclusion that "like his grandfather Timur, but unlike his father Shahrukh, Ulugh-beg in matters of the court and the army, set store by Mongol traditions". His coins bear the *tamgha* of Timur (three circles) which is referred to by Clavijo, p. 235. Shahrukh's name is not mentioned on the coins and the inscription should be read *Tīmūr kūrkan himmatī-din Ulugh-beg kūrkan sözüm* (probably *sözümüz*. V.M.), "with protection from Timur kūrkan, Ulugh-beg kūrkan, my (or *our*) word". This Turkish formula imitates the Mongol *üge manu* "my word". "On no other coin struck after the death of Timur the latter's name is found, and none of the other Timurids showed such reverence for the name of the founder of the dynasty".]

## APPENDIX B

### CRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF ULUGH-BEG'S TIME

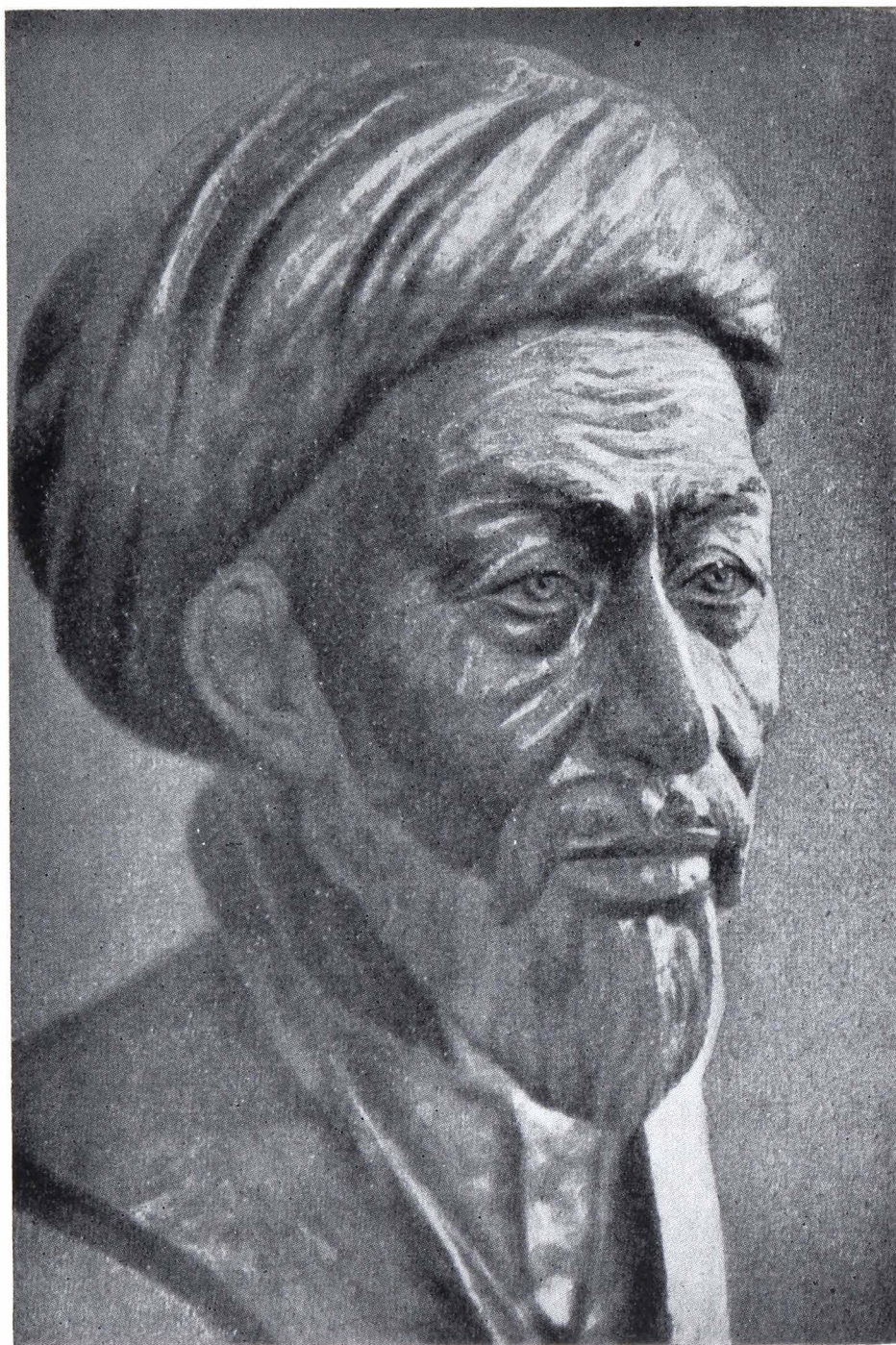
1394. Birth of Ulugh-beg in Sultaniya on 22 March.  
1394-1405. Ulugh-beg brought up under the supervision of the queen Sarāy-Mulk khanum.  
1394. May. The queens and children are summoned to Armenia and Transcaucasia.  
1395. They return to Samarqand.  
1396. Ulugh-beg welcomes Timur in Khuzār.  
1397-8. He accompanies Timur on the Indian expedition as far as Kabul.  
1399. He welcomes Timur on the banks of the Amu-Darya on 30 March.  
1399-1404. He accompanies Timur on his campaign in the West.  
1399-1400. Winter spent in Qarabagh.  
1400-1401. Winter spent in Sultaniya.  
1401-1402. Winter spent in Qarabagh.  
1402-1403. Winter spent in Sultaniya.  
1403. Ulugh-beg welcomes Timur in Erzerum.  
1403-1404. Winter spent in Qarabagh.  
1404. Return to Samarqand. Ulugh-beg's wedding. He takes part in the Chinese campaign. He is appointed ruler of Tashkent and Moghulistan.  
1405. He arrives in Otrar on 14 January.  
1405. Death of Timur on 18 February.  
1405-1411. Ulugh-beg under the tutorship of amir Shāh-Malik.  
1405. Residence in Bukhara and flight to Khorasan in March.  
1405-6. Ulugh-beg prince of Shapūrquān and Andkhoy.  
1405. Expedition beyond the Amu-Darya. Return of Ulugh-beg's wife.  
1406. February. Defeat at Qarshi and flight to Khorasan.  
1406-9. Ulugh-beg prince of Northern and Central Khorasan.

1407. Mazandaran added to Ulugh-beg's fief. Revolt in that province. Shahrukh's expedition and his meeting with Ulugh-beg in Quchan.
1409. Shahrukh's expedition against Samarqand and the occupation of that town (13 May). Embassy to China.
- 1409-1446. Ulugh-beg's reign in Mawarannahr.
1410. Struggle with Shaykh Nūr al-din. Defeat of Shah-Malik and Ulugh-beg at Qizil-Rabāt (20 April). Ulugh-beg at Kalif and Tirmidh. Shahrukh's expedition. Another defeat of Shah-Malik. Shahrukh's victory at Qizil-Rabāt (12 July). Occupation of Samarqand (14 July). Shahrukh's departure (23 July).
1411. Shaykh Nūr al-din's revolt quelled. Shahrukh's new expedition. He meets with Ulugh-beg on the Kashka-Darya (in the autumn). Shahrukh's departure with Shah-Malik.
1412. Birth of Ulugh-beg's eldest daughter (19 August, in Herat).
- 1413-1426. Shah-Malik, ruler of Khwarazm.
1413. Shahrukh's expedition to the West. Elephants from Samarqand.
1414. Ulugh-beg seizes Farghana. He visits Herat (November).
1415. Samarqand envoys in China.
1416. Ulugh-beg on the Sīr-Darya against the Uzbeks (March-April). He annexes Kashghar. Embassy from Moghulistan.
1417. Ulugh-beg in Herat (7 May). He takes part in the reception of the Chinese ambassadors. His winter camp on the Chirchik.
1418. His return to Samarqand (February). *Coup d'état* in Moghulistan and the Moghul embassy to Samarqand. Freeing of the Moghuls imprisoned in the citadel of Samarqand.
1419. Death of Ulugh-beg's wife Öge-begum. Arrival of the Uzbek prince Boraq. Chinese ambassadors in Samarqand (August). Expedition to the Sīr-Darya (August-October). Disorders in Moghulistan. Envoys from Khudaydād. Return to Samarqand. Journey to Bukhara (November). The *madrasa* built by Ulugh-beg in Bukhara mentioned.



The skull of Ulugh-beg.





Ulugh-beg's likeness as reconstructed from his remains.

Pilgrimage of Muhammad Pārsā. Embassy to China (December).

1420. Arrival of Herat envoys to China. They are joined by Ulugh-beg's envoys (February). Expedition to the Sīr-Darya against the Moghuls (June-July). Birth of Ulugh-beg's son Abdullāh (July). Arrival of Shīr-Muhammad khan. His attempt to escape (October). He leaves with Ulugh-beg's consent (December). A *madrasa* and a *khanqa* built in Samarqand. Ulugh-beg's troops take the fortress of Rukh.
1421. Birth of Ulugh-beg's son Abd al-Rahman (13 January). News of Shir-Muhammad khan's victory in Moghulistan (May-June). Success of Ulugh-beg's troops in that country.
- 1421-2. Winter spent in Bukhara. Embassy from Tibet.
1422. Ulugh-beg visits Herat.
1423. News of Boraq khan's success in the Golden Horde. Clash between Ulugh-beg and the Moghuls.
1424. Preparations for an expedition to Moghulistan. Winter camp on the Sīr-Darya.
1425. News of Boraq-khan's fresh successes. Expedition against Moghulistan as far as Kūnges (February-June). Ulugh-beg in Herat (October-November).
1426. Boraq-khan's claims and his break with Ulugh-beg.
1427. Ulugh-beg's expedition to Saghanaq, and his defeat. Ma-warannahr devastated by the Uzbeks. Giyāth al-din Jamshīd Kāshī finishes his mathematical treatise (2 March) and presents it to Ulugh-beg. Shahrukh's expedition and his stay in Samarqand (July-October).
1428. Abul-Khayr proclaimed khan of the Uzbeks.
1429. News of the death of Buraq khan.
1429. ? Death of Vays khan in the battle with Satuq khan.
1430. A Samarqand embassy in China.
- 1430-1. Raid of the Uzbeks on Khwārazm in the winter.
1432. Death of Ulugh-beg's son Abd al-Rahman (15 January). The Turcoman prince Yār-Ali sent to Samarqand (in the autumn) and imprisoned there.

- 1433? Massacre of Moghul chiefs in Samarqand and capture of of Yūnus khan.
1434. Ulugh-beg travels to Herat.
- 1434-5. Building of the main edifice of the Shāhi-zinda in the name of Abd al-Aziz.
- 1435? Loss of Kashghar.
1437. Circumcision of Abd al-Latif in Herat. Composition of Ulugh-beg's astronomical tables.
1438. Ulugh-beg's daughter arrives in Samarqand.
1439. She returns to Herat.
1441. Abd al-Latif arrives in Samarqand. Death of Ulugh-beg's minister Nasir al-din Khwāfī (20 July).
1442. Ulugh-beg's mother Gauhar-Shād arrives in Samarqand (January) and returns with Abd al-Latif to Herat (February).
1444. Shahrūkh's illness and disputes over the succession.
1445. Letter from the Chinese Emperor to Ulugh-beg.
1446. Shahrūkh's expedition to the West. The Uzbeks seize the northern march of Ulugh-beg's dominions.
1447. Death of Shahrūkh (12 March). Defeat and capture of Abd al-Latif near Nishapur (29 April). Ulugh-beg's expedition and his treaty with 'Alā al-daula.
- 1447-8. Winter. Clash between 'Alā al-daula and Abd al-Latif.
1448. Ulugh-beg's victory over 'Alā al-daula at Tarnāb. Occupation of Herat, expedition to the West and retreat from the river Abrīsham. Revolt in the fort of Neretü and siege of Herat by the rebels. Ulugh-beg arrives in Herat. His troops plunder the neighbourhood of Herat (November). Uzbek raid into Nawarannahr. Ulugh-beg returns to Samarqand. Abd al-Latif returns to Herat.
1449. Struggle for Khorasan between the Turcoman Yār-Ali, Abul-Qasim Babur and Sultan-Muhammad. Abd al-Latif revolts against Ulugh-beg. Skirmishes on the banks of the Amu-Darya, Abu-Sa'īd's revolt and Ulugh-beg's return to Samarqand. Abd al-Latif's victory over Ulugh-beg near Dimishq (September-October). Murder of Ulugh-beg (25 or 27 October). Murder of his son Abd al-Aziz.

1450. Murder of Abd al-Latif.  
1451. Abdullah, son of Ibrahim, killed. Abu-Sa'id on the throne  
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1458-9. Abu-Sa'id conquers Herat.  
1461-3. Muhammad Juki's revolt.  
1469. Death of Abu-Sa'id.  
1490. Death of Khoja Ahrār.



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V. V. BARTHOLD

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# FOUR STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIA

TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN

BY

V. AND T. MINORSKY

VOLUME III

MĪR 'ALĪ-SHĪR

A HISTORY OF THE TURKMAN PEOPLE



LEIDEN  
E. J. BRILL

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## FROM THE TRANSLATOR

With the publication of the essay on Mīr ʿAlī Shīr the promise to present an English translation of “Four Studies” of Barthold is fulfilled, but after the publication of the first issue containing “A short history of Turkestan” and a “History of the Semi-rechye”, and of the second issue on Ulugh-beg, it was discovered that *Mīr ʿAlī Shīr* would be somewhat short to form a separate volume in the series. It has been decided therefore to supplement it with some other study from Barthold’s vast heritage.

“An Outline of the History of the Turkmans”<sup>1</sup>, which the translators have chosen for this purpose, might in fact be considered as the fifth essay in the selection, but in order not to disturb the title of the series we present it here as a somewhat extensive Annex.

It was written at a difficult period in Barthold’s life, when having lost his wife and being himself in precarious health, he had to work “as never before” (as he said in a private letter) to satisfy the requests of the new nations of Central Asia anxious to know more about their past. With his usual thoroughness the historian of Turkestan extracted from the vast range of sources a mass of facts which will form the starting point of any future research.

As regards the basic essay of the present issue<sup>2</sup>, the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr has produced a great number of publications in the lands of both Iranian and Turkic culture. To compile an adequate list of them would be no easy task but one can be sure that in that vast sea Barthold’s essay still floats like Noah’s Ark.

15 November 1960

V. MINORSKY

<sup>1</sup> Published in the joint effort volume *Turkmenia*, 1929, I, 3-69.

<sup>2</sup> Appeared in the joint effort volume *Mīr ʿAlī Shīr*, published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1928, pp. 100-164.



Mīr ʿAlī Shīr in his old age  
*Portrait by Maḥmūd Mudbabbib*



# MĪR ‘ALĪ SHĪR

## INTRODUCTORY

Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s career as a poet, and especially as a patron of art and science, is closely linked with the rule of the Timurids. It was a brilliant epoch in the cultural history of Persia and of the Turks — her masters in those days — and to it belong the finest monuments of Persian Muslim architecture. Quite naturally this period aroused much interest among European scholars, but no monograph, sufficiently comprehensive and founded on first hand sources, has been devoted either to the Timurid dominion as a whole, or to any of its protagonists in the cultural and political field. In this case what hampers the student is not the lack but the plethora of material contained in manuscripts scattered among many libraries and still awaiting critical examination and, above all, critical editing. In fact there exists no work giving a complete survey of the sources on the history of the Timurids, let alone a critical study of them.

In 1918 I published a monograph *Ulugh-beg and his times*<sup>1</sup> which does not exhaust, however, the material on the subject. One of the lacunae I later noticed and partly filled<sup>2</sup> was the absence of any mention of Ulugh-beg’s coins which proved to be very interesting and characteristic. These coins show that Ulugh-beg, for all his cultural and scientific leanings, was even more of a Turk and of an upholder of Timur’s political and military traditions than it had first seemed<sup>3</sup>. This helps to obtain a more complete picture of life in Samarqand under Ulugh-beg, essentially so different from what it became in the second half of the fifteenth century when “the forty years’ reign of Ulugh-beg (1409-1449) was succeeded by the forty years’ domination of KHOJA AḤRĀR of the Naqshbandi order”<sup>4</sup>. In the same

<sup>1</sup> [V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, v. II, Engl. transl. Leiden 1958.]

<sup>2</sup> The article “Ulugh-beg’s coins” (in Russian), *Izvestiya Gos. Ak. Mat. Kul’turi*, II, pp. 190-192.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 178, Annex A.

<sup>4</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 168

book <sup>1</sup> I referred to the flourishing state of Herat under the rule of another Timurid SULTĀN-ḤUSAYN (1473-1506), of whom Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was a friend and intimate.

In the present essay the life in Herat in the days of Sultān-Ḥusayn and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is studied in more detail. It is not my purpose to give an exhaustive study of the pertinent literature, but with the aid of the sources accessible to me at the present moment <sup>2</sup> I shall try to make the image of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr more realistic than that created by the fantasy of Oriental, nay even of European panegyrists. In the same way I endeavoured to destroy the imaginary view of Ulugh-beg as a “scholarly idealist who from the first days of his reign abandoned politics and devoted all his time to mathematics and astronomy” <sup>3</sup>.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s activities formed the subject of the earliest M. A. thesis presented to the Faculty of Oriental Languages in the University of St. Petersburg. The task of its author, M. Nikitsky <sup>4</sup>, was to characterise Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s “public and literary importance”. His enthusiastic encomium has long been forgotten, but another monograph on Mīr ʿAlī Shīr published five years later by A. Belin <sup>5</sup> still enjoys some credit both in the East and West, although it is also much more of a panegyric than a historical study. Apart from other reasons, this is due to the rhetorics of the French style of the 1860-5, from which even the great Dozy was not exempt <sup>6</sup>. Belin’s rhetoric goes far beyond that of his Persian sources. It is hard to accept that the words <sup>7</sup> “c’est, dit-il, pendant mon séjour à Mechhed, où je restai, après la mort de Sultān-Bābour, plongé dans la douleur d’avoir perdu mon bienfaiteur, que etc.” reproduce the text <sup>8</sup> in which Mīr

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Mostly the same as I used in *Ulugh-beg*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. IX.

<sup>4</sup> *Amīr Nizām al-dīn ʿAlī Shīr* (in Russian) SPb. 1856.

<sup>5</sup> *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mīr ʿAlī-Shīr-Névāʿī*, *Jour. As.*, 1861, février, 175-256, avril, 281-357. In another article, *Jour. As.*, 1866, juin, 523-52, août, 126-54, Belin studies Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s *Mahbūb al-qulūb*.

<sup>6</sup> Barthold, *R. Dozy*, in *IAN*, 1921, p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> *Notice*, p. 183.

<sup>8</sup> *Majālis al-nafāʾis*, Univ. MS., 618, f. 19a: *gharīb-va-khasta yiqīlīp erdim*.

‘Alī Shīr says that at that time he was a stranger in Mashhad and lay ill in bed. The original has not a word about the benefactor, or grief over his death. As we shall see, in many other instances the impression given by the actual text of the sources is somewhat different from that created by the “embellished” translation. In his monograph, Belin gives no clear idea of the character of the sources, nor does he tackle the still moot question<sup>1</sup> of how volume VII of the *Raudat al-ṣafā* was composed, and how much of it belongs respectively to Mīrkhond and Khwāndamīr. The author quotes Mīrkhond throughout, even in the passages on the death and burial of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr<sup>2</sup>, although Mīrkhond died in 1498, and Mīr ‘Alī Shīr in 1501. Nevertheless, as late as 1920, E. G. Browne<sup>3</sup> described Belin’s work as “an admirable monograph” and borrowed from it the far from accurate picture of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s “singularly peaceful” life. Almost entirely based on Belin’s monograph is the biography of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr compiled by Ismā‘īl Hekmat to commemorate the fifth centenary (A.H. 844-1344) of the poet’s birth<sup>4</sup>.

A recent volume of the *Journal Asiatique* contains an article by L. Bouvat on the civilisation of the Timurid epoch<sup>5</sup>. The author contrasts the flourishing state of culture until the end of the Timurid dynasty and the subsequent political and social decay. He also points out the baleful character, “au point de vue moral”, of Sulṭān-Husayn’s reign, “so brilliant in many other respects”<sup>6</sup>. The author’s information on the data contained in the sources

<sup>1</sup> In a MS. described by Rieu in his *Catalogue* (Persian MSS., p. 93) Mīrkhond is named as the author. The Tehran lith. edition, 1270 A.H., attributes it to Khwāndamīr.

<sup>2</sup> *O.c.*, p. 213 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *A History of Persian Literature under the Tartar dominion*, 1920, p. 506. Also, *ibid.*, p. 439: “the best account of Mir Ali Shir’s works with which I am acquainted”.

<sup>4</sup> In a pamphlet published by the Azarbayjan Literary Society, Baku 1926, and presented to the First All-Union Turcological Conference. Reviewed by A. N. Samoylovich in *Mīr ‘Alī Shīr*, ed. by the Academy of the U.S.S.R., 1928, pp. 167-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Essai sur la civilisation timouride*, *J. As.* v. CCVIII, 1926, pp. 193-299.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

is insufficient and inaccurate. Like many of his predecessors, including E. G. Browne<sup>1</sup>, he repeats the mistake<sup>2</sup> about Hāfizi-Abrū's work when he says that only the first two volumes have come down to us. M. Bouvat utilises the works of Mīrkhond, Khwāndamīr, Babur and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. To these he adds<sup>3</sup>, with no justification whatever, the spurious 'Institutes' of Timur, composed in India in the seventeenth century and in no way characteristic of fifteenth century Iran. On the other hand, he neglects the material accessible only in MSS., including even ʿAbd al-Razzaq's *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*. This manifestly inadequate acquaintance with the sources is responsible for the fact that M. Bouvat's article gives no idea of the struggles and upheavals which took place under the Timurids, or even of the transformation of Ulugh-beg's Samarqand into the Samarqand of Khoja Ahrār.

[*Additional note.* Only while reading the last proofs have I had the opportunity of acquainting myself with M. Bouvat's latest book<sup>4</sup>. Its pp. 162-180 are devoted to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is additionally mentioned in the chapter *La littérature turque*, pp. 205-7. The book does not add anything essential to our knowledge. Like his predecessors, the author does not give any proper idea either of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's reign or of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's life.]

<sup>1</sup> *O.c.*, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> Refuted by me thirty years ago in *al-Muṣaffariya*, p. 25 sq. See also my article on Hāfizi-Abrū published in *EI* in 1915, and fully accessible to Western scholars.

<sup>3</sup> As Nikitsky had done before him.

<sup>4</sup> L. Bouvat, *L'Empire Mongol: deuxième partie*, Paris 1927, published in E. Cavaignac's series *Histoire du monde*, tome VIII/3.

## I. IRANIANS AND TURKS

Mīr ‘Alī Shīr is perhaps the most brilliant representative of that particular current of the literary and cultural life of the Turks which is characterized by a complete surrender to the influence to ‘Perso-Muslim’ culture. We know from Maḥmūd Kāshgharī’s work<sup>1</sup> that, even after they accepted Islam, the Turks possessed a poetry of their own, both popular and literary, which was hardly touched by Persian influence. But even in those days there existed the proverb: “there is no Turk without a Tat; no cap without a head”<sup>2</sup>. When the Turks became the main, and almost the sole holders of political and military power in the Iranian world, their concept of their own political past was affected by the Persian epics on the “Turanian” king Afrāsiyāb. The Turkish rulers of Iranian provinces remained Turks in their language, names and titles. Turkish even spread among the Iranians. Towns sprang up with a Turkish population; among them, first Kashgar, then the towns of Khwarazm and of the regions along the lower course of the Sīr-Darya, became centres of Turkish literary movements. Yet for the cultured Turks such literary works could not compare with the creations of Persian literature, and this led to their being soon forgotten. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr knew nothing about Turkish poets, or even about the Turkish kings of the pre-Mongol period. For him “Sultān Toghril” (i.e. presumably the first bearer of this name and the founder of the Seljuk empire) was one of the *Sart*, i.e. “Iranian” sultans, in the terminology of those days<sup>3</sup>.

The Mongols brought with them a new East-Asian current which powerfully affected the cultural evolution of the Central Asian Turks. While the Mongols were being Turkicised in the

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb diwan lughat al-Turk*, 3 volumes, Constantinople 1333-1335.

<sup>2</sup> Kāshgharī, II, 224. [*Tat* means “a non-Turk, a sedentary”, especially an Iranian. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> Quatremère, *Chrestomathie en Turc Oriental*, fasc. I, Paris 1841, p. 33 (from the *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*).

West, the Turks themselves gradually absorbed the traditions of Chingiz-khan's empire, until the reminiscences of the Turkish rulers of pre-Mongol times came to be obliterated. These Mongol traditions lived on in the three "Mongol" states formed in the West by the break-up of the Mongol empire: the kingdom of the Golden Horde, with its centre on the Volga; Persia, with her centre in the North-West, and the Mongol state in Central Asia, which later came to be called after Chingiz-khan's second son, Chaghatay. Everywhere the Mongol invasion seems to have brought about a considerable increase of the Turkish population. And everywhere the glamour of the Mongol state, regarded as *Turkish*, fostered the growth of Turkish national consciousness coupled with cultural activity. On the eastern border of the Golden Horde, the principal town of Khwarazm, Urgenj, became "one of the largest, most beautiful and most important Turkish towns" <sup>1</sup>. The *khanāqa*, built in Urgenj in the first half of the fourteenth century by Türe-beg-khanīm, is one of the handsomest buildings of the Mongol epoch. Still further East, in Barch-kand on the Sīr-Darya, the scholar Jamāl Qarshī <sup>2</sup>, a native of Almaliq (near Qulja), met in 672/1273-4 the theologian Ḥusām al-din Ḥāmidī al-<sup>c</sup>Āṣīmī Barchinlighī who wrote poetry in three languages: his Arabic verses were eloquent, the Persian witty, the Turkish truthful <sup>3</sup>. This seems to be the earliest attempt to characterise the three literary languages of the Muslim world and their respective creations. Already under the caliph Ma'mun (A.D. 813-833), eloquence was regarded as the privilege of Arabic literature, and ideas as the prerogative of the Persian letters <sup>4</sup>, and now Turkish came into its own with the recognition of its greater naturalness and spontaneity. From what he heard from his father and uncle who spent three years in Bukhara (probably in 1262-1265), Marco Polo describes this town as "the best city

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Battūṭa, in V. Tiesenhausen, *Collection of materials for the history of the Golden Horde* (in Russian), SPb. 1884, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> On him see *ZVO*, XI, 283 sq.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> *Aḥmad ibn abī Ṭāhir Ṭāifūr, Kitāb Bagdād*, ed. Keller, 158.

in all Persia”<sup>1</sup>, i.e. in the country where Persian was spoken. In *Ulugh-beg* I have mentioned the constructions of the Central Asian khans and, in later times, those of Timur and Ulugh-beg in Andijān, Qarshī, Shahrisabz and Samarqand. In the last three towns the rulers built for themselves, whereas Andijān was founded solely in the interests of the population, and had no palatial residences. An anonymous historian of the early fifteenth century<sup>2</sup> adds that khan Duva settled in Andijān many people from all over his dominions, and “to this very day each quarter of the town is called after some particular people”<sup>3</sup>. Andijān became a purely Turkish town. According to Babur (born in Farghāna in 1482) there was not a man in the town, or its bazaar, who did not know Turkish. He adds that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s works were written in the Andijān dialect, meaning probably that in Andijān, a town of culture, a “correct” idiom was spoken, i.e. one close to the literary language<sup>4</sup>. But Mīr ‘Alī Shīr never visited Andijān and only when speaking of his residence in Samarqand casually mentions two men from Andijān who were studying there<sup>5</sup>.

One might have expected the Mongol khans, and later Timur, to foster outside Iran a culture comparable to the Iranian, but this did not happen. By virtue of its cultural attainments, Iran continued to enjoy an exclusive position among the lands occupied by the Mongols. Iran alone produced historians capable of describing the feats of Chingiz-khan, Timur and their descendants. At least, only the works of Iranian historians writing in Iranian towns<sup>6</sup> have come down to posterity, and we owe to them nearly all we know of the events that occurred in Turkestan, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth.

<sup>1</sup> *Travels of Marco Polo*, Russian translation by I. I. Minayev, p. 6. [Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, 1929, I, 10].

<sup>2</sup> Daulatshāh, ed. Browne, 371.

<sup>3</sup> Iskandar’s Anonym (probably Mu‘īn al-din Natanzī), MS. As. Mus., f. 245b. [Such was the case of Marghelan even in the twentieth century. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> *GMS*, I, 2b. Babur says that the Andijān dialect is *qalam bile rāst* “consistent with the writing”.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 28a.

<sup>6</sup> Though occasionally they were men of Turkish descent.

## II. HERAT AND ITS IMPORTANCE

Around Samarqand Timur built villages to which he gave the names of Sultāniya, Shīrāz, Baghdad, Dimishq (Damascus) and Miṣr (Cairo) so that they should witness to the paramountcy of Samarqand over all the other cities. Herat was not included in the number, and Timur did not foresee that in the near future this town was destined to emulate Samarqand, even in the political field.

Whatever Timur's intentions may have been, it turned out that he dealt a fatal blow to Khwarazm, the main centre of extra-Iranian<sup>1</sup> culture, whereas many Iranian provinces, if not all of them, were able to recover rapidly from Timur's devastations and massacres. The opinion often held by European scholars<sup>2</sup> on the results of Timur's devastations is not confirmed by the facts. The account of Clavijo, who crossed Persia during the last year of Timur's reign, clearly shows that at that time Northern Persia did not give the impression of being a ravaged and depopulated land. Various towns were governed by Timur's sons and grandsons, which in itself was bound to contribute to their restoration. Each of the princes strove to enhance the brilliance of his court by drawing upon both local and Central Asian cultural elements. Turkish poets were to be found not only in Herat, but also in Shīrāz<sup>3</sup>.

Herat had always been a large city but, before the coming of the Mongols, it was not the capital of any particular dynasty. It is true that the Ghūrids (twelfth to fourteenth century) favoured it with some attention, but only the Kurt dynasty, related to the Ghūrids<sup>4</sup>, arose in Herat. This was perhaps the first

<sup>1</sup> [In this case it might have been more adequate to speak of "External, or Greater Iran". V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> Especially A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, II, 268 sq., where some exception is made only for the "ostpersische Provinzen".

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshāh, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> [Through their ministers. *Kart* is a better reading than *Kurt*. V.M.]



dynasty of Iranian origin to spring up after the Mongol invasion. After the collapse of the Mongol power in Persia, the Herat ruler MU<sup>ʿ</sup>IZZ AL-DĪN ḤUSAYN (1331-1370) became independent and strove to subjugate the other parts of Khorasan. At the time when in Turkestan the Turkish military force, as represented by the Chaghatay begs, took the upper hand, it was in Herat, for geographical reasons, that the two elements, Iranian urban culture and Turkish military tradition<sup>1</sup>, were bound to clash sooner than elsewhere, even though the necessity to conciliate them was, somewhat vaguely, realised by men of the Timurid epoch, including Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. Already the first of the Chaghatay begs, QAZAGHAN (1346-1358), made war on the ruler of Herat<sup>2</sup>. He is said to have contemptuously referred to Ḥusayn as a "Tajik who advances claims to the sultanate"<sup>3</sup>. Before the battle Qazaghan pointed out to his followers the disadvantages of the position chosen by Ḥusayn, adding: "this Tajik does not know the art of warfare"<sup>4</sup>. The Chaghatays defeated Ḥusayn's army but could not take the fortified town. From that time onwards the relations between the Kurds and the Chaghatays continued alternately more, or less, friendly, until Herat was taken by Timur (1381), the Kurt dynasty deposed (1383) and its members exterminated (1389).

Herat became the residence of Timur's sons who ruled Khorasan: first Mīrānshāh, then, after 1397, Shāhrukh. The latter's fief, in addition to Khorasan, included Sīstān and Māzandarān. The prosperity of Sistan could not be restored in the same measure as that of the other provinces, for in 1383 Timur had destroyed the famous "dyke of Rus-

<sup>1</sup> It can be seen from the curious comparison of the Persians and the Turks in the *Muḥākamat al-lughatayn* that Mīr ʿAlī Shīr cherished the hope that the Turks might outstrip the Persians even in the cultural field. Somewhat naively, the author saw the superiority of the Turks over the Persians in the fact that every Turk knew Persian, while hardly any Persian knew Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ulugh-beg*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *ZN*, I, 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 34.

tam”<sup>1</sup>. Both under Timur and under Shāhrukh, Sistan several times revolted against the Chaghatay power and was laid waste anew. Māzandarān was joined with Khorasan already under the Chingizids. According to Hamdullah Qazvinī<sup>2</sup>, Khorasan, Kūhistan, Kūmis, Māzandarān and Tabaristan were, under the Mongols, like a separate state, and their revenues were entered separately from the general revenue of the Mongol dominions in Persia. The explanation of this arrangement must be probably sought in the conditions of nomad life: the Mongol detachments stationed in Khorasan withdrew for the winter to the shore of the Caspian sea. Such movements are often mentioned in Timur’s and Shāhrukh’s histories.

One result of the troubles that followed Timur’s death was that Herat, instead of Samarqand, acquired the rank of the capital of Timur’s empire. The Timurids had to struggle not only amongst themselves, but also with the survivors of the dynasties dispossessed by Timur. In the West, the Turkman dynasty of the BLACK SHEEP succeeded in securely restoring its kingdom, and even in extending its possessions beyond the old boundaries. After Shāhrukh’s three expeditions to the West, Jahān-Shāh (1436), son of Qara-Yūsuf who had fought against Timur, was recognised ruler of Azarbayjan. In the remaining part of Persia, the descendants of Timur’s three eldest sons, Jahāngīr, ‘Omar-Shaykh and Mīrānshāh, were gradually replaced by the sons of Shāhrukh. Of these, ULUGH-BEG ruled from 1409 in Samarqand, IBRĀHĪM-SULTAN from 1414 in Shiraz, and SUYURGHATMĪSH from 1418 in Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar. Another of Shāhrukh’s sons, Baysunqur, who had assimilated Persian learning to a greater degree than his brothers, remained in Herat. He was regarded as his father’s vazir and, with him, contributed to the splendour of the capital. For one of Baysunqur’s infant sons, SULTĀN-MUḤAMMAD, a special state was created in Central Persia in 1442, comprising the towns of Sulṭāniya, Qazvin, Rayy and Qum<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> V. Barthold, *A historical and geographical survey of Iran* (in Russian) SPb. 1903, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, XXIII, I, 147.

<sup>3</sup> *AR*, f. 257b.

On the whole, this division of the former empire favoured the restoration of culture and its further development. Besides the capital, other cities too realised achievements which later profited the whole of the Iranian cultural world. In his account of Ibrāhīm-Sultān's death (1435), 'Abd al-Razzaq mentions as his particular merit his patronage to SHARAF AL-DĪN YAZDĪ which enabled "this most elegant writer in the world and the noblest man in Iran"<sup>1</sup> to finish his work on Timur's history (*Zafar-nāma*). Under the Uzbeks this work was translated into Turki by a Bukharan author<sup>2</sup>, but even under the Timurids it attracted the attention of the Turks. The poet Lutfī, whom 'Alī Shīr prefers to all his other predecessors<sup>3</sup>, completed a versified version of the *Zafar-nāma*. No fair copy of this work (over 2,000 verses) was prepared and it remained unknown<sup>4</sup>.

The concentration of the power in the hands of the members of Shāhrukh's family did not lead to political stability. Shāhrukh's sons and grandsons fought against each other. Gradually the Timurid state shrank and, in the provinces still under Timurid rule, the power passed to the descendants of 'Omar-Shaykh and Mīrānshāh. In 1446, Shāhrukh himself led an expedition to the West, against his grandson Sultān-Muḥammad<sup>5</sup> who had seized Isfahan and was besieging Shiraz. The prince fled, and among his advisers whom Shāhrukh brought to account was the historian Sharaf al-dīn, the prince's constant companion. It was said that in some verses he suggested that an old man should make room for a young one, and he was also accused of having assured the prince that Shāhrukh would never come to the West. On being questioned, Sharaf al-dīn admitted only the last charge, but explained that far from being an incitement to rebellion it was only a hope that Shāhrukh would treat his promising grand-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 245b.

<sup>2</sup> *ZVO*, XV, 257. The MS. of this translation exists, as far as I know, only in Constantinople (Nūr-i Othmāniya, 3268).

<sup>3</sup> *Muhākama*, in Quatremère's *Chrestomathy*, 34. On Lutfī see *Ulugh-beg*, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 29a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 145.

son with leniency and forgive him his impertinence. ‘Abd al-Latif, Ulugh-beg’s son, who was with Shāhrukh’s army, roughly upbraided the historian, and the latter was handed over to him. This was what ‘Abd al-Latif was aiming at, as he had only wished to save the historian’s life, and he immediately sent him to Herat. According to one report <sup>1</sup> ‘Abd al-Latif claimed that Ulugh-beg needed Sharaf ad-dīn for his astronomical observations, and therefore sent him to Samarqand. ‘Abd al-Razzaq <sup>2</sup> says nothing on the subject, and apparently the historian went no further than Herat. When Khorasan was for a short time seized by Sultān-Muḥammad (1449) Sharaf al-dīn was able to return to the West. He settled down in his birth-place Taft (near Yazd) and lived there in his khānaqā till he died in 1454. In spite of his association with Sultān-Muḥammad, he was visited there in 1452 by Sultān-Muḥammad’s brother and murderer Abul-Qāsim Babur <sup>3</sup>.

Despite the discord which reigned among Shāhrukh’s descendants, the political prestige of Herat built up by the exertions of Shāhrukh proved more enduring than the prestige with which Timur had sought to endow Samarqand. Sultān-Muḥammad’s expedition against Herat in 1449 was partly provoked by the declaration of the “chiefs (*sardārān*) of [Persian] Iraq and Luristan” that they would submit to the sovereign whose residence would be “the throne of Shāhrukh’s sultanate” <sup>4</sup>. Mīrānshāh’s grandson ABŪ-SA‘ĪD <sup>5</sup>, who reigned in Samarqand since 1451, was constantly planning to seize Herat and make it his capital <sup>6</sup>, and when in 1459 he achieved his ambition, he stayed on in Herat.

<sup>1</sup> Rieu, *Pers. Man.*, 173.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 270b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 295a. Abul-Qāsim Babur (d. in 1457) must not be confused with Ṣāḥīr al-dīn Babur, founder of the empire of the Great Moghuls (d. in 1530), but to call them “Babur I” and “Babur II”, as this is sometimes done, would be a mistake as they ruled over entirely different provinces.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 286a.

<sup>5</sup> On him see *Ulugh-beg*, p. 160 sq.

<sup>6</sup> AR, f. 309b. Cf. *Ulugh-beg*, p. 173, note 1.

Somewhat earlier the Timurids lost the western part of Iran. According to ‘Abd al-Razzaq, in 1453 all the western provinces of Persia from the frontiers of Azarbayjan and down to the Ocean, which had remained under the sway of Timur’s dynasty for 80 years, submitted to the Turkmans <sup>1</sup>. In 1458 JAHĀN-SHĀH tried even to take Herat from the Timurids, but he had no success, and in 1459 a treaty was concluded which left Western Persia to Jahān-Shāh, and Khorasan to Abū-Sa‘īd <sup>2</sup>. After Jahān-Shāh’s death in 1467, Abū-Sa‘īd tried to restore the Timurid power in the West — an attempt which cost him his life (1469). The western part of Iran remained under the Turkmans, with the only difference that the house of the Black Sheep was succeeded by that of the White Sheep (Aq-qoyunlu). The principal representatives of this new dynasty were UZUN-HASAN (1466-1478) and his son YA‘QŪB (1479-1490). Meanwhile the Timurid state finally broke up; Turkestan remained under the power of Abū-Sa‘īd’s sons, whereas Khorasan passed into the hands of SULTĀN-ḤUSAYN, a descendant of ‘Omar-Shaykh.

Thus were formed those states outside which Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, judging by his works, found nothing worthy of notice by way of culture: the Turkman kingdom in the West and the two Timurid kingdoms, one in Samarqand and the other in Khorasan <sup>3</sup>, neither of which formed a well-knit entity. In Khorasan in particular many towns had their own “sultans” hostile to each other although belonging to the same family — that of Sultān-Ḥusayn. The cultural life of Herat undoubtedly surpassed that of Samarqand, but it is less clear how far the Timurid East was superior to the Turkman West. Our sources — mainly written in the Timurid state — are naturally biased in their judgment of the Turkmans. This much can be said that some of the records, quoted by European scholars <sup>4</sup>, are contradicted by the evidence

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 295a. The statement on “80 years” is slightly exaggerated for Timur crossed the Amu-Darya only in 1380. [The Turkmans of the Black Sheep (*Qara-qoyunlu*)].

<sup>2</sup> On the treaty, *ibid.*, 316b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Majālis*, f. 31b, the expression *Khorasan va Samarqand mülki*.

<sup>4</sup> For example Bouvat in *J. As.*, CCVIII, 270, about Jahān-Shāh: “athée notoire, débauché et cruel”.

of other Timurid, but more impartial, sources <sup>1</sup>. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s opinion of his contemporary Sultān Ya‘qūb <sup>2</sup> is also comparatively favourable.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ‘Abd al-Razzaq’s report on Jahān-Shāh’s rule, f. 331a: “the country of Azarbayjan was extremely flourishing thanks to Mīrzā Jahān-Shāh’s beneficence and good intentions. This well-meaning sovereign was thoroughly engaged in dispensing justice, in restoring the country, in raising the condition of the subjects; his capital Tabriz, by virtue of its numerous population and the advent of tranquillity, emulated Egypt and shone like the sun in its splendour”.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 78b: “among the Turkman sultans there were few stalwarts equal to him in the pleasantness of nature and in the praiseworthiness of manners”.

### III. MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR'S ORIGIN AND YOUTH

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was born in Herat in 844/1440-1. According to Khwāndamīr <sup>1</sup> his family was closely connected with the Timurid house, in particular with the descendants of ʿOmar-Shaykh. With the latter, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's family was bound by ties of foster-brotherhood (*kūkältāshī*). This term is usually explained in dictionaries as *köngültash* "foster-brother, foster-sister", but those who have heard it for themselves give it as *kükältash* <sup>2</sup>. A large number of buildings of the Uzbek period in Turkestan are linked with persons surnamed *kükältash*. This term does not accompany Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's name, but it appears in that of his brother, Darvīsh-ʿAlī <sup>3</sup>.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr belonged to the high serving aristocracy and was by birth an *amīr* <sup>4</sup>, *beg*, or (in Mongolian) *noyon* <sup>5</sup>, independently from the fact whether he held any charge or not. Among Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's more distant ancestors, Belin <sup>6</sup>, following Sām-mīrzā, mentions his maternal great-grandfather, Bū-Saʿīd Chang, one of the chief amirs of the divan in the time of Mīrzā Bayqara, Sultān-Ḥusayn's grandfather. As we shall see, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr several times refers to his father without giving his name <sup>7</sup>. In one of Khwandamīr's stories Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's father

<sup>1</sup> *Habīb al-siyar*, 217. [Throughout this essay references are to the Bombay edition, III, 3].

<sup>2</sup> [*Köngül* means "heart" and *köngül-tash* would mean "heart companion", which the dictionaries equate with "nourished by the same breast, frère de lait". The interpretation may be right but the etymology *kükäl* = *köngül* is not sure. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> For example, *HS*, 249, above.

<sup>4</sup> Hence the *Mīr* before his personal name which has been retained in literary works. It would be more correct to call him simple *Alī-Shīr*.

<sup>5</sup> Babur writes *Alī-Shīr beg*. The title *noyon* accompanies Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's name, for instance, in *Daulatshāh*, 14.

<sup>6</sup> *O.c.*, 180. Cf. Nikitsky, 35.

<sup>7</sup> [Possibly as a token of respect, usual among the Muslims. V.M.]

is called Ghiyāth al-dīn Kichkina <sup>1</sup>. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s close personal connection with the dynasty appears from the fact that he was Sultān-Ḥusayn’s schoolfellow, as already mentioned by Babur <sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, earlier sources do not seem to countenance the anecdote quoted by Belin, namely that the boys promised each other from the very first “de ne point s’oublier, si plus tard la fortune venait à sourire à l’un d’eux”. This story is hardly more credible than the earlier one about the “Three Schoolfellows”, i.e. Nizām al-mulk, Hasan-i Šabbāh and ‘Omar Khayyām. It is true that this last is notoriously “full of anachronisms” <sup>3</sup>, whereas in our case the boys’ friendship is chronologically possible. Sultān-Ḥusayn was born in 1438 <sup>4</sup> and was thus only some two years older than Mīr ‘Alī Shīr. Neither was the joint education of a subject with his prince impossible. At the date of Timur’s death (1405), MĪRZĀ BAYQARA was twelve years old <sup>5</sup>. He lost his political power in 1415. Shāhrukh sent him to Qandahar where he intrigued against the local ruler, the prince Qaydu, for which he was imprisoned. At first Shāhrukh ordered him to be sent to India, but changed his mind when he himself went to Qandahar. Brought to Shāhrukh’s army, Bayqara was sent to Samarqand (1417) <sup>6</sup> and seems to have been killed soon after <sup>7</sup>. His son GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN MANŠŪR could not have been more than a child at his father’s death. He lived till 849/1445-6 and resided in Herat, apparently as a private person. He may have even suffered from want, like Mīrānshāh’s son Sīdī-Aḥmad who addressed to Shāhrukh poems containing urgent requests

<sup>1</sup> HS, 179. Belin gives him the name, or surname, of *Kichkina-bahādur* which he found in a seventeenth century Turkish source (*kichkina* “little”, *bahādur* “a hero, a stalwart”). Sām-mīrzā calls him only *Bahādur*.

<sup>2</sup> GMS, I, 178b.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., V. A. Zhukovsky in *al-Muzaffariya*, 326.

<sup>4</sup> Muḥarram 842, see HS, 203.

<sup>5</sup> ZN, II, 734.

<sup>6</sup> On this see AR, ff. 205a, 209a sq. In *Notices et extraits*, XIV/I 279 sq., the account of events does not come down to the prince’s adventures in Qandahar.

<sup>7</sup> Daulatshāh, 374 sq.



for material assistance <sup>1</sup>. We know that later Sīdī-Aḥmad's son married Sultān-Ḥusayn's sister. As the house in the north-eastern quarter of Herat where Sultān-Ḥusayn was born, came to be called "the palace" (*daulat-khāna*) we may infer that Maṣṣūr's family was somewhat more prosperous, and that the family of Sīdī-Aḥmad may have profited by the new relationship.

Events soon put an end to Mīr 'Alī Shīr's schooling. According to him, during the troubles after Shākrūkh's death, his father made up his mind to flee from Khorasan to Iraq with a "large crowd of people" <sup>2</sup>. Mīr 'Alī Shīr's account of this journey and of the meeting in Taft with Sharaf al-dīn raises certain chronological difficulties. Sharaf al-dīn took up residence in Taft only in 1449, so that at the time of their meeting Mīr 'Alī Shīr was not six years old, but somewhat older. The choice of the verses written by the historian for the boy seems strange: "Sufi, do not condemn the revellers who worship wine, for the bowl contains the ray of the Friend's reflection". The fact itself of the arrival of the caravan in Taft and the visit to Sharaf al-dīn's khānaqā is not surprising, as the author of Timur's history must have enjoyed popularity in the East. Among Sharaf al-dīn's visitors were Abul-Qāsim Babur, and, according to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, even a prince of a more distant land, the future khan Yūnus of Moghulistan <sup>3</sup>. This latter report is full of chronological contradictions <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 83, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 14b.

<sup>3</sup> On this term see *Ulugh-beg*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107. It says that Yūnus was born in 818 or 819/1415 or 1417 (see *TR*, pp. 84 and 115), was taken prisoner by Ulugh-beg at the age of sixteen (though the date is given as 832/1428-9), then was sent to Shahrukh, and from thence to the West to Sharaf al-dīn, under whom he studied in Yazd for twelve years till the latter's death, whereas in point of fact the historian lived till 1454. In Zahīr al-dīn Babur's version, *GMS*, I, 10, Yūnus came to Ibrāhīm-Sultān in Shīrāz five or six months before the latter's death, i.e. in the autumn of 1434, he lived in Shīrāz for seventeen or eighteen years and was *nukar* to the infant 'Abdullāh (born in 1433). Babur does not say that Yūnus was Sharaf al-dīn's pupil, whereas Muḥammad Haydar claims (*TR*, 85) that it was owing to Sharaf al-dīn that Yūnus became the best-educated man ever to have lived among the Moghuls.

By the beginning of the fourteen-fifties some degree of order had been restored in the Timurid possessions. Since 1451 Abū-Saʿīd ruled in Samarqand <sup>1</sup>. On Monday 28 August 1452 <sup>2</sup> Abul-Qāsim Babur returned to Herat from his unfortunate expedition to the West which had nearly cost him the newly conquered Khorasan. In 1454 he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Samarqand. On concluding a treaty with Abū-Saʿīd he returned to Herat on 25 December <sup>3</sup> of the same year.

These dates were important in Sultān-Ḥusayn's life, and may be in that of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and his family also. According to Khwāndamīr <sup>4</sup> Sultān-Ḥusayn was fourteen years old when, after taking counsel with his mother, he entered Abul-Qāsim Babur's service. Consequently this must have occurred in 1452, probably after 28 August. Sultān-Ḥusayn took part in the expedition of 1454, but he stayed with Abū-Saʿīd and did not return with Babur to Khorasan. He was probably not alone in acting thus, but did it jointly with other princes descended from ʿOmar-Shaykh. This is made clear by subsequent events. Sultān-Uvays, son of Muḥammad and Sultān-Ḥusayn's cousin, raised a revolt. This aroused Abū-Saʿīd's suspicions against the princes, and Sultān-Ḥusayn with thirteen of his relatives was imprisoned in the citadel of Samarqand. When this news reached Herat, Sultān-Ḥusayn's mother Fīrūza-begum, daughter of Timur's grandson Sultān-Ḥusayn, killed in 1405 <sup>5</sup>, came to Samarqand to intercede for her son. Through her mother she was a granddaughter of Mīrānshāh and first cousin to Abū-Saʿīd. Her request was granted, and Sultān-Ḥusayn was liberated and returned to Babur's service.

Khwāndamīr <sup>6</sup> says that Mīr ʿAlī Shīr entered Babur's service at the same time as Sultān-Ḥusayn, but he does not explain

<sup>1</sup> *TR*, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *AR*, f. 295a, gives the date as 12 Shaʿbān 856.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 300b: 4 Muḥarram 859.

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 204 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 65. Sultān-Ḥusayn, son of Maṇsur, must have been named in his honour.

<sup>6</sup> *HS*, 217.

whether this relates to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's first or second enlistment. The latter is more probable as, according to Sām-mīrzā <sup>1</sup>, Mīr 'Alī Shīr's father was for some time in Abū-Sa'īd's service, probably at the same time as Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. The earliest authority, 'Abd al-Razzaq, knows nothing of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's first enlistment in Babur's service <sup>2</sup>. He only says that on Abū-Sa'īd's orders, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was imprisoned in the Samarqand citadel, spent "a long time" in captivity, was set free and joined Babur who endowed him with a generous allowance of 100,000 *kebek* <sup>3</sup> dinars. The *kebek* dinar was a silver coin weighing 2 drachms. At the rate of 1 silver drachm = 1/4 of a rouble, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's allowance would amount to 50,000 roubles (£ 5,000).

According to Daulatshāh <sup>4</sup> Mīr 'Alī Shīr's father was in Babur's service; though a Turk, he was an educated man and tried to give his son the best education possible. He is said to have governed the state under Babur, but this can hardly be true, for the historians would have mentioned it. From Mīr 'Alī Shīr's own account <sup>5</sup> it is clear that his father was only a governor in the town of Sabzavār, a famous Shi'ite centre. This record appears in the biography of Mīr-Shāhī of Sabzavār, a poet popular in his day, whose real name was Mīr Aq-Malik. At one time he was an intimate of prince Bāysunqur who died in 1433. Mīr 'Alī Shīr never met him but corresponded with him. Apparently at the time when "the king" sent Mīr 'Alī Shīr's father as *hākīm* to Sabzavār, the *hākīm* of Astarābād sent for Mīr-Shāhī. The poet died in Astarābād and his body was brought to Sabzavār where it was solemnly received by the population and buried by the side of the poet's ancestors. According to

<sup>1</sup> Sām-mīrzā, son of Shah Ismā'īl I, wrote the anthology *Tuhfa-yi Sāmī*, see *Notice*, 180, Nikitsky, 35.

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 308b. It is known that 'Abd al-Razzaq was born in Herat in 1413 and died there in 1492. See his biography in *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> Called after the Chaghatay khan Kebek, 1318-1326, see *Ulugh-beg*, p. 8. Instead of *dīnār* the Turks used the word *altun* (*altīn*), see Daulatshāh, 373 above. The term *altun* often recurs in Mīr 'Alī Shīr, see *Majālis*, 52a, 56b, 58a.

<sup>4</sup> Daulatshāh, 495.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 13a.

Khawāndamīr <sup>1</sup> Mīr Shāhī died in Astarābād in 857/1453. In that case, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s father — if not himself — was in Babur’s service already before Sultān Ḥusayn’s arrival from Samarqand. The “correspondence” mentioned by Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was between a child and an old man. Like all the inhabitants of Sabzavār Mīr Shāhī was a Shi‘a, which did not prevent him from becoming a close companion of Bāysunqur. They drew apart only because the poet would not give up his *nom de plume* to please the prince, who wished to appropriate it to his own exclusive use. Later the poet tried to mollify the prince by his verses, but does not seem to have succeeded.

These Shi‘ite connections give rise to the question of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s own persuasion. Belin <sup>2</sup> sees in the very name “‘Alī-Shīr” sufficient proof of his having been a Shi‘a (he uses a rather unhappy expression: “appartenait au rite orthodoxe de la Perse”). Babur <sup>3</sup>, however, names Mīr ‘Alī Shīr among those on whose advice Sultān-Ḥusayn abjured Shi‘ism. There is every indication that, under Timur and his dynasty, the hostility between Sunnis and Shi‘as was not as bitter as it became in the sixteenth century under the Uzbeks and Shah Isma‘īl. Sultān Babur <sup>4</sup>, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s first patron, was also a Sunni though not particularly hostile to the Shi‘as. According to Daulatshāh, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was even then a “bilingual” poet, writing verse both in Persian and Turkish, and Babur liked his poetry. At that time Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s participation in the affairs of the state was of course out of the question. Sām-mīrzā says that Babur became attached to Mīr ‘Alī Shīr and regarded him as a son.

The sources do not give the exact date of Sultān-Ḥusayn’s re-enlistment in Babur’s service, but it must have happened before October 1456. At the beginning of that month Babur left Herat

<sup>1</sup> HS, 150.

<sup>2</sup> Notice, 219.

<sup>3</sup> GMS, I, 164b above.

<sup>4</sup> AR, 306a, below, words ascribed to Babur about the Shi‘ite coins struck during his reign: “whatever be a man’s persuasion, let him hold it, but I am firm in the Sunna and in Abū-Hanīfa’s rite”.

for Mashhad where he arrived on the 14th<sup>1</sup>. He was accompanied by both Sultān-Ḥusayn and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, which shows that the former's confinement in the Samarqand citadel was not as prolonged as ʿAbd al-Razzaq would make us think. Babur spent the winter in Mashhad and died there in March 1457<sup>2</sup>.

After Abul-Qāsim Babur's death, the two friends parted for twelve years. For Mīr ʿAlī Shīr those were years of study, at first in Mashhad, then in Herat and Samarqand. For Sultān-Ḥusayn they were years of free "cossack life", as his contemporaries, including Mīr ʿAlī Shīr<sup>3</sup> called it.

In those early years, the young prince did not venture to advance any independent claims, and during the troubles in Khorasan after Babur's death, he tried to side with one or the other of the pretenders. Apparently, immediately after Babur's death he went to Marv to join one of these, MĪRZĀ SANJAR, to whom, in the beginning of 1455, Babur had given in fief Marv, Mākhān and Jām<sup>4</sup>. During Babur's march from Herat to Mashhad in October 1456, the inhabitants of Jām complained to him of the unjust administration of the men appointed by Sanjar, but Babur took no action<sup>5</sup>. After Babur's death, Sanjar showed himself unwilling to submit either to the latter's only son Shāh-Maḥmūd (who was eleven years old), or to Bāysunqur's other grandson Sultān-Ibrāhīm (son of ʿAlā al-daula) who had been in prison in Babur's time. Sultān-Ḥusayn was well received by Sanjar who gave him his daughter Bike-Sultān-begum in marriage. On this occasion robes of honour were distributed to the "princes, dignitaries, amirs and *noyons*"<sup>6</sup>. Sultān-Ḥusayn's eldest son, Badīʿ al-Zamān, was born of this marriage. Later, after he had

<sup>1</sup> AR, f. 304b, gives the date as 14 Dhul-qaʿda 860.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 305b, Tuesday, 25 Rabiʿ II 861, probably 22 March.

<sup>3</sup> *Majālis*, 12b: *qazaqliq*. [The Russian term *cossack* is a derivation from the originally Turkish term].

<sup>4</sup> AR, 301a. On Sanjar and his relations with Sultān-Ḥusayn cf. also V. Zhukovsky, *Ruins of ancient Marv* (in Russian), SPb. 1894, p. 69 sq.

<sup>5</sup> AR, 304a.

<sup>6</sup> HS, 204; there too other items of information on Sultān-Ḥusayn's youth.

ascended the throne, Sultān-Ḥusayn divorced the companion of his youth, and this separation became a tragedy for the queen <sup>1</sup>. Because of her “high birth”, she used to consider herself above Sultān-Ḥusayn’s other wives and any particular attention which he bestowed on any one of them aroused her wrath. By such behaviour she finally brought him to divorce her. The queen spent the remainder of her life “in extreme grief” till her death in 893/1488. She was buried in royal state in the presence of “Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān and all the princes” (but not the Sultan) in the Badī<sup>c</sup>i madrasa built by her and named after her son. Babur takes this event less tragically and approves of Sultān-Ḥusayn’s action <sup>2</sup>: “a bad woman in the house of a good man is a foretaste of hell on earth”.

The young prince won his father-in-law’s confidence. When, in the summer of 1451 <sup>3</sup>, Sanjar proceeded to Mashhad, he entrusted Marv to Sultān-Ḥusayn. The prince fell out with the chief dignitary, Ḥasan Arlat, on the suspicion that the latter wished to seize his person. Sultān-Ḥusayn occupied Marv but was driven out. He carried on operations on the Murghāb upstream from Marv as far as Marūchaq, spent the winter between Marv and Khiva, and in the spring of 1457 was on the Tejen where, as Khwāndamīr puts it, he won his first victory <sup>4</sup>: he attacked the force of Bābā-Ḥasan who had been dislodged by the Turkmans from the banks of the Gurgān and was marching, by way of Abīvard, to join Sanjar. Bābā-Ḥasan was captured and killed, and part of his force joined Sultān-Ḥusayn. Other victories followed in the same year — the taking of Nesā, then of Astarābād where ruled the Turkman amir ḤUSAYN-BEG SA<sup>c</sup>DLŪ, a cousin of Jahān-Shāh’s. After the capture of the town the prince was hanged <sup>5</sup>. Being desirous to legalise his situation, Sultān-Ḥusayn from Nesā opened negotiations with Sanjar, and from Astarābād, with Abū-Sa<sup>c</sup>īd. As might be expected, this

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, I, 169 above: “the Mirza was right”.

<sup>3</sup> Before this comes the mention of Sha<sup>c</sup>ban 861 (June-July).

<sup>4</sup> Also mentioned in *AR*, 318b.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in *AR*, 319a.

first attempt met with a rebuff. Abū-Saʿīd protracted the negotiations until he had concluded peace with Jahān-Shāh, after which he imprisoned Sultān-Ḥusayn's envoy and indicated his intention to wrest Astarābād from him. From then onwards the relations between Abū-Saʿīd and Sultān-Ḥusayn remained hostile to the very end.

In 1459 the historian ʿAbd al-Razzaq acted as Abū-Saʿīd's envoy on the Gurgān. In the spring of 1459<sup>1</sup>, Abū-Saʿīd's enemies were defeated at Sarakhs; Sanjar, who was among them, was killed after the battle on Abū-Saʿīd's orders. One detachment fled to Astarābād but was not admitted by Sultān-Ḥusayn, and the prince who was in command of it was killed. Sultān-Ḥusayn began to coin money bearing Abū-Saʿīd's name. Together with ʿAbd al-Razzaq, he sent to Herat his own envoy who was received, although the war with the Turkmans had ended long ago<sup>2</sup>. This disproves Khwāndamīr's explanation of the reasons for the break between Abū-Saʿīd and Sultān-Ḥusayn. Much more worthy of credit is ʿAbd al-Razzaq's report, according to which Abū-Saʿīd's operations against Sultān-Ḥusayn were caused by the plundering raids from Mazandaran into Khorasan, in the course of which the raiders penetrated as far as Sabzavār and Nishapūr<sup>3</sup>.

Consequently the initiative in the hostilities belonged to Sultān-Ḥusayn. They recurred more than once and often took the form of plundering raids. One episode in the struggle is of considerable historical and geographical interest, namely Sultān-Ḥusayn's flight from Astarābād to Khwarazm in 1460, and again in 1461. Both times the crossing of the Amu-Darya is mentioned, at a

<sup>1</sup> In the middle of Jamādī I 863, *ibid.*, 318a.

<sup>2</sup> [This sentence will be better understood if we add that, according to Khwāndamīr, the rupture between Abū-Saʿīd and Sultān-Ḥusayn dated from the time when the former felt himself secure from the Turkmans of the Black Sheep. V.M.]

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 321b. According to Khwāndamīr, 208 above, the bands operated at first against the "Arabs" in Biyārjumand. Their inroad into the provinces of Khorasan was a surprise for Sultān-Ḥusayn and contrary to his wishes.

place where now runs the dry bed of the Uzboy<sup>1</sup>. An equally uncommon incident is Abū-Saʿīd's excursion on the sea in the spring of 1460. A few days after he had occupied Astarābād, Abū-Saʿīd proceeded to the sea-shore and put out in a boat, from which he was conveyed on board a large ship. This trip lasted from morning till night<sup>2</sup>.

Abū-Saʿīd left in Astarābād his third son, the infant SULṬĀN-MAḤMŪD (born in 1453)<sup>3</sup>. In the beginning of May 1461 Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, taking advantage of Abū-Saʿīd's difficulties in Turkestan, reoccupied Astarābād<sup>4</sup>. From there he led an expedition against Herat, by way of Sabzavār, Nishāpūr and Sarakhs. He besieged the capital and took measures to prevent Abū-Saʿīd's troops from crossing the Amu-Darya, but did not succeed in this latter plan. In October<sup>5</sup>, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was forced to raise the siege and return to Mazandaran, leaving a garrison in Sarakhs which later surrendered to Abū-Saʿīd. At the approach of Abū-Saʿīd's army, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn again fled to Khwarazm. There he gradually made himself master of the whole province, including Khiva, where the inhabitants had risen against the governor appointed by Abū-Saʿīd. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's activity in Khorasan is again referred to under 1464. He marched swiftly through Nesā, Abīvard, Mashhad, Turshīz and Tūn, killing and plundering on the way<sup>6</sup>. In spite of the victory which he won at Turshīz<sup>7</sup>, he was obliged to retreat to Khwarazm which also slipped out of his grasp. Khwarazm passed into the hands of Amir Nūr-Saʿīd,

<sup>1</sup> The report of the first crossing speaks of boats, *ZVO*, XIV, 026 sq. The year 1464 given in *ZVO*, 027, is a mistake. [The report is important as showing that the Oxus disembogued westwards, into the Caspian, instead of flowing, as at present, northwards to the Aral sea. See in more detail, Barthold, *A History of irrigation in Turkestan*, 1914, pp. 88-93. V.M.]

<sup>2</sup> AR, f. 322b.

<sup>3</sup> Babur, *GMS*, I, 25b, the year 857.

<sup>4</sup> According to Khwāndamīr, 209, in the middle of Shaʿban 865.

<sup>5</sup> Muharram 866, AR, 209. The siege began on Monday 31 August/24 Dhul-qaʿda, *ibid.*, 326b.

<sup>6</sup> AR, 333a above; *HS*, 212.

<sup>7</sup> He told Khwāndamīr that in this battle he personally wounded 15 men.



a descendant of Shah-Malik, the former ruler of Khwarazm. Nūr-Saʿīd was regarded as Abū-Saʿīd's vassal, although he several times rebelled against him. In 1465 Sultān-Ḥusayn invaded Khwarazm from the Uzbek country and partly devastated it. Nūr-Saʿīd paid for his negligence in the defence of the province first with his power, and later with his life <sup>1</sup>. In 1468 <sup>2</sup> Sultān-Ḥusayn turned for help to the Uzbek khan ABUL-KHAYR, who once had set Abū-Saʿīd on the throne of Samarqand <sup>3</sup>. Khwāndamīr relates in detail Sultān-Ḥusayn's reception in the khan's *ordu*, where he spent a week, the disputes on points of etiquette and the testing of Sultān-Ḥusayn's capacity for drinking wine without getting drunk, which set him high in the khan's opinion <sup>4</sup>. Abul-Khayr was at the time suffering from paralysis <sup>5</sup> and died soon after. The grave troubles which broke out among the Uzbeks made it hopeless to expect help from them. Sultān-Ḥusayn seems to have penetrated into the more westerly provinces of the Uzbek possessions. His sister married the Astrakhan khan Aḥmad <sup>6</sup>, possibly the khan of the Golden Horde who was Ivan III's opponent <sup>7</sup>. Later this princess, with her daughter and two sons, returned to her brother in Herat <sup>8</sup>.

Circumstances favoured Sultān-Ḥusayn so well that he succeeded in occupying Khorasan even without the help of the Uzbeks. At the end of February 1468 <sup>9</sup> Abū-Saʿīd set out on the conquest of Western Persia — an expedition which cost him his life. Since the autumn and throughout the winter, an attack from Sultān-Ḥusayn had been expected in Herat, and measures were being taken for the defence of the town. Abū-Saʿīd's son,

<sup>1</sup> AR, 337b. Muḥammad Sāliḥ, *Shaybānī-nāma*, ed. Melioransky-Samoylovich, SPb. 1908. Preface and ch. XV, where we find the expression: "he drank the cup of martyrdom".

<sup>2</sup> On the date of Abul-Khayr's death see *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 165 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 214.

<sup>5</sup> [*Maraḍ-i qābiḥ*, "a hideous illness", cannot be "paralysis". V.M.]

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 164.

<sup>7</sup> [Tsar Ivan III reigned 1462-1505].

<sup>8</sup> *HS*, 242.

<sup>9</sup> At the beginning of Shaʿban 872, according to AR, 339a.

SULTĀN-AḤMAD, had even set out of Samarqand with 50,000 men but, on the Murghāb, heard of his father's death <sup>1</sup>. Sultān-Ḥusayn had made sure that the news should reach him. According to Khwāndamīr, Sultān-Aḥmad had come as far as Andkhoy where he was joined by his brother SULTĀN-MAḤMŪD, who had returned from Azarbayjan with the remnants of the army and had made an unsuccessful effort to establish himself in Herat. The brothers decided to abandon the struggle for Khorasan and withdrew beyond the Amu-Darya. How swift was the succession of events may be seen from the dates given by ʿAbd al-Razzaq. On Friday 10 March <sup>2</sup>, after the religious ceremony, the news spread of Abū-Saʿīd's death, and on Thursday the 16th <sup>3</sup>, Sultān-Maḥmud entered Herat. On Friday the 17th, the *khutba* was read in his and his brother's names, and on the next Friday Sultān-Ḥusayn alone was mentioned in the public prayer. A few days before, the commander of the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-dīn had revolted and Sultān-Maḥmud had been forced to withdraw from the town. On March 24 Sultān-Ḥusayn in person entered Herat. In April he was joined by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, who until then had been with Sultān-Aḥmad's army, in the suite of Aḥmad Hājji beg, the all-powerful ruler of Samarqand.

We have said that since 1457 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr stayed in Mashhad and did not accompany Sultān-Ḥusayn either to Marv, or in his further peregrinations. One of Sultān-Ḥusayn's chief companions at arms was Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's maternal uncle (*taghay*) MĪR SAʿĪD, as Mīr ʿAlī Shīr calls him <sup>4</sup>, or Mīr Saʿīd Aqa, as in ʿAbd al-Razzaq <sup>5</sup> and Khwāndamīr <sup>6</sup>. He perished in 1461, when Sarakhs surrendered to Abū-Saʿīd. The surrender took place by agreement and all the other warriors were spared. But such was the hate that Abū-Saʿīd bore the amir that he had him put to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 347a.

<sup>2</sup> 25 Shaʿban 873, *ibid.*, 343a.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Ramadhan, *ibid.*, f. 345a.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 31a. *Notice*, 225, has *Mir-Saïd* and "oncle paternel", although the note gives the right explanation.

<sup>5</sup> AR, f. 327b.

<sup>6</sup> HS, 210.

death contrary to the pact. Saʿīd Aqa enjoyed Sultān-Ḥusayn's full confidence. He wrote Turkish poetry and his poetical *nom de plume* was Kābulī. He had a younger brother Muḥammad-ʿAlī, surnamed GHARĪBĪ<sup>1</sup>, also a Turkish poet, as well as a musician and calligrapher. Like Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's other relatives, he belonged to Sultān-Ḥusayn's "old servants" and, in addition, enjoyed the sultan's special favour for personal services rendered. Later, he left him and was killed in Samarqand by his elder brother's assassin. This latter reference can hint only at Abū-Saʿīd, and from it the conclusion can be drawn that Gharībī, like the other relations of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, was in Sultān Ḥusayn's service in the years of the latter's "cossack life". Amīr Saʿīd Aqa left a son ḤAYDAR<sup>2</sup>, a handsome, brave and promising youth whose end, under Sultān-Ḥusayn, was even sadder than his father's<sup>3</sup>. He was closely related to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr who regarded him as a son. "On both his father's and mother's side (he descended) from old retainers of the palace, nay was even a child of the palace"<sup>4</sup>. At first he devoted himself to study and wrote poetry; then he became a soldier, winning fame by his skill in archery and swordmanship, and finally became a hermit (see below p. 62). Mīr ʿAlī Shīr expressed the hope that he might yet find himself but events frustrated this expectation.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's *Majālis al-nafāʾis* gives many characteristic details on the life of the author and of other persons connected with him. To our regret, the work cannot be attributed to any definite period of the author's life, nor is its official date (896/1490-1) supported by some of the passages. Thus the ruler of Samarqand contemporary with the author is called Sultān-ʿAlī mīrzā, Sultān-Maḥmūd's son<sup>5</sup>, but he ruled in Samarqand for

<sup>1</sup> *Notice*, 225: *Ghourbeti*.

<sup>2</sup> On his extraction see *HS*, 282.

<sup>3</sup> He is undoubtedly identical with the Ḥaydar, surnamed *Sabūhī*, mentioned in the *Majālis*, f. 67b; *Belin*, o.c., 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Dargāh-nin bayirisi bālki toghmasi dur*.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 805: "now established on the throne of the sultanate in Samarqand".

a short time in 1496, and then for a longer period in 1498-1500<sup>1</sup>. In 1490-1, Sultān-Mahmūd was still alive and so was even his eldest brother and predecessor Sultān-Aḥmad. Sultān-Ḥusayn is spoken of as one already dead<sup>2</sup>, which shows that this passage does not belong to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and was written at least 5 years after his death.

Both from Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's work and from other accounts we learn that he spent the years 1457-1469 at first in Mashhad, then in Herat, and finally in Samarqand. The dates of his movements from Mashhad to Herat, and from Herat to Samarqand are not given. We have seen that his stay in Mashhad lasted well into the period when Abū-Saʿīd's power was established in Khorasan. In those troubled years Mashhad does not seem to have been involved in the military operations, though the armies on several occasions approached the town<sup>3</sup>. However, Khorasan was torn by internal strife from which even Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's father did not stand aloof, despite the fact that he did not attend Sultān-Ḥusayn. In the beginning of 1458 he was in Herat in the suite of the prince Sultān-Ibrāhīm, Shahrukh's great-grandson, and, jointly with the father of the historian Mirkhond, took part in the embassy which visited Abu-Saʿīd in Balkh<sup>4</sup>. Later Mīr ʿAlī Shīr joined Abū-Saʿīd in Herat. He spent "some time" with him but was disappointed by his reception and in consequence went on to Samarqand<sup>5</sup>. According to Babur<sup>6</sup>, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was banished by Abū-Saʿīd to Samarqand for some offence (*jarīma*). Mīr ʿAlī Shīr himself explains that he went to Samarqand to study<sup>7</sup>, a reason for which in those days nobody left Herat for Samarqand. It was natural for Yūsuf Badīʿī mentioned in the same passage to have gone from Andijan to

<sup>1</sup> The dates are, for instance, in Babur.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 81a: "let God illuminate his grave".

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Abū-Saʿīd's troops in the spring of 1460, see AR, 322b.

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 179. AR, 312b, in his account of this embassy names only the shaykhs who took part in it, but not the laymen.

<sup>5</sup> *HS*, 217.

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 170b.

<sup>7</sup> *Majālis*, 28a.

study in Samarqand, just as Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s friend Muḥammad Badakhshī, a native of the village of Ishkamish<sup>1</sup> went for his studies first to Samarqand, and after that to Herat to complete his education<sup>2</sup>, but to leave Herat for Samarqand must have been regarded as an exile.

Some light on this period of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s life may be shed by his account of SHAYKH ṢADR AL-DĪN RAVĀSĪ, an unusually handsome and eloquent man who “captivated his heart”<sup>3</sup>, and who was also greatly admired by persons of high rank, such as the shah of Badakhshan who became the Shaykh’s murid and took private lessons with him, and even the “king of the time”, the Sultan Abu-Sa‘id<sup>4</sup>.

This shows that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was in Herat in Abū-Sa‘id’s time while the SHAH OF BADAKHSHAN sojourned there. The dynasty of the shahs of Badakhshan<sup>5</sup>, who claimed descent from Alexander the Great, was exterminated by Abū-Sa‘id, who married shah Sultān-Muḥammad’s daughter and had by her a son, Abū-Bakr<sup>6</sup>. Later, he sent an army against Badakhshan. Sultān-Muḥammad submitted volutarily and came to Herat, while his son fled to Kashghar. Abū-Bakr was made prince of Badakhshan. Then the fugitive prince returned from Kashghar, and Abū-Bakr fled. Badakhshan had to be re-conquered, after which Abū-Sa‘id ordered all the members of the dynasty to be put to death. According to Daulatshāh<sup>7</sup> this took place in 871/1466-7. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr gives no dates and speaks only of the killing of the shah, whose poetical *nom de plume* was Lālī, and of his son, Ibn Lālī. In the case of the latter he uses the same expression as when speaking of the death of his uncles: Ibn Lālī was killed

<sup>1</sup> Which at that time belonged to the Qunduz province.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 57a.

<sup>3</sup> *Majālis*, 16b.

<sup>4</sup> The account of the sultan’s attachment to the Shaykh adds: “to say nothing of the other people”: *özgä khalayiq-qa ne yitkäy*.

<sup>5</sup> On this dynasty see *EI*, s.v. Badakhshan. On its fall see AR, f. 349a.

<sup>6</sup> *TR*. 108.

<sup>7</sup> Daulatshāh, 453.

“by his father’s murderer”<sup>1</sup>. Natives of Badakhshan enjoyed some importance in Herat. One of them, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Badakhshī, was requested to write the history of Abū-Sa‘īd’s reign, apparently in verse. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr once pointed out to him a mistake in the metre, and this incident was the beginning of their friendly relations<sup>2</sup>.

These facts suggest that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr joined Abū-Sa‘īd after 1464 when Sultān-Husayn had temporarily, and as it seemed definitely, disappeared from the stage, and probably soon after Abū-Sa‘īd’s conquest of Badakhshan. Before this happened, shah Sultān-Muḥammad was still in Badakhshan and had married one of his daughters to the Moghul Yūnus-khan. The eldest son of this marriage was the future Khan Maḥmūd, born in 868/1464<sup>3</sup>.

In view of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s close ties with men of Badakhshan, the events of 871 may have affected his position. There may have been, too, some jealousy on the Sultan’s part towards the friends of the handsome shaykh. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, who till the end of his days had neither family, nor descendants, seems to have had a *penchant* for handsome youths. One of his favourites was Hājjī Muḥammad, a native of Mashhad, “an angel in human shape”, whom he loved “as a son, and even more”<sup>4</sup>.

It is hard to understand how Mīr ‘Alī Shīr could have expected any particular regard on the part of the Sultan by whose orders his uncles had been put to death. In Samarqand Mīr ‘Alī Shīr found two noble patrons, Darvish Muḥammad-tarkhan (whose sister was Abū-Sa‘īd’s senior wife and mother of Sultān-Aḥmad), and AḤMAD-HĀJJĪ BEG<sup>5</sup>. Aḥmad-Hājjī beg, whom Mīr ‘Alī Shīr mentions several times, was a professional soldier but he had been brought up in Khorasan and was an educated man. Under the *nom de plume* of Vafā’ī he composed a poetical

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 21a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *TR*, 108, *GMS*, I, 11b.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 57b.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, I, 18, 57. During the struggle for Samarqand in 1496 both these begs, who belonged to opposite factions, lost their lives.

divan<sup>1</sup>. For ten years Aḥmad-Hājji beg was governor of Herat, then for a long time the all-powerful ruler of Samarqand, the sovereign's viceroy<sup>2</sup>.

In Samarqand, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's teacher was KHOJA FAḌLULLĀH ABUL-LAYTHĪ, a descendant of Abul-Layth. His knowledge of the *fiqh* won him the nickname of the second Abū-Hanīfa, and his mastery of Arabic was considered equal to that of Ibn-Hājib (d. in 1248), the famous author of the manual *al-Kāfiya*<sup>3</sup>. Other scholars contemporary with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, as for instance Muḥammad Badakhshī, studied under the same Khoja. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr worked with him for two years, and judging by the information quoted above, these two years may cover the whole of his sojourn in Samarqand. He lived in the *khanāqa*<sup>4</sup>, or madrasa<sup>5</sup>, of Shaykh Faḍlullah, who called him his son.

The time spent in Samarqand is the only period of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's life before he entered Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's service that has become known. This is apparent from what Babur says<sup>6</sup> about Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's exquisite manners (the term *nazākat* or *nāzik-lūk* must be probably understood in this sense)<sup>7</sup>: others explained this quality by haughtiness, but in fact such manners were natural to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and in Samarqand he behaved much in the same way.

In 1469 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, together with Aḥmad-Hājji beg, was in Sulṭān-Aḥmad's army. Belin naively supposes that this could

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 44b, 70b. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr objected to this *takhallus* because he considered it wrong to appropriate a poetical name already rendered famous by another poet.

<sup>2</sup> On the madrasa built by him see *ibid.*, 32a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 15b: ʿarabiyat-da Ibn-Hājib kaffa-si-gha tutar-erdi. In Belin's translation (*o.c.*, 185) there is a lacuna here which distorts the sense of the passage: "le khadjé, dit Ali-Chîr, était tellement versé dans la jurisprudence qu'on le comparait à Ibn-Hâdjib". The words on the *kaffa* evidently hint at the title of *al-Kāfiya*. [The two words are of different origin, and the supposed hint would be based only on the assonance. V.M.]. On Ibn Hājib, Brockelmann, I, 303.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Khwāndamīr, *HS*, 217.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in *Notice*, possibly after Sām-mīrzā (cf. Nikitsky, 36).

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 170b.

<sup>7</sup> [The term may also mean "shyness", or "touchiness". V.M.]

have been a measure of precaution taken by Sultan-Ahmad<sup>1</sup>, but this prince had nothing to fear from Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, if he was at all aware of his existence. With his patrons’ help Mīr ‘Alī Shīr could have found his way to the young sultan, but he does not seem to have wished to do so, perhaps because he knew how foreign Sulṭān-Aḥmad was to all literary interests<sup>2</sup>.

When the news of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn’s entry into Herat was confirmed, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr asked Aḥmad-Hājjī beg’s leave and set out for Herat. No credit should be attached to Sām-mīrzā’s statement<sup>3</sup> that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn personally asked Aḥmad-Hājjī beg to allow Mīr ‘Alī Shīr to join him, and that Aḥmad-Hājjī beg surrounded this journey with every possible luxury. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr arrived in Herat without pomp, but once in Herat he became an important person thanks to his friendship with the monarch.

On the day of Bayram (14 April) Mīr ‘Alī Shīr presented to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn his *Hilāliya qasida* (“the New-Moon ode”) which the Sultan greatly admired. It is quite unlikely that this qasida should have been Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s first poetical work, or even that he should have come to Abū-Sa‘īd empty-handed. Yet we know of no earlier verses of his, not even by title. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s Turkish divan, disposed according to the four ages of man (childhood, youth, middle age and old age)<sup>4</sup> — and thus supposed to include poems written in his childhood and youth — does not contain, as far as it is known, any addresses either to Abul-Qāsim Babur or Abū-Sa‘īd. The poet must have had reasons of his own for linking up his fame exclusively with that of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, for which end he concealed or destroyed all that he had written before.

<sup>1</sup> *O.c.*, 186 (mesure de précaution).

<sup>2</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Notice*, 186 sq., and Nikitsky, 36, where the fitting out of the traveller is ascribed to Sulṭān-Aḥmad himself — probably owing to faulty translating.

<sup>4</sup> *Notice*, 238.



#### IV. MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR AND SULTĀN-ḤUSAYN BEFORE THEIR FIRST DISAGREEMENT

(1469-1487)

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr found the situation in Herat far less peaceful than could have been expected from the rapidity with which Sultān-Ḥusayn had established his power. The change of rulers brought an innovation that stirred up strong feelings, namely the Shiʿite *khutba* which was introduced with the names of the twelve imams included in it. A particularly fierce outbreak occurred on 22 June when the *Qurban-Bayram* was celebrated. On this day a fanatical Shiʿa preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) made an allocution. The Sunnis were indignant and carried their complaint to the Sultan, whom they found on his way from the main street to the place of prayer. He sent men who dragged the preacher from the pulpit, and the sovereign's orthodoxy was thus re-asserted. This account by a contemporary of the events <sup>1</sup> clearly shows how innocuous were the religious disputes of those days in comparison with what took place in the sixteenth century under the Safavids. Babur <sup>2</sup> says that after this incident Sultān-Ḥusayn strictly conformed his actions to the Sunna, though in his old age ill-health (probably gout) prevented him from performing the ritual prayer (*namāz*); nor did he observe the fast. We have seen that Babur names Mīr ʿAlī Shīr among the persons under whose influence Sultān-Ḥusayn reverted to the Sunna.

Sultān-Ḥusayn and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr thought it necessary to have the support of the representatives of religious authority. They were fortunate in that, contrary to the experience of the Samarqand Timurids, they did not have to cope with a "rustic shaykh" sprung from the people <sup>3</sup>. The head of the Herat Naqshbandis was a highly educated poet and mystic ʿABD AL-RAHMĀN JĀMĪ

<sup>1</sup> AR, 349b.

<sup>2</sup> *Babur-nāma*, GMS, I, 164b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 174 sq.

(b. in 1414) with whom a common language was easily found. Even in the case of disputes between Shi'as and Sunnis, Jāmī never acted contrary to the tolerance habitual in Herat<sup>1</sup>. When one day in Baghdad, where he spent the winter of 1472-3 on the way to Mecca, he was brought to account for verses suspected of anti-Shi'a leanings, Jāmī was able to tell his accusers that it was rather from the Khorasan Sunnis that he had expected trouble over his book<sup>2</sup>.

The good relations which existed between Jāmī and the followers of Khoja Aḥrār are attested both in Jāmī's own works and in the pages of the *Rashahāt*, dedicated to him. Khoja Aḥrār himself regarded Jāmī as a natural mediator between himself and the government of Herat. On 11 September 1469, Sultān-Ḥusayn marched with his army on Astarabad against the rebel prince MUḤAMMAD-YĀDIGĀR, Shāhrukh's great-grandson. Meanwhile Khoja Aḥrār from Samarqand addressed a letter to Jāmī in which he pleaded for the Samarqand begs who without Sultān-Ḥusayn's permission had quitted Herat on his accession, leaving their property behind. In compliance with the Khoja's request, Jāmī proceeded to the camp of the Sultan who had just set out on his expedition, and was received with exceptional honours<sup>3</sup>. Later, in 1490, during his last illness, Khoja Aḥrār appealed directly to Mīr 'Alī Shīr begging him to send him a physician from Herat, which was held to be the centre of eminent scholars and doctors. The aged mystic, enemy of all scholarly learning<sup>4</sup>, was now driven to seek the aid of science. Mīr 'Alī Shīr sent him the physician Niẓām al-dīn 'Abd al-Hayy. The latter was unable to save the aged Khoja, but this did not lower him in

<sup>1</sup> Bouvat (*J. As.*, CCVIII, 268), without referring to any particular text, represents Jāmī as a fervent Sunni. On the contrary, Belin, *Notice*, 346, sees in Mīr 'Alī Shīr's report that Jāmī on his death-bed recited the names of the imams, a proof that he was a Shi'a.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Browne, *o.c.*, 510. This passage speaks of his return from the pilgrimage, but on his way back from Mecca Jāmī did not visit Baghdad. Cf. details in the *Rashahāt*.

<sup>3</sup> AR, f. 350s sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 121.

Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s or Sultān-Ḥusayn’s esteem. He attended Sultān-Ḥusayn and his family, and his quality of physician gave him entry into the harem <sup>1</sup>.

In 1469 Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was with the Sultan’s army. As on many later occasions, Herat was entrusted to Mīranshāh’s grandson Aḥmad, the husband of Sultān-Ḥusayn’s sister. He must have been considerably older than Sultān-Ḥusayn who treated him with filial respect <sup>2</sup>. In December, Sultān-Ḥusayn sent his troops against Astarabad and himself returned before reaching that town. In March 1470 <sup>3</sup> he set out once again, for the menace from Muḥammad-Yādigār had increased in view of the aid that he had received from the Turkmans. Meanwhile disorders broke out in Herat where the people rose against the abuses of the officials. The Sultan sent Mīr ‘Alī Shīr to inquire into the matter. On a Friday, the “Amīr Niẓām al-dīn ‘Alī-Shīr”, who enjoyed the exceptional confidence of the sovereign <sup>4</sup>, read from the pulpit the Sultan’s edict meant to calm the populace. This was Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s first public address to have attracted attention, and the only one mentioned by ‘Abd al-Razzaq.

After Mīr ‘Alī Shīr had left, another edict was received ordering the imprisonment of the vazir and the appointment of a new one. In June the king himself returned to Herat where he was received with the customary demonstrations of joy, but treason in the army forced him to leave the capital. In the beginning of July <sup>5</sup>, Muḥammad-Yādigār ascended the throne in Herat only to fall victim of a surprise attack in August <sup>6</sup>. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr took part in this affair, and the episode is the only

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 339.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, according to Belin, *o.c.*, 294. In the Univ. MS. 618, f. 79a, and the As. Mus. MS. a281, f. 120b (this MS. is apparently a copy of the former) the words *Sultān-Aḥmad mīrzā* are in the wrong place.

<sup>3</sup> Beginning of Ramaḍān 874, AR, f. 315b.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzaq’s expression: “because of his sincere attachment (to the king) and because of his powers and the respect he enjoyed, Truth itself was witnessing in his favour”.

<sup>5</sup> According to AR, 352a, his *khutba* was read on Friday, 6 Muharram 875.

<sup>6</sup> 23 Šafar, *ibid.*, 353a.

one in his life when his sword is mentioned, though, even in this instance, it played no active part. As Khwāndamīr tells it, in the early morning Sultān-Husayn's troops surrounded the castle where the usurper was staying. Fearing an ambush the soldiers hesitated to begin the assault. With the Sultan's leave, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr entrusted his horse to the amir Bābā-ʿAlī and, using his naked sword as a staff, climbed up a little-used path, followed by the amir Qul-ʿAlī. The latter and the infantry-man Hājji ʿAlī found the prince asleep and brought him down to the Sultan along the path used by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr in his ascent. The Sultan ordered the prince to be put to death. In ʿAbd al-Razzaq's version Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is not mentioned; this historian only insists on the unexpectedness of the attack and the result achieved by Sultān-Husayn's soldiers without any casualty, for they found the prince sleeping on the roof with one attendant and two female servants <sup>1</sup>.

After the elimination of this pretender, Sultān-Husayn's power in Herat remained undisputed until his death on 4 May 1506 <sup>2</sup>. The numerous expeditions which he led to the West, East and South <sup>3</sup> were not always successful, but to the end he remained ruler of a vast kingdom with its magnificent capital, Herat. According to Babur <sup>4</sup>, his possessions comprised all the lands from Khwarazm in the North to Qandahar and Sistan in the South, and from Balkh and Ghazni in the East to Damghan and Bistam in the West. His capital, like many other mediaeval cultural centres in Asia and Europe, was famous both for its refined culture and its vice. This explains why, sometimes in the same work, widely differing judgments are passed on the life of the city in accordance with the aspect of it which is being presented. No louder praise of both capital and king can be found

<sup>1</sup> These accounts are very unlike Belin's rhetorical description, *o.c.*, 188, of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's part in the affair: "de sa propre main il arrêta le prince qu'il fit conduire au roi".

<sup>2</sup> Khwāndamīr gives the date, *HS*, 326, as 11 Ramadan 911.

<sup>3</sup> In the North his dominion never seems to have spread further than Marv.

<sup>4</sup> *GMS*, I, 165 sq.

than in Babur's Memoirs <sup>1</sup>: "in the whole habitable world there is no city like Herat. In the days of Sultān-Ḥusayn, thanks to his solicitude and administration, its brilliance and beauty increased ten, and even twenty-fold". Or: "The time of Sultān-Ḥusayn was extraordinary. Khorasan, and Herat in particular, was full of eminent and peerless men. Whatever work a man undertook, he aimed and aspired at bringing that work to perfection" <sup>2</sup>. Yet the same Babur admits <sup>3</sup> that Sultān-Ḥusayn and his sons, his army and the whole town abandoned themselves to nearly incessant drunkenness. Only during the first six or seven years after his accession to the throne did the Sultan lead the life of a reformed character. Then once more he took to drink, and till the end of his forty years' rule drank every day, though only after the midday prayer (*namaz-i pīshīn*), never drinking in the morning. Sultān-Ḥusayn, who during his "cos-sack" days had performed many feats of valour and wielded the sword as no other Timurid had done, after his accession gave himself up to pleasure and amusements. His example was followed by his courtiers: "they would no longer endure the hardships and fatigues of conquest and soldiering; no wonder that instead of expanding, the number of *nukars* and the area of the dominions should have begun to shrink" <sup>4</sup>.

Babur very probably heightens his colours when painting the two aspects of Sultān-Ḥusayn's reign, especially the second. Even in his old age Sultān-Ḥusayn took a personal part in expeditions when he could have contented himself with sending his troops; he also successfully put down the rebellions of his sons. Babur was working under the impression of the weak resistance offered to the Uzbek invasion, when Sultān-Ḥusayn made no effort to oppose it by rallying the Timurids round himself. The old and ailing monarch set all his hopes on defensive action, which provoked the following remark from Babur: "if such a great king

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 188.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 177 below.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 164b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 166.

as Sultān-Ḥusayn who sits on Timur-beg's throne, orders defence against the attack instead of marching out against the enemy, then what hope remains to the people?"<sup>1</sup> Shortly before his death, when Khorasan had already been lost, Sultān-Ḥusayn set out with an army against the Uzbeks, but it was too late. He died at the outset of the expedition. Neither he, nor his sons proved worthy opponents of Shībani, although their troops in Balkh and Khwarazm performed their duty better than could have been expected under the circumstances.

At Sultān-Ḥusayn's court, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was at first only the "Keeper of the Seal" (*muhrdār*) and he owed his importance not to the duties of this charge but to his close intimacy with the Sultan. For this reason, he always tried to resign official posts as soon as he could. There is a record that within a short time he even relinquished his charge of Keeper of the Seal in favour of the poet and maecenas NIZĀM AL-DĪN SUHAYLĪ<sup>2</sup>, whose name figures in the title of Ḥusayn-Vāʿiz's famous work (*Anvār-i Suhaylī*)<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, in February 1472<sup>4</sup> Mīr ʿAlī Shīr became officially *amir* or *beg*, as he was wont to be called even before. On the Sultan's orders, only one beg, MUẒAFFAR BARLAS, enjoyed precedence over Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. According to Babur<sup>5</sup>, Muẓaffar had rendered great services to Sultān-Ḥusayn during his "cossack" days, but later his presumption broke all bounds. It was said that Sultān-Ḥusayn had made a pact with Muẓaffar promising him a third of every conquered province. The difficulty was solved by Muẓaffar's death, and Babur records the rumour that he was poisoned, though according to Khwāndamīr, he died a natural death<sup>6</sup>. He was succeeded by another Barlas beg, SHUJA AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, son of Burundūq, who at that

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 122b.

<sup>2</sup> *Notice*, 187, Khwāndamīr, *HS*, 230.

<sup>3</sup> Daulatshāh, 509 sq. devotes to him a whole chapter, as he does to Jāmī and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.

<sup>4</sup> Shaʿban 876; *HS*, 230; further (231): end of Shaʿban. Cf. *Notice*, 188.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, I, 170 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *HS*, 235.

time had come from Turkestan to Khorasan. To him too the right was granted to appose his seal above those of the other begs. He survived Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.

SAYYID ḤASAN IBN ARDASHĪR, who was named amir, or beg, on the same day as Mīr ʿAlī Shīr<sup>1</sup>, was probably a much older man. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr regarded him as a father and said that he was the best man among the Turks and the Tajiks<sup>2</sup>. His aspirations lay in the field of Sufism and he kept aloof from worldly affairs. Only for a short while did Sultān-Ḥusayn succeed in enlisting his services. The sayyid's life was divided into periods of dissipation (*rindliq chaghī*) and periods of piety and asceticism (*taqvā-va-zuhd*). We know that to combine these different inclinations was not unusual for a Sufi. There exist quotations from his verses belonging to both periods. In the *Majālis* he is spoken of as one dead. His appointment, probably a tribute of respect to a popular mystic, had no repercussions on the affairs of the state. Two other nominations made in the same year 876 (i.e. before June 1472) had more important consequences. NIZAM AL-MULK KHWĀFĪ, who became one of the vazirs, was a son of Shihāb al-dīn Ismāʿīl and previously held the charge of cadi in a town of his native province. His countryman KHOJA MAJD AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD was the son of the famous statesman of Shāhrukh's time, Ghiyāth al-dīn Pīr-Aḥmad Khwāfī<sup>3</sup>. Under Abū-Saʿīd, Majd al-dīn was a humble clerk of the divan, as was his friend, the future physician ʿAbd al-Hayy. Then he rose to be vazir of the "Little Mirza" (*kichik mīrzā*), as Sultān-Ḥusayn's nephew, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD-SULTĀN son of Aḥmad, was called. Sultān-Ḥusayn asked the prince to let him have Majd al-dīn and appointed him *parvāna*, with precedence over all the other holders of this charge, which, in the Middle Ages, included the transmission of the king's personal orders<sup>4</sup>. Every time when the Sultan was present at the divan, it was Majd al-dīn's duty to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Majālis*, 32a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Siasset-Nameh*, texte, p. 81.

report on state affairs, to record the decisions and to appose his seal on the same line with the Sultan's. He was therefore regarded as the king's deputy (*nā'ib*). Khwāndamīr adds that, thanks to the amir Mīr 'Alī Shīr and the *nā'ib* Majd al-dīn Muḥammad, the sultanate and the royal power acquired a new lustre, and order was again brought into the affairs of the subjects and the army <sup>1</sup>.

Thus at the helm of the kingdom two dignitaries were set who, as later events proved, were unable to work in harmony. In 878/1473-4, another vazir was appointed, KHOJA AFDAL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD of Kirman, of whom Mīr 'Alī Shīr speaks in terms of highest praise <sup>2</sup>. He came from a vazirial family of Kerman and, under Abū-Sa'īd, held the post of *mustaufi*, i.e. agent of the financial department. Niẓām al-mulk and Afdal al-dīn joined forces to intrigue against Majd al-dīn and to accuse him before the Sultan. As both of them spoke together, the Sultan remarked that it would be fairer if they spoke separately and did not come out two against one. This indirect support heartened Majd and silenced his enemies from among the Sultan's familiars. The affair ended for Majd better than he could have expected: he was made to pay 60,000 dinars (£ 3,000) and allowed to retain his office of *parvāna*, provided he did not interfere in the affairs of the divan <sup>3</sup>. As according to Khwāndamīr nine years passed between Majd al-dīn's discharge and his re-instatement in 1487 <sup>4</sup>, the dissensions among the vazirs must have ended only in 1478. In this passage Mīr 'Alī Shīr is not mentioned, except for a hint at the Sultan's "familiars", but he was undoubtedly Majd al-dīn's principal enemy, for, in 1487, Majd's re-appointment had to be preceded by his own removal <sup>5</sup>.

Some time before Afdal al-dīn's appointment and Amīr Muẓaffar's death which occurred somewhat earlier, Mīr 'Alī Shīr took part in an expedition against the rebel governor of Balkh,

<sup>1</sup> HS, 231. Notice, 191, refers these words to Mīr 'Alī Shīr alone.

<sup>2</sup> Majālis, 73b sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., l.c.

<sup>4</sup> HS, 235.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 244.



AḤMAD MUSHTĀQ, who had entered into relations with Sultān-Aḥmad and Sultān-Mahmūd, the Timurids of Turkestan (Samarqand). The siege was long-drawn and, after three or four months, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was sent to Herat to see about provisions for the army. He does not seem to have returned to Balkh, but in Herat he successfully put down the revolt of the prince Abul-Khayr whom he imprisoned in the citadel <sup>1</sup>. The siege of Balkh ended in a peace-treaty. Aḥmad Mushtāq surrendered the town and was pardoned, and Balkh was given to prince BAYQARA, Sultān-Ḥusayn's elder brother <sup>2</sup>.

According to Jāmī, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, whom he initiated in 881/1476-7 into the mysteries of the Naqshbandī order, voluntarily gave up all luxury and honours and trod the path of poverty and self-denial. Such renunciation could only have been external. In the years that followed, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr enjoyed more consideration than ever before and governed the capital in the Sultān's absence. MĪRZĀ ABŪ-BAKR, son of Abū-Saʿīd, who had entered Sultān-Ḥusayn's service and then rebelled against him in Northern Afghanistan, was defeated and fled in the direction of Astarābād. He was overtaken and killed near the river Gurgān by his pursuers, among whom was the Sultan in person, and his head was sent to Herat. This happened at the end of Rajab 884/October 1479, and when Sultān-Ḥusayn returned to his capital, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, at that time governor of Herat <sup>3</sup>, organised a solemn welcome.

In the next year, 885/1480-1, Sultān-Ḥusayn had the opportunity to recall his Shiʿa sympathies, and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr does not seem to have opposed him. Among the crudest frauds of Muslim hagiolatry was the miraculous discovery in the twelfth century, under Sultān Sanjar, of the CALIPH ʿALĪ's tomb in the vicinity of Balkh, a country which the caliph is known never to have

<sup>1</sup> This last detail is omitted by Belin, *o.c.*, 197, cf. *HS*, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Belin, *o.c.*, 294, mistakenly takes Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's words (*Majālis*, 79a) about Sultān-Ḥusayn's brother as referring to his grandfather. Babur, *GMS*, I, 163b, also speaks of Bayqara as Sultān-Ḥusayn's elder brother.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 237.

visited<sup>1</sup>. After the destruction of Balkh and the devastation of that region under Chingiz-khan, the tomb had been forgotten. Now it was re-discovered, from books, by Shams al-dīn Muḥammad, a descendant of Bāyazīd Bistāmī, who arrived from Kabul and Ghazni. At the place indicated there was found a slab of white stone bearing the inscription: "This is the tomb of the Lion of God, the brother of God's envoy, God's favourite". Prince Bayqara, who was present at the uncovering of the stone, informed his brother, and Sultān-Ḥusayn came to Balkh in person with his amirs and attendants. The sacred relic was recognised as genuine. In the next year<sup>2</sup> a mausoleum was built over it, and around it a village sprang up with bazaars and public baths. One of the canals of Balkh was assigned as a pious foundation (*waqf*) to the mausoleum. The Sultan returned to Herat, and to commemorate the felicitous occasion distributed largesse to the army and population. This example found imitators. A miraculous tomb was discovered in Herat itself by a driver (*‘arāba-kash*) who found ardent followers. Other similar discoveries followed in Herat and its neighbourhood, as well as in other towns. The *‘arāba-kash* realised in time what dangers he ran and made haste to disappear. Other impostors were seized and incurred bodily punishment, which put an end to their activities, but the village with ‘Alī's tomb remained<sup>3</sup> and continued to attract pilgrims from far and near. In the nineteenth century it had grown into the large town Mazār-i Sharīf.

Khawāndamīr's report shows that even Sultān-Ḥusayn's enlightened capital was not immune from gross superstition, although culture did not leave the popular masses entirely unaffected. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr occasionally quotes verses that were recited by "the whole of the people"<sup>4</sup>. Naturally these ephemeral compositions enjoying a wide-spread popularity soon came to be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the report of Abu-Ḥāmid Andalusī (Gharnatī) in V. Barthold, *Turkestan, Texts*, 21-2.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the building (886/1481-2) is recorded in C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, 1888, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 240 (Tehran ed., 260).

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 35b: *hama khalq bildilār*.

forgotten. Under Babur, in nearly every house in Samarqand could be found verses written by his cousin, MĪRZĀ BAYSUNQUR<sup>1</sup>, son of Sultān Maḥmūd, yet to-day not one copy of these poems seems to have survived. Works destined for posterity were exchanged as gifts between kings and dignitaries. Thus in 1456, Abu-Saʿid's ambassador brought to Herat for Abul-Qāsim Babur a copy of Ulugh-beg's astronomical tables<sup>2</sup>. One day Mīr ʿAlī Shīr decided to send to the Turcoman SULTAN YAʿQŪB<sup>3</sup> a complete set of Jāmī's works. By mistake the librarian gave the envoy another book<sup>4</sup> in a similar binding. The mistake was discovered only when the Sultan asked the envoy whether he had not found the journey tedious, and the envoy, wishing to parade his learning, replied that he had with him a companion in whose company one could never be dull. He then explained that Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was sending the Sultan a present of Jāmī's works, and that he had found in this book a sovereign remedy against the tedium of the journey. The Sultan expressed the desire to see the book and it was then discovered that the envoy had no works of Jāmī with him at all. This blunder cost the unfortunate man Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's favour<sup>5</sup>. Alongside such people as wished to appear more educated than they really were, there were, of course, others in Herat, especially among the Turks, who combined a certain literary polish with grosser tastes which they took no pains to conceal. Sultān-Ḥusayn himself seems to have belonged to the latter kind. He composed tolerable Turkish verses and at the same time, even in his old age, found pleasure in such primitive amusements as pigeon-flying<sup>6</sup>. The manners and customs of Samarqand were naturally supposed to be coarser than those of Herat. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr describes a Turk of Aḥmad-Hājji beg's retinue who knew no better pleasure than falconry and

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, I, 68b.

<sup>2</sup> *AR*, f. 304a.

<sup>3</sup> Of the dynasty of the White Sheep.

<sup>4</sup> *Futūḥati-Makkī*, i.e. apparently the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī, see Brockelmann, I, 442.

<sup>5</sup> *HS*, 344.

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 165 above.

riding thoroughbreds. In connection with a crude verse attributed to this Turk he remarks that it may be explained by the gross breeding in Samarqand <sup>1</sup>.

In 886/1481-2 <sup>2</sup>, ten years after Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, his younger brother DARVISH-ʿALĪ became amir, or beg. He also seems to have been a bookish man, for Mīr ʿAlī Shīr obtained for him the post of librarian. The term “librarian” (*kitābdār*) was even in later times attached to Darvish-ʿAlī’s name in what seems a somewhat disparaging sense. But in a town as literary as Herat the duties of keeper of a library must have been of some importance. In a story about the sultan’s librarian the curious term *dārūgha* is used, which can be translated as “commandant of the royal library” <sup>3</sup>. After he became beg, Darvish ʿAlī several times won and lost the Sultan’s favour. He was governor of Balkh, was accused of treason and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return he was again admitted into the Sultan’s intimacy. After his brother’s death he retired and lived as a private person in the neighbourhood of Balkh. During Shībani’s expedition against Balkh in 1503 he joined the Uzbeks and, on Shībani’s behalf, travelled to that town, his task being to persuade the local chiefs to open the gates to the Uzbeks. He argued that the Timurid domination was over, but met with a decisive rebuff <sup>4</sup>. After Shībani’s death he joined Babur in Qunduz and made a most unfavourable impression upon him <sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless in 1511 he was still with Babur when the latter succeeded in re-taking Samarqand <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 72b: *shūkh-va-khabīth shivālāri*.

<sup>2</sup> The date is in the *Majālis*, 53a. Cf. Belin, *o.c.*, 192. Belin’s words, *ibid.*, 202, about Darvish-Ali “surnommé le frère d’Ali Shir” are unfounded. Every available source of information avers that he in fact was Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s brother.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 343: this man was at first in Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s service, and only after his death passed into that of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. [*Dārūgha* definitely means here “superintendent”, without any military connotation. V.M.]

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 313.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, I, 173.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 174b

According to Babur<sup>1</sup> Mīr ʿAlī Shīr would accept no gifts from Sultān-Husayn; on the contrary, he himself offered him presents every year. This statement must not be taken as meaning that he derived no material benefit from his position at the court of Herat. His private means alone could never have sufficed for his extensive activity as *maecenas* and builder, which is recorded in all the sources. This is also apparent from what Sām-Mīrzā<sup>2</sup> says about the land which the Sultan granted to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr in Herat, and on which the latter built a series of charitable institutions under the general name of *Ikhhlāsiya* or *Khalāsiya*. This name was meant to reflect the builder's sincere devotion (*ikhhlās*) to his sovereign<sup>3</sup>. At a later date, the historian Mirkhond took advantage of the khānaqā and madrasa of *Khalāsiya* for his studies<sup>4</sup>; Mīr ʿAlī Shīr himself speaks of one ʿAbd al-Muʾmin of Samarqand, of the poetical *nom-de plume* Muʾminī, who was then studying in the *Khalāsiya* khānaqā<sup>5</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's building activities were not limited to Herat. Daulatshāh, whose work was completed during the year of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's disgrace (892/1487), has left a record of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's constructions before that date<sup>6</sup>. Of these buildings, the following were in Herat: a Friday mosque, a madrasa, a khanaqa, a hospital and public baths. These were all situated in one quarter of the town, on the bank of the Injil canal, which shows that the whole group belonged to the *Khalāsiya*. Among the other buildings are mentioned: 1. the rabāṭ of ʿIshq, on the road from Khorasan to Jurjān and Astarābād, near the pass Darband-i Shiq-qān; it had been built in olden times by Qābūs ibn-Vashmgīr<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>2</sup> Belin, *o.c.*, 229.

<sup>3</sup> Thus according to Belin. If, as the MSS. indicate, the reading *khalāsiya* should be accepted, it may possibly have in view the deliverance (*khalās*) of scholars from every material care.

<sup>4</sup> The text is in Nikitsky, 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 72a.

<sup>6</sup> Daulatshāh, 505 sq.

<sup>7</sup> The Ziyārid prince who built the well-known Gunbad-i Qābūs. See my article in *Year-book of Russ. Institute of Hist. of Art* (in Russian), I, 1922, 121 sq.

but had fallen into ruins and was restored by Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s liberality <sup>1</sup>; 2. the rabat of Sangbast, at the crossing of the roads from Nīshāpūr to Marv, and from Tūs to Herat, built by Mīr ‘Alī Shīr by the side of the old ruined rabāṭ of Arslan Jādhīb, contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghazna <sup>2</sup>. The remains of these buildings have lately been studied in great detail <sup>3</sup>. Other buildings erected at that time were: 1. the mausoleum of the poet Qāsim-i Anvār, who died in 835/1431-2 in Khārjird (to the west of Herat), a place of considerable importance for the history of Muslim architecture <sup>4</sup>; 2. the mausoleum of the famous 13th century poet Farīd al-din ‘Attār, in Nishapur; the building was finished later and is still extant <sup>5</sup>; 3. the rabāṭ of Dīrābād near Nīshāpūr. Moreover, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was planning to dig a canal from the spring Chashma-gul to Mashhad, a distance of ten farsakhs.

Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s building activities may have been partly responsible for the difficulties in which Sultān-Ḥusayn’s treasury was involved at the time, and which brought Mīr ‘Alī Shīr into temporary disgrace.

<sup>1</sup> Daulatshāh, 54. It is still extant.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>3</sup> E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, 52 sq., where only Arslan-Jādhīb is named (p. 54), with no mention of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 71 sq. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr is not mentioned here either. It is remarkable that Khanikoff (*Mémoire*, 114) was shown the tomb of Qāsim-i Anvār at another place, in Langar, which is also referred to by Diez, *ibid.*, 25, though he does not locate there any ancient monuments. E. Herzfeld, *ZDMG*, LXXX, 1926, 274 sq., speaks of the madrasa of Shāhrukh and of the remains of the madrasa of Niẓām al-mulk, situated in Kharjird.

<sup>5</sup> See Khanikoff (Khanikov), *Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l’Asie Centrale*, Paris 1862, 95; A. V. W. Jackson, *From Constantinople to the home of Omar Khayyam*, New York 1911, p. 240; V. V. Barthold. *Historico-geographical survey of Iran* (in Russian), 69.

## V. YEARS OF DISGRACE AND OF DIMINISHED INFLUENCE

(1487-1494)

It had been for some time Sultān-Ḥusayn's wish to re-instate MAJD AL-DĪN. Mīr 'Alī Shīr opposed this plan <sup>1</sup>, and in order to find a way out of the difficulty, the Sultan offered Mīr 'Alī Shīr the post of governor of Astarābād. After many refusals, Mīr 'Alī Shīr was obliged to accept and go. The reasons which actuated the Sultan are explained by Babur <sup>2</sup>. One day when Sultān-Ḥusayn was in need of a certain sum of money, the members of the divan declared that there was no money and none to be obtained. Majd al-din who was present smiled, and on being questioned by the Sultan, asked to be received in private. At this audience he declared himself ready, if invested with the necessary powers, to procure the desired sum and to reorganise the economy of the state in a way that the treasury would be full and the Sultan's subjects (the people and the soldiers) content. Having obtained the powers he had asked for, he fulfilled his promise and brought the provinces into a flourishing state, but at the same time displayed a marked hostility towards all the begs and functionaries, beginning with Mīr 'Alī Shīr. It was through their endeavours that he was deposed and imprisoned.

From Babur's report one cannot gather when and where the scene described took place. Mīr 'Alī Shīr's departure had been decided in Marv <sup>3</sup> where the Sultan was spending the winter, i.e. probably in the beginning of the year 1487. After that Majd al-dīn took part in the affairs of the divan, at first with no special powers. The principal vazirs were, as before, AFDAL AL-DĪN and NIZĀM AL-MULK. Among the others, was Afdal al-dīn's brother KHOJA AMĪN AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD, appointed vazir in 887/1482. He

<sup>1</sup> HS, 244: *tajvīzi-ān ma'ni namīfarmūd.*

<sup>2</sup> GMS, I, 176 sq.

<sup>3</sup> HS, 243.

was fond of wine and women, but at the same time liked to converse with men of distinction and possessed an amiable disposition<sup>1</sup>. On the whole, he was nothing more than his brother's brother. The decisive scene between the two chief amirs and the sultan and its outcome are reported by Khwāndamīr<sup>2</sup> somewhat differently from Babur. Majd al-dīn was standing "at the foot of the throne", when the Sultan asked the two vazirs to procure the modest sum of two tomans (*circa* £ 1000). The vazirs, "as was to be expected", answered nothing. After they had left, Majd al-dīn told the Sultan in private that not two tomans, but two thousand could easily be found. On the next day he was invested with extensive powers: he was to appose the seal in the Sultan's name, examine all reports and complaints, and without his knowledge no reports on government affairs or finance were to be received from any of the amirs, sadrs, vazirs, "dignitaries of the inner circle" (*ichigi*) or courtiers. He was given the title of "trustee of the sultanate and confidant of the kingdom". Afdal al-dīn, uncertain of his fate, left for Astarābād with Majd al-dīn's permission and joined Mīr 'Alī Shīr under the pretext of recovering arrears for the treasury. Majd al-dīn's administration pleased all the subjects, agriculturists and craftsmen alike, because it delivered them from the oppression of the officials. The latter were brought to account for their previous exactions and within a short time two thousand tomans (*circa* £ 1,000,000) were recovered from them. No official dared oppress a man of the people, no bazaar merchant suffered requisitions. Majd al-dīn devoted his mornings till midday to state affairs, then until midnight he conversed with distinguished men and lavishly entertained them. His banquets were renowned for their gastronomical refinement. With the begs and officials he remained to the very end curt and irascible, and this led to his ruin. Three years later he suffered disgrace and persecution. He set out towards Mecca and died on his way there in 1494 (see below).

The dates quoted indicate that the struggle for power went on

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 332 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 244 sq.



for over three years. Its episodes are recorded in various passages of the *Habīb al-siyar*. AFDAL AL-DIN went to Mecca with Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s approval. In western Persia, the Turkman sultan Ya‘qūb put him at the head of the pilgrims of his kingdom, so that the Khoja could perform his pilgrimage in all comfort. On his return he remained in Iraq and Azarbayjan, i.e. in the Turkman kingdom of the White Sheep. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr<sup>1</sup> speaks with considerable sympathy of Afdal al-dīn and harshly condemns Majd al-dīn for the disturbances (*bozughlugh*) in the course of which “not a man remained whose affairs had not become unsettled”. Majd al-dīn had slandered “Khoja Afdal” and forced him to go abroad, after he had been vazir for fifteen years (which is somewhat exaggerated). In the Turkman kingdom he was made “amir of the *hajj*”, but on his return would accept no charge from the Turkman sultans, despite their repeated requests. Although his native town Kerman had long been in the hands of the Turkmans, he regarded the Timurids as his true sovereigns and declared that he could serve none else. At the time when Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was writing the relevant chapter of the *Majālis*, Khoja Afdal was in Qum. We shall see that he returned to Herat in 1498. His brother AMĪN AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD lost his post after his brother’s departure to Iraq, but seems to have suffered no other inconvenience, and at a later date, probably after Majd al-dīn’s disgrace, returned to power<sup>2</sup>.

In Astarābād Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was surrounded by the same respect as in Herat. From every quarter came greetings and gifts, even from a foreign king, Sultān Ya‘qūb. He endured his exile only for a year. In 1488, leaving behind the amir Badr al-dīn, he returned to Herat. He appealed to the Sultan for permission to remain in the capital and to hand over his charge to someone else. The answer being unfavourable, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr had to return to Astarābād where he stayed on for a few months longer. He sent to Herat his cousin Ḥaydar who reported that, according to Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s information, the Sultan’s entourage were trying to get

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 74a.

<sup>2</sup> *HS*, 332 below.

the Sultan's *bukāvul* ("butler") to put poison into Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's food <sup>1</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was therefore "full of suspicion" and saw no other issue for himself than open rebellion (*mukhālafat*) <sup>2</sup>. Considering the favours shown to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and his friend by the Turkman sultan this hint might have appeared plausible. The Sultan was much perturbed and sent a courier to Astarābād with a letter in which he assured Mīr ʿAlī Shīr that his information was unfounded and that there had been no designs on his life on the Sultan's part <sup>3</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr immediately left Astarābād and, ten or twelve days later, arrived in Herat where he sought to convince the Sultan that he had never said anything of the kind to Ḥaydar and that the latter had made up the story. For his lie (or untimely truth) Ḥaydar paid with his liberty, and later with his whole career <sup>4</sup>. On this occasion Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was granted permission to give up his post and remain in Herat merely as "one of the entourage of His Majesty the Sultan" (*muqarrab al-hadrat*). It was then that the complicated form of address to be used in writing to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was elaborated <sup>5</sup>.

AMĪR MOGHUL, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's predecessor, was re-appointed governor of Astarābād. KHOJA SHAMS AL-DĪN KURD, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's *sāhib-dīvān* remained as civil agent. In 895/1490 Moghul raised a revolt, for some other reason, and the *sāhib-dīvān* fell as its first victim <sup>6</sup>. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn appointed his eldest son Badīʿ al-Zamān, governor of Astarābād, and Moghul fled to the Turk-

<sup>1</sup> HS, 246. This typical detail is omitted in Belin, *o.c.*, 201. It will be seen from what follows that the Sultan was supposed to be aware of the plot.

<sup>2</sup> ["Opposition" would be a more adequate translation of the word. V. M.]

<sup>3</sup> HS, 282.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 195. Originally Mīr ʿAlī Shīr had taken him to Astarābād with the hope of passing on the governorship to him, but in the last years of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's life Ḥaydar came to a sad end (see below p. 62).

<sup>5</sup> Belin quotes it in connection with earlier events in a form which corresponds to the text of the *Rauḍat al-safa*; the text of the HS, 265, has *Rukn al-salṭana ʿUmdat al-mamlaka Iʿtiḍād al-daula* instead of *Iʿtimād al-mulk wal-daula*. [These titles clearly show that *muqarrab al-hadrat* "the king's intimate" implied much more importance. V. M.]

<sup>6</sup> HS, 248.

mans. In 896/1490-1 the Turkman Sultan Ya'qūb died and the throne passed to his son Baysunqur. The later took Moghul into his service, but at the first sign of disloyalty on his part, had him killed.

In Herat MAJD AL-DĪN still remained in power, but with Mīr 'Alī Shīr's return, his influence began to wane. Foreseeing that the "noyons and courtiers", i.e. Mīr 'Alī Shīr's party, might have the upper hand, Majd al-dīn sought to conciliate the former vazir NIZĀM AL-MULK by re-instating him on the solemn engagement that he would undertake nothing against him. This and other facts show that Majd al-dīn was no such sworn enemy of the dignitaries as Khwāndamīr and Babur would suggest. Then occurred the revolt of Mīr 'Alī Shīr's brother Darvish-'Alī Kūkältash who was ruling in Balkh on behalf of Prince Ibrāhīm-Husayn. Watching Majd al-dīn's influence and his strained relations with Mīr 'Alī Shīr, Darvish 'Alī became apprehensive for himself and opened negotiations with Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, the ruler of Hisār. When these tidings reached Herat, it was thought that, in the interest of the state, Majd al-dīn should temporarily relinquish his power. His dismissal was clothed in the most gracious terms and he was presented with 100,000 dinars (*circa* £ 5,000) and a gold-embroidered robe <sup>1</sup>. It is perhaps here that one should place the scene described by Sām-Mīrzā, namely that Majd al-dīn had the honour of entertaining the Sultan in his house and over the robe bestowed on him by the sultan, put on the robe presented to him by Mīr 'Alī Shīr <sup>2</sup>. In any case, this removal of Majd al-dīn on political grounds was that first retirement "after three years of power", to which reference has already been made. This event, therefore, took place in 1490, and Nizām al-mulk now concentrated all the vazirial power in his hands.

The circumstances surrounding Majd al-dīn's removal could not satisfy Darvish-'Alī. In order to secure freedom of action he made up his mind to remove from Balkh his patron Prince Ibrāhīm-Husayn. To this effect he forged an order in the Sul-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Notice*, 195 sq. Nikitsky, 41 sq.

tan's name summoning the prince to Herat. On his arrival there, Darvish-ʿAlī's treachery was exposed. Sultān-Ḥusayn openly expressed his indignation at the perfidy of a governor who owed him so much. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's enemies gave to understand that Darvish-ʿAlī would not have defied the government without his brother's knowledge. The Sultan voiced his complaints to Mīr ʿAlī Shīr too, much to the latter's distress<sup>1</sup>. At last a fearless man, Khoja Ghiyāth al-dīn Muḥammad Dihdār<sup>2</sup> came forward and declared himself ready to bring "this sorry slave of a librarian" (*in ghulāmaki-kitābdār*) in chains before the Sultan. He was granted permission to go. Some time afterwards the Sultan in person and his troops set out in the same direction. On arriving in Balkh the Khoja pointed out to Darvish-ʿAlī what dangerous consequences his behaviour might have for him and persuaded him to go with him to the Sultan who, by that time, had reached the Murghab. Having left Darvish-ʿAlī some three or four far-sakhs behind, the Khoja arrived in the camp, and reported that he had brought "the sorry slave of a librarian", but as no blacksmith could be found on the way to rivet the chains, he asked for one to be sent from the *ordu bāzār*<sup>3</sup>, i.e. the baggage-train<sup>4</sup>. The Sultan was overjoyed and declared that he pardoned Darvish-ʿAlī. When the latter arrived, he was admitted and even allowed to entertain the Sultan in his tent. The Sultan then proceeded to Balkh where he spent the winter<sup>5</sup>. In spring, he decided to march on Ḥiṣār against Sultān-Maḥmūd, leaving Mīr ʿAlī Shīr in Balkh and at the same time giving orders to imprison his

<sup>1</sup> The vazir is not mentioned in this connection.

<sup>2</sup> He did this apparently with the intention to oblige Mīr ʿAlī Shīr to whom he had been attached since Sultān-Ḥusayn's accession (before that he was in Abū-Saʿīd's service). Cf. the *Khamsat al-mutaḥayyirin* in *Notice*, 343.

<sup>3</sup> On this term cf. *Ulugh-beg*, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Belin's account of the events, *o.c.*, 202, is very brief; he just mentions the Sultan's expedition against Balkh, where "grâce à l'habileté et l'adresse de Khâdjé-Dihdâr, il ne trouva dans le gouverneur de Balkh qu'un sujet fidèle et et dévoué".

<sup>5</sup> Whether it was the winter of 1490-1, or 1491-2, is not clear from the sources.

brother in the castle <sup>1</sup>. One wonders whether this should be taken for a sign of the utmost confidence in the “sultan’s intimate”, or for an intentional humiliation. The expedition was a failure. The Sultan was obliged to make peace with Sultan-Mahmud, and to conclude a family alliance with him. Sultān-Maḥmūd retained all his previous possessions, including the provinces to the south of the Amu-Darya, such as Badakhshan, Qunduz and Baghlān. Sultān-Ḥusayn returned first to Balkh, then after a great hunting expedition, to Herat. In Balkh, he left Mīrzā Ḥaydar-Muḥammad, under the tutelage of Amīr Mubārīz al-dīn Valī-beg <sup>2</sup>. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr probably returned to Herat with the Sultan.

During the winter spent in Balkh, the Sultan had shown the first signs of his weakening confidence in MAJD AL-DĪN, and Nizām al-mulk, forgetful of his pledge, was quick to exploit the Sultan’s mood. Majd al-dīn was championed by the Barlas begs, one of whom, Shujā‘ al-dīn Muḥammad, son of Burunduq, was the chief beg of the kingdom. Nizām al-mulk immediately launched intrigues against them. Majd al-dīn also found another protector in the person of Jāmī, the representative of religious authority, who, as it appears, was above intrigues. In an interview with the Sultan Jāmī told him that the kingdom could prosper, and the army and population remain content only if Majd al-dīn stayed in power <sup>3</sup>. The Sultan seemed won over and, on the initiative of the Barlas begs, granted an audience to Majd al-dīn who made him a present of 20,000 dinars (circa £ 1,000). Only a few days later however the Sultan ordered both the Barlas begs and Majd al-dīn to be imprisoned. Even the chief beg, Muḥammad, son of Burunduq, spent a whole year in the citadel, though after his release he regained the Sultan’s favour and the dignity of *beglar-begi*. Naturally no measures were taken against the aged Jāmī who died right in the middle of these events on Friday 9 November 1492. We do not know the exact dates of

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 253, below.

Majd al-dīn's last audience and arrest, and therefore cannot tell how many days separated them from Jāmī's demise. In any case, the Sultan and his entourage made the most of this opportunity to demonstrate their respect for the memory of the deceased. The funeral took place on the next day, Saturday, and was attended by the Sultan, his suite and all the dignitaries (though the vazir is not mentioned). The Sultan and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, in turn, entertained the dignitaries, sayyids and scholars for the repose of Jāmī's soul<sup>1</sup>, on the site where public prayers were held. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is, of course, silent on Jāmī's intercession in Majd al-dīn's favour. He devotes to Jāmī a special work<sup>2</sup>, in which he speaks in much detail of their great friendship, and tells how, during Jāmī's last illness, he constantly enquired about his health, and how, on the eve of Jāmī's death, finding no peace in bed, he had himself ridden over at midnight to ask for news, and then on the next day attended his funeral. Among those present was also Khoja Dihdār, who was in Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's service, and had read the Qorʿān to the sick man. After the funeral Mīr ʿAlī Shīr received condolences, and among them, one by letter from the prince Badīʿ al-Zamān, then governor of Astarābād, and another by word of mouth from one of the queens. In spite of a coincidence of names<sup>3</sup>, this queen could not have been Badīʿ al-Zaman's mother who was already dead at that time. A sincere mutual affection is said to have existed between Badīʿ al-Zamān and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.

Majd al-dīn was questioned under the usual painful conditions, in chains. Niẓām al-mulk and his assistants could discover nothing to indict the fallen vazir, who rendered account of every dinar spent. But when he was handed over to a person of low rank, Muhammad ʿAmrābādī, a retired clerk, Majd al-dīn preferred to give a written acknowledgment of every offence of which he was being accused rather than to undergo interrogation by that man. Following this, the evaluation of Majd al-dīn's property brought to light unexpected treasures. The Sultan is

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Khamsat al-mutahayyirīn*, partly translated in *Notice*, 300-357.

<sup>3</sup> And contrary to *Notice*, 348.

reported to have said: "I was certain that, whenever Majd al-dīn received a costly present, he offered it to me. Now it appears that he was not open with me". Torture was allowed during examinations, on condition that it did not endanger the life of the prisoner. The examination <sup>1</sup> ended in Majd al-dīn's release after he had signed some other financial engagement. As he was unable to carry it out, he secretly left for Kirman in the company of Franks <sup>2</sup>. From thence he set out towards Mecca and on the way there died in Tabūk in Dhul-qa<sup>c</sup>da 899/1494 <sup>3</sup>.

When dealing with these reports, one must bear in mind that Khwāndamīr had risen from Mīr 'Alī Shīr's entourage. It is therefore no accident that they still contain so much that is favourable to Majd al-dīn. Of course, Khwāndamīr quotes also facts about him which produce a different impression. Like other vazirs, Majd al-dīn made short shrift of his enemies, and thus, for instance, Khoja Ni<sup>c</sup>mat-Allāh Surkh was tortured to death by his orders <sup>4</sup>.

Khwāndamīr stresses the fact that, simultaneously with Majd al-dīn, his enemy, Mīr 'Alī Shīr's brother DARVISH-<sup>c</sup>ALĪ, had also obtained permission to go to Mecca. But whereas Majd al-dīn died in Arabia, Darvish-<sup>c</sup>Alī safely returned to Herat (though only in 1498) and again became beg. He was re-appointed to the "supreme divan" and directed to appose his seal by the side of that of Amir NĀSIR AL-DIN ABD AL-KHĀLIQ <sup>5</sup>, grandson of the famous Fīrūzshāh, one of the chief amirs of Shahrukh's time <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On him see *HS*, 254 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *HS*, 255: *mashubi-ta<sup>2</sup>ifa-yi Firang*. This seems to be the only record of the presence of Europeans in Herat under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn.

<sup>3</sup> The date is in the *HS*, 255 (Tehran ed., 266).

<sup>4</sup> *HS*, 333.

<sup>5</sup> *HS*, 279. Nāsir al-dīn is often mentioned in Khwāndamīr. Babur, *GMS*, I, 172, says that he was several times governor of Khwarazm.

<sup>6</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, pp. 84 and 144.

## VI. MĪR ʿALĪ SHĪR'S LAST YEARS (1494-1501)

The troublous times (*bozughlugh*), of which Mīr ʿAlī Shīr speaks in his *Majālis* <sup>1</sup>, ended in a complete victory for him and his party. It may have seemed that the greatest triumph was reserved for the vazir NIZĀM AL-MULK. Like Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, he was a patron of learning, and scholars and shaykhs enjoyed his high regard. The history of Herat by Muʿīn al-dīn Muḥammad Isfizārī <sup>2</sup>, one of the main historical works of the epoch, was dedicated to him. Like Majd al-dīn, he was a friend of the oppressed. His house had neither usher (*ḥājib*), nor door-keeper, and anyone could enter freely and bring his complaints before the vazir. He had two sons, Khoja Kamāl al-dīn Ḥusayn and Khoja Rashīd al-dīn ʿAmīd al mulk. The first was handsome and eloquent, the second a good soldier. Both belonged to the Sultan's entourage. The vazir bore the title of "Trusted person of the powerful state" <sup>3</sup>.

Nizām al-mulk did not remain long in power. Two reasons brought about his downfall and that of his family. First and foremost, were the intrigues that were still going on among the officials; the second, the troubles that broke out in the Sultan's own family.

There had been a time when Nizām al-mulk collaborated with AFDAL AL-DĪN, but now he seemed loth to share his power. Afdal al-din's brother, AMĪN AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD, after his re-appointment, incurred Nizām al-dīn's displeasure and was imprisoned. Only "a year or two later" he escaped out of prison disguised as a woman and remained in hiding until his brother's return <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Majālis*, 74a.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu, *Pers. Man.*, 206.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 253: *amīn al-daulat al-qāhira*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 333 above.



The trouble in the Sultan's family arose out of a trifling incident. At the time when the aimless war against Ḥiṣār had been resumed, BADĪ<sup>c</sup> AL-ZAMĀN, at his father's wish, joined in the operations with a force from Astarābād. As soon as the war was over, Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān was appointed governor of Balkh, but contrary to his expectations, his son Muhammad Mu'min, whom he had left in Astarābād, was not confirmed in that governorship. Sultān-Ḥusayn gave Astarābād to MUẒAFFAR-ḤUSAYN, another of his sons who was his favourite <sup>1</sup>. This caused a breach between the Sultan and his eldest son who ordered Muḥammad Mu'min to oppose Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn, if necessary by force. In 1497 Mīr 'Alī Shīr went to Balkh to persuade Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān to submit to his father. This mission failed owing to the perfidy of the Sultan, who, at the same time, had sent a secret order to Balkh to seize the prince. This order fell into Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān's hands, and Mīr 'Alī Shīr had to return to Herat. The prince opened hostilities against his father and was defeated on 2 May 1497 <sup>2</sup>. By a curious coincidence, on the following day, his son MUḤAMMAD MU'MIN was captured in Astarābād by Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn who sent him to Herat. There in Safar 903/29 September 1497 <sup>3</sup> he was imprisoned in the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-dīn. One night when the Sultan was drinking heavily in his camp on the Murghab, Muẓaffar al-dīn's mother, Khadīja-biki, with the connivance of Nizām al-mulk, and his sons, wrested from him the order to kill his grandson. On the next morning the Sultan came to his senses, and sent a courier to Herat countermanding the order, but it was too late. Mīr 'Alī Shīr was at that time on a pilgrimage in Mashhad and only on his return learnt what had happened. Khwāndamīr <sup>4</sup> avers that in those days he had several times heard Mīr 'Alī Shīr prophesy that the murder of the prince would have the same consequences as the murder of Majd al-dīn Baghdādī, which, in popular belief, was respon-

<sup>1</sup> He is thus described by Babur, *GMS*, I, 166, who adds that neither the person nor the behaviour of this prince justified such affection.

<sup>2</sup> On Tuesday, 29 Sha'ban 902, *HS*, 262.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

sible for Chingiz-khan's invasion<sup>1</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's prediction was later regarded as referring to the Uzbek invasion.

In May 1498<sup>2</sup> KHOJA AFDAL AL-DĪN, or Khoja Afdal, as he was called, suddenly turned up in Herat, after he had heard in Western Persia that he was favourably remembered by the Sultan and much missed by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. The Sultan greatly rejoiced at his arrival for, since the killing of his grandson, his feelings towards Nizām al-mulk had cooled (though nothing is said of the state of his feelings towards Khadīja-biki). Afdal did not conceal his hostility towards Nizām al-mulk. On Sunday 13 May<sup>3</sup> ʿIMĀD AL-ISLĀM, the brother of Nizām al-mulk's wife ("the uncle of his sons on their mother's side"), who had held the charge of vazir for twenty years (consequently also under Majd al-dīn) was imprisoned. This was the first sign of the gathering storm. At the beginning of Shawwal (after 23 May), Khoja Afdal was appointed vazir. The Sultan was encamped at Ulang-nishīn awaiting the renewal of Badīʿ al-Zamān's attack. The latter was at the time in the southern part of Afghanistan, and preparing to avenge his son. A detachment was sent against him from Isfizār and with it was ʿAmīd al-mulk, Nizām al-dīn's "soldier" son. The vazir and Mīr ʿAlī Shīr remained with the Sultan in the camp. The Sultan consulted Mīr ʿAlī Shīr about Nizām al-dīn's misdeeds of which more and more were coming to light, and it was decided to arrest the whole of Nizām al-mulk's family and confiscate their property. In the beginning of June<sup>4</sup>, NIZĀM AL-MULK and his relative NIZĀM AL-DĪN Kurd were arrested in Ulang-nishīn. A courier was sent to Isfizār with the order to arrest ʿAmīd al-mulk and bring him to Herat. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr personally took to Herat and handed over to Mīrza Aḥmad, who was in charge there, the order to arrest Nizām al-mulk's other son Kamāl al-dīn, the sons of Nizām al-dīn Kurd and the son of Nizām al-dīn's sister, the court

<sup>1</sup> [The shaykh Majd al-dīn was killed by the order of the Khwarazm-shāh in 1216, see *Turkestan*, 375].

<sup>2</sup> In the middle of Ramadan 903, *HS*, 267.

<sup>3</sup> 21 Ramadan, *ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> In the middle of Shawwal, *ibid*.

chronicler (*viqāyaʿ nivīs*) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Another court chronicler, Kamāl al-dīn ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Nizāmī<sup>1</sup>, is also mentioned in connection with Nizām al-mulk but he seems to have escaped arrest. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr speaks of him with deep respect in his work on Jāmī and names him among those who recorded Jāmī’s miracles<sup>2</sup>. According to Khwāndamīr, ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ was one of the many<sup>3</sup> who in the beginning of Sultān-Ḥusayn’s reign planned to write his history, but the sultan did not approve of his work, finding his style too imitative. Majd al-dīn liked him for his cheerful disposition and witty conversation. Later he enjoyed the same favour on the part of Nizām al-mulk and his two sons, and composed verses in their honour.

The arrested men were imprisoned in the citadel of Ikhtiyār al-dīn. One night Nizām al-dīn’s sons managed to escape, but were caught on the following morning and brought back to prison. In the middle of Dhul-qaʿda (beginning of July), Mīrzā Aḥmad and Amir ʿAbd al-Khāliq, who was also in Herat, received the Sultan’s order which was immediately carried out. An executioner brought into the citadel cut off the heads of Nizām al-mulk’s sons in the presence of their father, after which Nizām al-mulk was taken to the gates of the citadel and there skinned alive. On the same day, the Sultan’s wrath was visited upon the supposed partisans of Badīʿ al-Zamān, namely Khoja ʿImad al-Islām, Nizām al-dīn Kurd and Maḥmūd-Shah Farāhī<sup>4</sup>.

Having “removed all his enemies”<sup>5</sup> KHOJA AFDAL became now a minister invested with full powers. The title invented for him was as complicated as that of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr: “The Ordainer of the major foundations of the sultanate and caliphate, the Trusted One of the kingdom, the Fair-minded Khoja Afdal al-

<sup>1</sup> On him see *HS*, 338.

<sup>2</sup> The translation is in *Notice*, 344.

<sup>3</sup> Mīr ʿAlī Shīr names among them Khoja Masʿūd Qumi who wrote 12,000 verses on the subject, see *Majālis*, 22b. Cf. also *HS*, 336, where he is mentioned only as a poet and an intimate of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr’s.

<sup>4</sup> The circumlocution of the *HS*, 268, means apparently that they were executed.

<sup>5</sup> *Baʿd az rafʿi muʿānidān*, *ibid*.

dīn Muḥammad, the Faithful". The highest distinction was conferred on him only after Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's death when he was made to rank with the amirs and noyons while remaining vazir, and thus combined in his person both civil and military power. This occurred when Babur came to Kabul, i.e. in 1504<sup>1</sup>. We do not know whether his relations with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr continued friendly, but indirect symptoms point to the contrary. Among the dignitaries who were at first Khoja Afḍal's friends and later became his enemies, was AMĪR MUBĀRIZ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD VALĪ-BEG, often associated with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. According to Khwāndamīr, Khoja Afḍal completely crushed the amir and deprived him of every vestige of importance.

The Sultan spent the summer of 1498 in Ulang-nishīn. Before Nizām al-mulk's fate had been sealed, on Friday 24 Shawwal/15 June<sup>2</sup>, news was received of BADĪʿ AL-ZAMĀN's approach. On the Sultan's orders, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, jointly with Mubāriz al-dīn and several others, assembled the troops quartered in Herat and, on the same night, marched them in the direction of the sultan's camp. Badīʿ al-Zamān attacked on the following day<sup>3</sup> but was beaten off. The Sultan remained in Ulang-nishīn to negotiate with his son. On Tuesday 28 August<sup>4</sup>, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr rode from Herat to the camp, which he reached on the following day, and talked the Sultan into accepting conditions which would also satisfy Badīʿ al-Zamān. The Sultan left the camp on Friday 31 August, and on Monday 3 September<sup>5</sup> was back in Herat.

In the autumn of 1498, two of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's sons rebelled in Marv and Abīvard. On 19 December<sup>6</sup> the Sultan marched out against Marv, leaving in Herat his son Muḥammad-Qāsim, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and Amīr ʿAbd al-Khāliq. The siege of Marv lasted some three or four months, at the end of which time "some

<sup>1</sup> GMS, I, 177.

<sup>2</sup> HS, 269, Belin, o.c., 207.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the HS, 270, gives the date as 25 Shaʿban, which is also in the *Rauḍat al-Safa*, but this is evidently a mistake instead of *Shawwal*.

<sup>4</sup> 10 Muharram 904, HS, 279.

<sup>5</sup> 13 and 16 Muharram.

<sup>6</sup> On Wednesday 5 Jamādī I, *ibid.*, 280.

sort of peace” came to be concluded between father and son <sup>1</sup>. During the siege, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr travelled to Mashhad and, from thence, sent the court physician ‘ABD AL-ḤAYY, already mentioned, to ask Ṣultān-Ḥusayn’s permission to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. Another of Ṣultān-Ḥusayn’s sons, HAYDAR-MUḤAMMAD, who was prior to that in Mashhad, on his father’s instructions marched with Amir Shaykh Aḥmad Suhaylī against Abīvard. This force was defeated and returned to Mashhad, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, who was already there, stood up for the prince and the amir. In the answer brought back by ‘Abd al-Hayy, the Sultan graciously approved of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s intentions but advised him to put off his pious journey, in view of the unrest in the Turkman possessions, and in the meantime requested him to join the camp under the walls of Marv. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr took counsel with the Mashhad sayyids. The unanimous decision was for him to go and endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between father and son. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr set out early in the spring of 1499. On the way to Marv, in the region of Sarakhs, he learnt that peace had already been concluded with the participation of his brother DARVISH-‘ALĪ, whom the Sultan had sent to Marv at the prince’s request. Soon Ṣultān-Ḥusayn in person arrived in Sarakhs and met with Mīr ‘Alī Shīr at Bāzīrgān-tübā (“Hill of the merchants”). Two or three days later, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr obtained leave to return to Herat and was told that, so long as he remained in the sultan’s dominions, every one of his requests would be granted. In Herat, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr assembled near the mazar Gāzurgāh <sup>2</sup> the chief sayyids, cadis, shaykhs, and scholars, lavishly entertained them and begged for their assistance on the path of darvishism and asceticism <sup>3</sup>.

This suggests that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was not sure of his position and intended to leave not only the sultan’s service, but also his

<sup>1</sup> His name was Abul-Muḥsin.

<sup>2</sup> Originally: *Kārsār-gāh*. See Barthold, *Historical... survey of Iran* (in Russian), 40.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 28I. *Notice*, 209, has only “fut accueilli avec enthousiasme par les savants et les ulémas, auxquels il donna un magnifique banquet”.

dominions. In the same year 1499 the Sultan dealt him a still more painful blow by putting to death his cousin.

After his disgrace in 1488 ḤAYDAR had become a darvish not in word only, like Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, but also in deed. He founded a monastery at a place called *Chashma-yi māhiyān* ("Spring of the fishes") near the *namāzgāh* of Herat. Once or twice (a day) he would pass through the bazaars of Herat in the garb of a wandering ascetic (*qalandar*)<sup>1</sup> collecting money and provisions for his monastery. After a while, he moved on to Balkh where he enjoyed the patronage of Ibrāhīm-Ḥusayn, the Sultan's son, who had been ruling there since 1497. Ḥaydar made his abode in the monastery Siyāhiya (perhaps, *Sipāhiya*), and took over the expenses of its upkeep. One day a certain Darvish-Valī, who was in favour with the prince, entered the monastery without Ḥaydar's permission. The latter ordered to give him 200 lashes<sup>2</sup> and made him work in the kitchen. The prince was incensed, and Ḥaydar fled from his wrath to Qunduz where KHUSRAU-SHĀH received him with every mark of esteem. In 1499 Khusrau-Shāh invaded Sultān-Ḥusayn's possessions and invested Balkh. When Sultān-Ḥusayn moved from Sarakhs to his son's assistance, Khusrau-Shāh raised the siege, returned to Qunduz and from thence sent Ḥaydar to negotiate with Sultān-Ḥusayn. In the royal camp Ḥaydar was accused of having incited Khusrau-Shāh to attack the Sultan. He was arrested, and a few days later, put to death. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was profoundly grieved at this news. He had Ḥaydar's body brought to Herat from the camp at Bābā-Khākī where he had been killed and buried him in the monastery he had built. He also supported Ḥaydar's children and relations<sup>3</sup>.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's grief was not such as to make him withdraw his service from the Sultan, or to prevent him from answering the sultan's call when his advice was needed<sup>4</sup>. The war against his

<sup>1</sup> Khwāndamīr calls him Ḥaydar Qalandar.

<sup>2</sup> *Divist kaf-i pāʿi*.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 282. Belin omits altogether this episode, so typical of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's relations with the Sultan.

<sup>4</sup> At about the same time in Jamādī I 905/December 1499 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr wrote his last work (*Muḥākamat al-lughatayn*), in which he speaks of Sultān-Ḥusayn as rapturously as in his other works.

sons was taking a dangerous turn for Sultān-Ḥusayn. From Bābā-Khākī he had once more to march on Marv and Abīvard. The prince of Marv joined his brother in Abīvard and the two princes began to retreat. They first succeeded in defeating the pursuers, but then were worsted themselves. The prince of Marv returned to his town, while the prince of Abīvard went on to Astarābād where another of Sultān-Ḥusayn's rebel sons, MUḤAMMAD-ḤUSAYN, was governor. The Sultan marched on Astarābād, occupied the town and spent fifteen days there. Herat had been left under the command of AMIR MUBĀRIZ AL-DĪN, who was then "at the zenith of his power" <sup>1</sup>. He reported to the Sultan that BADĪ<sup>c</sup> AL-ZAMĀN had rebelled again, and the Sultan hurried to the East, leaving in Astarābād the same Muḥammad-Ḥusayn. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr stood by Mubāriz al-dīn in organising the defence of Herat, and on learning of the approach of the Sultan's army, he sent messengers to Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān to persuade him to give up the fight against his father. The Sultan's forces proved, however, much inferior to those of his son, and after consulting Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, he agreed to cede to Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān the town of Balkh and the territory stretching between the Amu-Darya and the Murghab. It was also stipulated that in the *khutba* Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān's name should be read jointly with his father's. Even KHUSRAU-SHĀH recognised Badī<sup>c</sup> al-Zamān's suzerainty, and consented to use his name in the *khutba* and on the coins in Qunduz, Baghlān, Tirmidh, Hisār, Qabādiyān, Khuttalān and Badakhshān <sup>2</sup>.

In Muharram 906 <sup>3</sup>, Sultān-Ḥusayn marched against MUḤAMMAD-ḤUSAYN who for the second time had rebelled in Astarābād. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and Amir Mubāriz al-dīn were again left in charge in Herat where the autumn and winter passed quietly — although it was the time when the decisive struggle with the Uzbeks was taking place for the possession of Samarqand. After SHĪBANĪ had taken Samarqand and put to death its governor Sultān-ʿAlī,

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>3</sup> This month began on 28 July 1500.

he had to abandon it temporarily to [Zahir al-dīn] Babur (then in the prime of life), and only in 1501, after Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s death, Samarqand was definitely annexed by the Uzbeks. Quite rightly, Babur expresses his astonishment <sup>1</sup> that such an experienced ruler as Sultān-Husayn, who was thoroughly awake to Shībani’s activity, should have taken no part in this struggle and rendered him no assistance. An expedition to Samarqand would have seemed more pressing than the aimless excursion against Astarābād which soon ended in a truce. Belin calls this campaign “une promenade militaire” <sup>2</sup>. Neither was there any help forthcoming from Badī‘ al-Zamān. Of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, Babur says only that in Samarqand he received a letter from him which he answered. Then he sent him a Turkish poem, but by that time it was too late for him to get a reply <sup>3</sup>.

On Monday 28 December <sup>4</sup>, news was received of the Sultan’s return. As usual, Mīr ‘Alī Shīr set out to meet him and his army, but this occasion was to be his last. By now both the Sultan and his vazir had become utterly senile, although Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was only sixty and the sultan sixty-two. Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was the more active of the two, for he could still mount a horse, whereas the Sultan moved about in a litter. The meeting took place on Thursday 31 December. When Mīr ‘Alī Shīr dismounted in order to approach the Sultan’s litter, he walked leaning on the shoulders of two attendants. He managed to reach the Sultan and kiss his hand, but immediately squatted down, unable either to rise or to answer the Sultan’s questions. Babur gives a similar account of the scene; he says that Mīr ‘Alī Shīr was able to welcome the Sultan but could not rise <sup>5</sup>. He was laid upon a stretcher. The physicians disagreed, and the young historian KHWĀNDAMĪR, who was in attendance on Mīr ‘Alī Shīr during the last days of his life, also took part in the discussion. Some wanted to leave the sick man where he was and wait for him to recover before

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, 88.

<sup>2</sup> *O.c.*, 211.

<sup>3</sup> *GMS*, I, 86b sq.

<sup>4</sup> 5 Jamādī II, *HS*, 288.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, I, 171b.



taking him to Herat <sup>1</sup>; others, including the highest medical authority, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Tūnī <sup>2</sup>, insisted upon taking the invalid immediately to Herat and there convoking the best physicians in consultation. This last opinion prevailed, but on the way the sick man grew worse. At the instance of Khwāndamīr it was decided to take immediate measures, but, before the Sultan’s permission could be obtained, another three farsakhs were covered and “the opportunity was lost”. Blood-letting was tried but without success, and death took place on Sunday 3 January 1501.

The funeral <sup>3</sup> was surrounded with great pomp. It was attended by the Sultan and his wives, including the queen Khadīja-biki, who was regarded as responsible for the unfortunate event in the royal family, which had been so severely condemned by Mīr ‘Alī Shīr. The Sultan spent three days mourning in the house of his departed friend. A site, to the North of the cathedral mosque built by Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, was chosen for the burial. A solemn feast in memory of the deceased took place on the seventh day at the *Haud-i Māhiyān* (“Tank of the fishes”), situated to the North of the *namāzgāh* of Herat. This is probably the same “Spring of the fishes” (*chashma-yi māhiyān*), where the monastery and the tomb of Ḥaydar were situated. The commemorative repast saw an extraordinary concourse of people. The Sultan had a tent put up for himself with seven steps leading up to it. Many of those present (of course those of gentler birth) were summoned to the Sultan who addressed them with kind words exhorting them to bear patiently the sorrow of the common loss <sup>4</sup>.

The historical importance of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr, apart from his own literary activity, resides in his constructions <sup>5</sup>, and especially in

<sup>1</sup> Khwāndamīr seems to have shared this opinion.

<sup>2</sup> Of him Khwāndamīr speaks in this passage disparagingly as of one who “also had pretensions to medical knowledge (*dam az ṭababat mīzad*)”.

<sup>3</sup> On the funeral see *HS*, 289. *Notice*, 215 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Belin, *o.c.*, 217, takes it as a solemn speech delivered by the Sultan, but more probably the Sultan addressed single persons with “kind words”.

<sup>5</sup> The question whether, as a whole, they present any special character, as compared for instance with the buildings of Shāhrukh’s epoch, has apparently not been raised by experts.

his patronage of science and art. In this respect his services are beyond all doubt, for his name is linked with those of the historians MĪRKHOND (d. 1498 at the age of sixty-six) <sup>1</sup> and KHWĀNDAMĪR (b. *circa* 1475, d. 941/1534-5), of the artist BIHZĀD and many others. Of course not all solicitations received a favourable response from the maecenas, nor did every client enjoy his favour till the very end. In the preface to his edition of Daulatshāh's anthology, E. G. Browne quotes the author's typical complaint of the want which he had to endure, and Mīr 'Alī Shīr's no less characteristic words about Daulatshāh, who had dedicated to him a long *qasīda* in the evident hope of winning his favour. Mīr 'Alī Shīr praises Daulatshāh for he was, despite his noble descent <sup>2</sup>, satisfied with a small income, and lived in retirement, devoting himself to books and study <sup>3</sup>.

Mīr 'Alī Shīr's interests were many-sided. Besides poetry, he cultivated music and calligraphy, and, in his work, mentions artists as well as poets. Similarly to other historians, he devotes a special section <sup>4</sup> of his work to calligraphers who composed inscriptions for the larger buildings. Among the artists who were in Mīr 'Alī Shīr's service and who were dissatisfied with him, there is mentioned a painter (*naqqāsh*) HĀJJĪ MUḤAMMAD, who may be identical with Mīr 'Alī Shīr's handsome favourite, "the angel in human shape" whom he held "even more dear than a son" <sup>5</sup>. Hājjī Muḥammad attained great proficiency in the shaping of figures and in gilding; for some time he worked at making china, and after long experiments succeeded in producing vessels very similar to the Chinese, though less pure in colouring. Under

<sup>1</sup> Mīr 'Alī Shīr says himself in the *Majālis*, 56a, that Mīrkhond undertook his great historical work "at the entreaty of this beggar".

<sup>2</sup> He was the nephew of the sometime powerful beg Fīrūzshāh, and thus second cousin of 'Abd al-Khāliq, one of the noblest begs of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's reign.

<sup>3</sup> In the same passage Mīr 'Alī Shīr quotes the news of Daulatshāh's death as an unverified rumour.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 15a, on the inscription on the fort 'Imād (cf. *Ulugh-beg*, p. 149); f. 23b, on the inscriptions on some building called Aq-Saray, built under Abū-Sa'īd.

<sup>5</sup> *Majālis*, 57b. Cf. above, p. 30.

Mīr ʿAlī Shīr he was a librarian, and set up in the library a clock which was like a box (*sandūq*) and contained a figure which struck the hours with a staff. In 904/1498-9 (it ought to be 905), Hajji Muhammad turned against Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and joined Badīʿ al-Zamān who at that time was besieging Herat. Under him he also held the post of librarian, and died in the first years of the Uzbek conquest <sup>1</sup>.

The man who had the most grievances against Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was the poet and historian BANĀʾĪ <sup>2</sup> who perished in 910/1512 in Qarshī during the massacre of its inhabitants after the fall of the town. Having quarrelled with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, Banāʾī joined Sultān Yaʿqūb in Azarbayjan. Some time after, "home-sickness" (he was a native of Herat) took him back to Khorasan, but he again fell out with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr and went on to Samarqand. There he was well received by Sultān-ʿAlī. After the fall of the Timurid power in Turkestan, he joined the Uzbeks <sup>3</sup>. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr <sup>4</sup> speaks of him as of a highly gifted scholar, "unmatched in every science", but proud and prompt to take offence. He therefore (*sic*) preferred the path of poverty, but did not choose a guide, going his way as he pleased, and so gaining nothing. Unable to remain in Herat where he had quarrelled with the inhabitants, he went to [Persian] Iraq <sup>5</sup>, but as a man of talent he could yet come to know remorse and modesty through misfortune. Banāʾī belonged to the middle classes (*ausāt al-nās*), and this may be the explanation of his excessive touchiness when dealing with grandees. However, Babur's account <sup>6</sup> of Banāʾī's second quarrel with Mīr ʿAlī Shīr gives the impression that Banāʾī's only offence was a sharp answer to an unseemly joke made by Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. One day when Mīr ʿAlī Shīr was playing chess, he stretched out his foot and accidentally touched Banāʾī's seat, at which he remarked (in Persian): "No matter!

<sup>1</sup> *HS*, 342 sq.

<sup>2</sup> On him see Samoylovich, *ZVO*, XIX, 0164 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 343.

<sup>4</sup> *Majālis*, 34b sq. Banāʾī's name is omitted in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> This was evidently before Banāʾī's return to Khorasan.

<sup>6</sup> *GMS*, I, 180.

In Herat, if you stretch out your feet you are sure to kick the backside of some poet". Banāʿī's answer (also in Persian) is untranslatable <sup>1</sup>.

When Shībani took Herat, he apparently had an exaggerated idea of the open-handedness of the Khorasanian rulers and grandees, and of the riches supposedly amassed by the poets. Banāʿī was given the task of collecting money from them. His efforts to extract gold from poets who had never seen its colour, inspired a cruel, and not quite printable, verse at his address <sup>2</sup>.

There is another typical story <sup>3</sup> about Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's falling out with Khoja ʿALĀ al-DĪN ʿALĪ ṢĀNĪʿī, a poet and official in Sultan-Husayn's service. His reputation as poet stood high, but in his official capacity he was said to oppress the poor folk. One day he recited at Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's address a Persian verse in which a mocking allusion was suspected:

"To-morrow, when in the field the swords ring out,  
"The strength of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's arm will be found out".

Gradually the Sultan's mind was poisoned against Ṣāniʿī, and one day he ordered the Yasaul to strike the high turban off the poet's head. On this occasion, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr improvised the following Persian verse:

"You have lightened the burden of the head,  
"Now lighten the burden of the neck".

Ṣāniʿī was imprisoned, and during the six years spent in captivity, composed many works. In those days he wrote a *ghazal* for Mīr ʿAlī Shīr, which began:

"What never reaches you is my complaint,  
"What never crosses your heart is a memory of me".

<sup>1</sup> [The meaning which Barthold takes for a hint at some perversion of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr is based on a misunderstanding. Banāʿī's retort was: "And so you do too if you draw in your feet". See E. G. Browne, *Hist. of Pers. Lit.*, III, 457. V.M.].

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, I, 206.

<sup>3</sup> *HS*, 332.

But Mīr ʿAlī Shīr did not relent.

Sultān-Ḥusayn and his capital did not long survive Mīr ʿAlī Shīr. The victory of the Uzbeks was made easier by the folly of the royal entourage, noticed by Babur <sup>1</sup>. After Sultān-Ḥusayn's death, they simultaneously proclaimed sultans Badīʿ al-Zamān and Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn who hated each other. In 1507 Herat was already in the hands of the Uzbeks, and a "boor who had never seen (the world)" <sup>2</sup>, ascended the throne in that centre of Timurid culture.

Well known is Dozy's eloquent phrase <sup>3</sup> about events in Spain in the eleventh century, that the heart breaks ("le coeur se fend") seeing refined culture trampled down by barbarians and insolent upstarts. In our days such sentimental rhetorics are out of place, and one can speak calmly of the disappearance of things, which, like everything in nature and human life, bear within themselves the germs of destruction. What is best in human culture does not perish, but is handed on to the following generations, and so it is with refined urban culture <sup>4</sup>. Shībani himself is credited with the words about the truth "brighter than the sun, and more certain than the day of yesterday", namely, that since the days of the Prophet "till our own times", there had been no monarch of greater learning, intelligence and refinement than Sultān-Ḥusayn <sup>5</sup>. These words, if they were ever uttered, are a tribute of respect not so much to the personality of Sultān-Ḥusayn, whom Shībani probably knew very little, but to the exquisite culture of the capital created by himself and his helpmates, that Herat which, in Babur's belief, had no equal in the world.

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, I, 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 206: *rūstāʿī va nā-dīda kishi*.

<sup>3</sup> *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, I, 276.

<sup>4</sup> [Instead of these three sentences, characteristic for Barthold, the German version (Bearbeitung) of the present essay, see *Abhandlung f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXII/8, 1937, p. 88, gives: "Das beste dieser Kultur ist mit dem äusseren Zerfall jedoch nicht untergegangen".]

<sup>5</sup> Wāsifī, *Badāʿiʿ*, MS. As. Mus., 568 ba, f. 303a sq.

## SOME HISTORICAL DATES

- 1331-70 Mu'izz al-din Kart in Herat.
- 1380 Herat taken by Timur.
- 1383 The Karts deposed.
- 1397 Shāhrukh in Herat.
- 1438 Sultān-Ḥusayn born.
- 1440-1 Mīr 'Alī Shīr born in Herat.
- 1449 Sultān-Muḥammad in Herat for a short time.
- 1452 Abul-Qāsim Babur in Herat. Sultān-Ḥusayn enters his service.
- 1457 A. Q. Babur dies in Mashhad. Sultān-Ḥusayn and Mīr 'Alī Shīr separate for 12 years.
- 1457-1469 Years of Sultān-Ḥusayn's "cossack" activities. Mīr 'Alī Shīr studies in Mashhad, Herat and Samarqand.
- 1458 Jahān-Shāh attacks Herat.
- 1459 Abū-Sa'īd in Herat.
- 1413-1492 Historian 'Abd al-Razzaq (born and died in Herat).
- 1461 Sultān-Ḥusayn re-occupies Astarābād.
- 1464 Mīr 'Alī Shīr joins Abū-Sa'īd.
- 1468 Abū-Sa'īd dies in Western Persia.
- 1469 Mīr 'Alī Shīr with S. Ḥusayn's army.
- 1470 July. Muḥammad-Yadigar temporarily enters Herat.
- 1470-1506 S. Ḥusayn undisputed ruler of Herat.
- 1472 Mīr 'Alī Shīr officially appointed amir.
- 1476 Mīr 'Alī Shīr initiated to the Naqshbandī order.
- 1481 Darvish-Alī appointed amir.
- 1487-94 Mīr 'Alī Shīr's years of diminished influence.
- 1487 Mīr 'Alī Shīr appointed to Astarābād.
- 1490 (1491?) Darvish-'Alī revolts in Balkh.
- 1492, Nov. 9. Death of Jāmī.
- 1492 (?) Majd al-dīn's disgrace.
- 1498 Afḍal al-dīn and Darvish-'Alī return from exile.
- 1498, autumn. Revolt of S. Ḥusayn's sons in Marv and Abivard.

- 1499, spring. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr mediates between S. Ḥusayn and his son.
- 1499 Mīr ʿAlī Shīr's cousin Ḥaydar executed. Mīr ʿAlī Shīr mediates between S. Ḥusayn and Badīʿ al-zamān.
- 1500 The Uzbeks invade Turkestan.
- 1501, Jan. 3. Death of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.
- 1501 Samarqand occupied by the Uzbeks.
- 1506, May 4. Death of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn.
- 1507 Herat occupied by the Uzbeks.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AR — Abd al-Razzāq, *Matla<sup>c</sup>al-sa<sup>c</sup>dayn*, quoted from the MS. of the University of St. Petersburg, No. 157.
- Daulatshah — Dawlatshah, *The Tadhkiratu sh-shu<sup>c</sup>arā* etc., ed. E. G. Browne, GMS, London-Leide 1901.
- EI — Encyclopaedia of Islam, German edition.
- GMS — Gibb Memorial Series.
- HS — Khwāndamīr, *Habīb al-siyar*, Bombay 1857. References to the pages are all to the 3rd *juz*<sup>2</sup> of the 3rd *mujallad*.
- J. As. — Journal Asiatique.
- Majalis — *Majalis al-nafā<sup>2</sup>is* of Mir <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr. MS. of the University of St. Petersburg, No. 618.
- al-Muzaffariyya* — Collection of articles by pupils of Baron Rosen, SPb. 1897.
- Nikitsky — M. Nikitsky, *Amir Nizām al-dīn <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr and his importance as statesman and man of letters* (in Russian) SPb. 1856.
- Notice — Belin, *Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir-<sup>c</sup>Alī-Chīr-Nevāi*, J. As. XVII (1861), pp. 175-256, 281-357. Pages quoted are those of the journal (not of the offprint).
- Quatremère — M. Quatremère, *Chrestomathie en turc oriental, contenant plusieurs ouvrages de l'Emir Ali-Schir*, I-er fascicule, Paris 1842.
- TR — *Tarīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Doughlat. An English version ed. by N. Elias, the translation by E. D. Ross, London 1895.
- Ulughbeg — V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*. v. II: *Ulugh-beg*. Engl. transl., Leiden 1958.
- ZMDG — Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
- ZN — *The Zafarnamāh* by Maulana Sharfuddin (sic) <sup>c</sup>Alī of Yazd, ed. by Maulawi Muhammad Ilahdad, Calcutta 1887-8.
- ZVO — Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Russkogo Archeologicheskogo Obshchestva.



ANNEX

A HISTORY OF THE TURKMAN PEOPLE  
(An outline)



## THE AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

The present Outline, prepared within a narrow time-limit, naturally cannot contain a complete record of information on the past of the Turkman people. In fact such a task would probably require the work of several generations. My purpose was to give to the cultural workers of Turkmenistan such general information on the history of the Turkmans as is not yet at their disposal, information which, in the present circumstances, they would be unable to collect for themselves. Least of all have I striven to present the facts in the light of the requirements of modern historical science — that is a task that still lies ahead. Any attempt to produce a picture of historical life on the basis of pre-established principles, before all the necessary material has been collected and critically examined, seems to me completely useless. The outline which I have prepared is only the first of the preparatory studies in this field without which no comprehensive scholarly work can be achieved. The future will show to what extent the present outline has served its purpose.



## I. THE PRE-MUSLIM PERIOD

The designation "Turkman" appears for the first time in Muslim literature in the second half of the 10th century A.D. in the work of the geographer Maqdisi. The Turkmans are mentioned in it twice<sup>1</sup> in the description of the region which in those days formed the frontier strip of the Muslim possessions in Central Asia. The centre of this region was the town of Isfijāb which, according to the 11th century author Maḥmūd Kāshgharī was called "White City" and "Sayram"<sup>2</sup>. Isfijab was apparently situated on the site of the present-day village Sayram, to the east of Chimkant, although one 16th c. author locates it "between Tashkent and Sayram"<sup>3</sup>. Isfijab, like Chimkant in the 19th c. and Arīs railway station to-day, was the cross-roads where the north-western road, coming from the Aral sea up the Sīr-darya, met the north-eastern road coming from the Chu valley and skirting the northern slopes of the Alexandrovsky range. The country along these two roads, where the sovereignty of the Samanid amir resident in Bukhara was recognised, depended directly on the ruler of Isfijab, who did not pay any tribute but once a year sent to Bukhara, together with other presents, four *dānaks* (two thirds of a dirham, i.e. less than twenty copecks) and a broom as a symbol of allegiance<sup>4</sup>.

In his description of the country to the N. W. of Isfijab Maqdisi names in the last place (even after Sauran) Balaj — "a small town whose walls are already in ruins; a Friday mosque stands in the middle of the bazaar". Later the author returns to Isfijab from which he begins his description of the road running from it to the N.E. He first mentions "Barukat, a large (town); both it and Balaj are fortified frontier places against the Turk-

<sup>1</sup> *BGA*, III, 274 and 275.

<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, ed. Istanbul, III, 133.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 218. The exact Muslim forms of the names are indicated in the Index. Thus *Isfijab* is *Isfijāb*.

mans who have (now) already accepted Islam out of fear (of the Muslim armies); its walls are already in ruins". There follows the description of other towns on this road; immediately after Merke comes "Ordu, a small town; there lives the king of the Turkmans; he constantly sends gifts to the ruler of Isfijab. The town has a wall with a moat filled with water; the palace stands within the citadel".

Following Maqdisi one can only approximately locate the towns Balaj, Barukat and Ordu which do not seem to be mentioned in other sources. Geographers who wrote before Maqdisi, as for instance Istakhri, describe the Isfijab province as the region through which passed the frontier between two Turkic peoples — the Ghuz (in Arabic authors often *Ghuzz*; the true Turkish form is *Oghuz*) and the Qarluq. The country neighbouring the Muslim possessions in Central Asia from the Caspian sea to Isfijab was inhabited by the Oghuz, and from Isfijab to Farghāna inclusively, by the Qarluq<sup>1</sup>. From this one may infer that Maqdisi's Turkmans included both the Oghuz and the Qarluq. This assumption is supported by Mahmud Kashghari<sup>2</sup> who, while applying the term *Turkman* mainly to the Oghuz, says in another passage about the Qarluq: "They are a tribe from among the Turks, nomads, different from the Oghuz; they are also Turkmans". A trace of such a use of the term *Turkman* has possibly survived in Juvayni's<sup>3</sup> account of the capture in the 1130's of the town of Balasaghun (in the Chu valley) by the Qarakhitays. While speaking about the Qarakhitay conquest he says that by the order of the Gür-khan the title of the local khan "of the house of Afrasiyab", i.e. of the Qarakhanid dynasty, was changed from *Ilik-khan* to *Ilik-Turkman*. The reading *Turkman* is to be found in some manuscripts of Juvayni's works and in sources dependent on him, though not in all of them<sup>4</sup>. In the printed

<sup>1</sup> Especially *BGA*, I, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Kashghari, I, 56, III, 304. On the *Qarluq Turkmans* see I, 393 and I, 80.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Semirechye*, p. 30 (Engl. tr. p. 102).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. in Mirkhond, tr. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes*, Berlin 1870, p. 132. In Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, p. 49, tr. p. 50.

edition of Juvayni's text <sup>1</sup> the accepted reading instead of *Ilik-Turkman* is \**Ilik-i Turkān* (i.e. *Ilik* of the Turks) and there is not even any mention of variants. The same reading appears in d'Ohsson's <sup>2</sup> translation of this passage: "Il dépouilla le descendant d'Efrassiyab de son titre de khan, ne lui donnant que celui d'Ilk-Turkan, ou de chef des Turcs". This rendering, in my opinion, distorts the meaning of the event, for what happened was not a substitution of one title for another but the demotion of the khan to the status of a man from the people, similarly as in 1211 Chingiz-khan gave orders to style the chief of the Qarluqs, who had voluntarily submitted to the Mongols, not Arslan khan as before, but "Arslan-sartaqtay, i.e. (Iranian) Tajik" <sup>3</sup>.

Later the appellation *Turkman* was retained only by the Oghuz, completely superceding the name *Oghuz* as applied to a people. The term *Oghuz* was used at the time when the Oghuz people was in Mongolia; the term *Turkman* appears for the first time in the West. Even before it was taken up by Muslim literature it had been known to the Chinese, but only as the name of a country in the distant West. Since the time of the first Chinese travellers to the West (2nd c. B.C.) the Chinese knew by hearsay of the country Yang-tsai, later also called A-lang-ya, i.e. the country of the Aorsi or Alans, a nomad people of Iranian descent. The Greeks knew the Aorsi and the Alans at the estuary of the Don and on the Caspian sea <sup>4</sup>. Chinese information on them probably refers to the region by the Aral sea which they could have reached in their wanderings even in those days <sup>5</sup>. In later times there were no Alans to the east of the Volga; the Huns had to cross this river before attacking them in A.D. 374 <sup>6</sup>. At the time the Chinese knew also another name for the country

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 2, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire des Mongols*, I, 442.

<sup>3</sup> Rashīd al-dīn, text in *TVOAO*, VII, 171. This detail is not mentioned in the corresponding passage of Juvayni *GMS*, XVI, p. 58).

<sup>4</sup> See particularly the *Geography* of Strabo, p. 506.

<sup>5</sup> V. Barthold, *Information on the Aral sea and the lower course of the Amu-darya* (in Russian), 1902, p. 20 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, Paris 1856, I, 18.

of the Aorsi or Alans — Su-i or Su-de, which, according to the sinologist Hirth, is the word *Sogdaq* or *Sugdaq* <sup>1</sup>. This was the name which the Turks gave to the country of the Soghdians on the Zarafshan, a people who had a great importance in the history of the Central Asian caravan trade and who had founded a number of trading settlements on the road from their country to China <sup>2</sup>. The fact that the term *Sughdaq*, as a geographical and probably an ethnical designation as well, was also used in the country of the Alans is supported by the existence in our days of the place *Sudaq*, originally *Sughdaq* <sup>3</sup> on the southern coast of the Crimea. In the Chinese encyclopedia *T'ung-tien* of the 8th c. A.D. it is said that the country Su-i or Su-de, which in the 5th c. A.D. had commercial and political relations with China, is also called *Tö kü-möng*. This leads Hirth to conclude <sup>4</sup> that the Turkmen are the descendants of the Alans conquered by the Huns and that the establishment of this fact will help to clarify the genealogy of the Turkman people. In modern times the "admixture of nomad, dolichocephalic Iranian tribes" is taken to explain the characteristic trait of the Turkman type — long-headedness. So Aristov thought <sup>5</sup> already in 1896, and at present L. V. Oshanin <sup>6</sup> is conducting anthropological research in this direction.

In the 11th c. the Turks themselves no longer possessed any exact information on the origin and the name of the Turkmen. There existed only an obviously artificial etymology which, however, went to prove that even then the Turkmen were distin-

<sup>1</sup> *Sitzb. Bay. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1899, II, 265.

<sup>2</sup> V. Barthold in *Iran*, I (1927), p. 32 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Sughdaq* was still in use in the 13th c. (*Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, Index to vv. III and IV).

<sup>4</sup> *L.c.*, p. 263 sq.

<sup>5</sup> N. A. Aristov, *Zametki ob etnicheskom sostave türskikh plemen*, SPb., 1897, p. 177.

<sup>6</sup> *Izv. Sredne-Aziat. Komiteta po delam muzeyev* etc., 1926, fasc. I, p. 131 sq. A. V. Oshanin, *Nekotorye dannye k gipoteze skifo-sarmatskogo proiskhozhdeniya turkmen*, Tashkent 1928. [See now Oshanin's comprehensive work, *The anthropological composition of the Central Asian population and the ethnogenesis of its peoples* (in Russian), Erevan 1959, III, 76 sq.].



guished by their outward appearance from the other Turks. The earliest version of this etymology is found in Kashghari (*scribat* A.D. 1077) <sup>1</sup> who quotes a legend which, like many other local stories of Central Asia <sup>2</sup>, is connected with the name of Alexander of Macedonia. After conquering Samarqand Alexander moved against the Turkish king living in the region where later rose the town of Balasaghun, i.e. in the valley of the river Chu. On learning that Alexander had crossed the Sīr-darya, the Turkish king led his army away to the east and with him sent all those of his subjects who possessed beasts of burden. Twenty two men, ancestors of the Oghuz tribes, remained behind with their families. While hesitating whether to set out on foot or to stay put they saw two men accompanied by their families and carrying their property on their backs following on the traces of the army. Both men were completely exhausted. As they came up with the twenty two, they asked for advice on what to do and were told to stay where they were, for as Alexander never remained at one place, always moving on, now that he had gone it was perfectly safe for them to remain behind. This advice was expressed in the Turkish words *qal ach*, which is purported to mean "wait, remain and extend your stay" <sup>3</sup>. That is how the Khalaj, divided into two branches, came into being. When Alexander returned and saw these men he noticed in them traces of Turkish descent, as well as the Turkish brands on their cattle, and said in Persian: "Türk mānand" ("they resemble Turks"). Thus the name *Turkmān* <sup>4</sup> became attached to their descendants. Actually there were twenty-four Oghuz or Turkman tribes, but later two Khalaj tribes detached themselves and twenty-two remained, the names of which are enumerated by Mahmud Kashghari (see below).

<sup>1</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, III, p. 304 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in Gardizi the legend on the origin of the town of Barskhan on the Issik-kul: V. Barthold, *Otchet*, SPb. 1897, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> [It must be noted that Kashghari, I, p. 38, mentions the particle *aj* used to strengthen the imperative. His Arabic translation of *qal aj* is meant to express "do stay!" V.M.].

<sup>4</sup> [*Turkmān* seems to be an Arabic form, in which the length of *ā* is meant to indicate the Turkish accent on the last syllable. V.M.].

What strikes one as particularly inept in this story is the etymology of the term *qalach* or *khalaj*. As far as it is known, the Turkish root *ach* has not the meaning here attributed to it. Two other meanings of the word *ach* (*aj*) are known, on which two other etymological legends are found in the lore of Oghuz-khan, the mythical ancestor of the Oghuz. One of these is mentioned in an anonymous fragment, in a manuscript written in the Uyghur alphabet; the other is in Rashīd al-dīn. According to the first version <sup>1</sup>, Oghuz-khan saw on his way a house with a golden roof, silver windows and a closed door without a lock. He left one of his companions there with the order: "Stay, open (it)". According to Rashīd al-din <sup>2</sup>, on his way back from Isfahan Oghuz-khan was angered by a man who had dropped behind for family reasons, and said to him: "*Qal aj*" ("stay-hungry"). Neither Rashīd al-din, nor other authors connect the Khalaj with the Oghuz, and in his enumeration of the twenty-four Oghuz tribes Rashīd al-din does not include the Khalaj. According to the Arab geographers, the Khalaj had crossed the Amū-daryā much earlier and already in the 10th century had been living for a long time in the southern part of Afghanistan <sup>3</sup>. Later on part of the Khalaj migrated into Persia where some of them speak a Persian dialect, while others a Turkman one. It was they who gave the name of Khalajistān to the region to the west of Tehran and to the north of Sāva <sup>4</sup>.

As far as it is known the Khalaj are mentioned only in the west, whereas the name of the Oghuz is often found in Turkish inscriptions discovered in Mongolia <sup>5</sup>. In inscriptions composed

<sup>1</sup> V. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik*, part I, SPb. 1891, p. XII.

<sup>2</sup> *TVOAO*, VII, 24 sq.

<sup>3</sup> V. Barthold, *Historico-geographical survey of Iran* (in Russian), SPb. 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Communicated by V. Minorsky (in a private letter). [See Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, BSOAS, 1940, V/12, 417-37.].

<sup>5</sup> Attempts to translate and explain the inscriptions have been made many times; cf. in Russian: V. V. Radloff and P. Melioransky, *Drevne-türkikiye pamiatniki v Kosho-Tsaidame*, SPb. 1897 (*Sbornik Trudov Orkh. Expeditsii*, IV); P. M. Melioransky, *ZVO*, XII, p. 1 sq. The most recent translation belongs to the now late V. Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 1924, 78, p. 121 sq.

in the name of an 8th century qaghan or khan, the khan calls the Oghuz or Toquz-Oghuz (literally "the Nine Oghuz" — evidently at the time the Oghuz were divided into nine tribes) his own people; a revolt of the Toquz-Oghuz against the qaghan is spoken of as an extraordinary event for which to happen heaven and earth had to be confounded. Elsewhere the khan calls his people "Turks" and himself the Turkish qaghan; sometimes the terms "Turks" and "Oghuz" occur side by side. This seems to justify the conclusion that both terms refer to one and the same people, and that the Oghuz were that Turkish people which in the 6th century A.D. formed the vast nomad empire stretching from the frontiers of China to those of Persia and Byzantium. It is also grammatically possible to read those passages of the inscriptions where "Turks" and "Oghuz" stand side by side as "Turks and Oghuz". Such is the reading of V. Thomsen, and in fact the inscriptions do not know any grammatical form corresponding to our conjunction "and". But if in the 8th century there had existed in Mongolia a Turkish people distinct from the Oghuz, the Qarluq etc., this people soon disappeared without leaving any trace. Already the Arab geographers use the term *Turks* as a collective designation covering a number of peoples related among themselves by their language; in those days there did not exist a separate people simply called *Turks*. The name *Turks*, as a political term, seems to have fallen temporarily into desuetude about the year 740 with the fall of the west-Turkish qaghanate whose last representatives belonged to the Türgesh tribe. As soon as in the 10th century Turkish qaghans, this time Muslim ones, reappeared in Kāshghar and Balasaghun, they once more started to call themselves and their people *Turks*, and it is still a moot question from which particular Turkish people the dynasty had sprung. One can therefore take it as more or less probable that the word *Turks* was a political term, and the word *Oghuz* an ethnographical one. This assumption is supported by the use in the inscriptions of the expression "my Turks, my people". In those days the name "Turks" was not a general one for all Turks in the modern sense. The Uyghur qaghans, successors of the Oghuz qaghans in Mongolia (after A.D. 744) did not call

themselves Turks, as far as one can gather from their inscriptions<sup>1</sup>, and the Chinese were right when they did not extend their term *T'u-chüeh* (i.e. Turks) either to the Uighurs or to the Qirghiz. The Oghuz, whose original habitat was in north-eastern Mongolia, in their westward advance brought with them the term *Turks*, and it was only the Arabs who began to use this term to designate the peoples of a definite linguistic group. On the basis of unity of language and political organisation, both in the present and in the past, Mas'ūdī divides the entire population of the world known to him into seven nations, which he enumerates in the following order: 1. the Persians, 2. the Chaldaeans and peoples related to them, including the Arabs, 3. the Greeks and the peoples politically connected with them, including the Slavs and the Franks, 4. the Lybians with whom the Egyptians are also reckoned, 5. the Turks, 6. the Indians, and 7. the Chinese<sup>2</sup>.

In the inscriptions which have been preserved in Mongolia the terms *Oghuz* and *Toquzoghuz* are used with the same meaning<sup>3</sup>. In the terminology of the Arab geographers the Oghuz and the Toquzoghuz were different peoples living in different regions: the Oghuz, as we have seen, lived along the border of the Muslim dominions from the eastern shore of the Caspian up to Isfijab, while the Toquzoghuz lived in the present-day Chinese Turkestan, from Kucha towards the east, the centre of their territory lying near Turfan<sup>4</sup>. According to the 13th century historian Ibn al-

<sup>1</sup> The main inscription where the historical data are given mostly in Chinese belongs to the years A.D. 808-821 (*J. As.*, 11th series, I, p. 180); an earlier inscription (8th century) in Turkish was published by Ramstedt, *Zwei uigurische Inschriften*, Helsingfors 1913, in *Journal de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, XXX.

<sup>2</sup> *BGA*, VIII, 77-84; on the Turks see 83.

<sup>3</sup> This is made particularly clear by the inscription of Tongyuquq, the corrected translation of which was given by V. Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 78, p. 162 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See particularly Gardizi's itinerary in my *Otchet*, p. 116; also the statement by Arab geographers that the distance from the frontier of the Muslim possessions in Farghāna to the beginning of the Toquzoghuz region was of thirty days (*ZVO*, VIII, 14, where the now obsolete reading *Tuguzghur* is given).

Athir<sup>1</sup> the Oghuz had been at one time part of the Toquzoghuz and had separated from them in the days of the caliph Mahdi (A.D. 775-785).

According to the Chinese sources, the region where the Arabs locate the Toquzoghuz was inhabited by the Uyghurs who were driven out of Mongolia by the Qirghiz (after the year 840) and occupied the region of Turfan in A.D. 866. This led to the conclusion that the Toquzoghuz of the Arab sources and the Uyghurs of the Chinese were one and the same people<sup>2</sup>, and such identification was used by scholars as a fully established fact for further inferences. Thus Marquart<sup>3</sup> notes the fact that the 9th century geographer Ibn-Khurdādhbih, in that earlier version of his work which de Goeje took to be dated before A.D. 850, knew of the Toquzoghuz in the region near Turfan; this fact, however, shows that, contrary to de Goeje's opinion, the said version cannot be dated before A.D. 866. Actually the name of the Toghuzghuz (Toquzoghuz) appears in Arabic sources long before this date. Already in the first geographical work composed in Arabic, namely that of Muhammad Khwārizmī, who wrote in the first half of the 9th century at the latest<sup>4</sup>, the first of Ptolemy's two Scythias,<sup>5</sup> the western one, is identified with the "land of the Turks", and the second, the eastern one, with the land of the Toquzoghuz. The historian Tabari<sup>6</sup>, under the year 205/820-1, speaks of a raid by the Toquzoghuz into Ushrūshana, a province which included, as we know, the region from Khojand to Jizak, comprising the lands

<sup>1</sup> Ibn-el-Athiri *Chronicon*, XI, 117.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Pelliot's categorical affirmation in *J. As.*, 11th series, I, 307.

<sup>3</sup> J. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, Lpz. 1903, p. 390.

<sup>4</sup> Khwārizmī's work was published in 1925 by Hans v. Mžik, *Bibl. Arab. Hist. und Geogr.*, III, from the unique MS. on which an article had earlier been written by Nallino (*Reale Acad. d. Lincei*, Serie 5-a, vol. II, part 1-a). Nallino believed that this work was composed in the reign of Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-833), not later than 210 H./A.D. 826-7, but it already contains the mention of the town of Samarrā (in Mžik's edition No. 301), which was founded only in 836.

<sup>5</sup> In Mžik's edition Nos. 1600-1601.

<sup>6</sup> Tabari, *Annales*, III, 1044.

along the upper Zarafshān<sup>1</sup>. From among the Toquzoghuz rose Ṭulūn — the ancestor of the Ṭulūnid dynasty of Egypt (A.D. 868-905) — whom the Sāmānid amir Nūḥ b. Asad, then ruler of Samarqand, sent to the court of the caliph Ma'mūn<sup>2</sup>. It is quite possible that Ṭulūn had been taken prisoner by the Muslims during their military expedition of 205/820. Marquart himself<sup>3</sup> quotes an account by Jāḥiẓ who died in A.D. 869, which shows that this author knew the Toquzoghuz not as newcomers but as a people long established in Eastern Turkestan. He says that formerly the Toquzoghuz were superior to the Qarluq, although numerically they were inferior to them, but that when they had been converted to Manichaeism they had lost their martial qualities. The mention of the Qarluq clearly shows that the account deals with events in Eastern Turkestan and not with the struggle between the Uyghurs and Qirghiz in Mongolia, as Marquart believes.

Neither the Chinese, nor the Western sources give us quite clear information on the regroupings which must have been brought about by the Turkish conquest of the area from China to the frontier provinces of Persia and Byzantium, by the defeats inflicted on the Turks by the Uyghurs in the east and by the Arabs in the west, and by the final disruption of the Turkish empire. We know from Byzantine sources that in the 6th century Turkish rule spread also to the west of the Volga. After their break with the Byzantines in A.D. 576<sup>4</sup> the Turks besieged and took the town of Bosphorus of Cymmeria (Kerch), but in A.D. 590 the Byzantine power was restored there<sup>5</sup>. As a political heritage of the shortlived Turkish successes in those parts one might name the rise of the Khazar qaghanate, first mentioned

<sup>1</sup> V. Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 136 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Maqrizi, *Khitaṭ*, Egyptian ed., I, 313, where Nūḥ is mistakenly called governor of Bukhara. It is well known that Bukhara came under the Samanids only after A.D. 874, see V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Streifzüge*, 91 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, SPb. 1903, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> A. Vasilyev in *Izvestiya Akademii Istorii Materialnoy Kultury*, 1927, V, p. 183 sq. mistakenly connects this data with the Khazars and coins the term *Turco-Khazars*.

in A.D. 625, though this event had hardly any ethnical consequences<sup>1</sup>. In the 8th and 9th centuries the middle and the lower courses of the Volga were in the power of the Khazars and the Bulgars, related to one another and differing in language from the Turks<sup>2</sup>. It is only the Pechenegs who, at the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries, brought a purely Turkic element into the Russian steppes.

More important changes resulted, apparently, from the military activities on the Persian frontier. As in Darband, so also to the east of the Caspian sea and north of the river Gurgān the Persian kings of the Sasanian dynasty had built long walls<sup>3</sup>. The Khazars broke through the Darband line in A.D. 626; the Gurgān line was abandoned by the Persians already in the 6th century, and the fortified frontier of the Persian dominions was transferred to the region south-west of Astarabad where new walls were built from the sea to the mountains. This, according to the tradition, was done under Khusrau Anūshirvān (A.D. 531-579)<sup>4</sup>. In the account of the Arab conquest of the region along the Gurgān in A.D. 717 the name of the local prince Šūl, ruler (*dihqān*) of the town of Dihistān<sup>5</sup> (now the ruins of Mashhad-i Mišriyān) is mentioned. His descendants who bore the surname Šūlī had a certain importance in the cultural history of the ʿAbbasid caliphate. The biography of one of them, the poet Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Šūlī (d. A.D. 857), contains some information<sup>6</sup> on

<sup>1</sup> [The sentence is not quite clear. Perhaps the author wishes to deny the "khazaricisation" of the Russian steppes? V.M.].

<sup>2</sup> This is made particularly clear in *BGA*, I, 225.

<sup>3</sup> According to Tabari, *Annales*, I, 895 (Nöldeke's translation p. 158) these walls were built under Pērōz (A.D. 457-484) and rebuilt under Khusrau I.

<sup>4</sup> *BGA*, VII, 150. On both these walls, the traces of which still exist, see Barthold, *Irrigation*, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Tabari, *Annales*, II, 1320. Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 336; there too see about the brick wall along the northern frontier of Jurjān. [The Šūlids of Jurjān bore the Iranian title of *nahapat* (Arab. plural *nahābidha*), see Ibn Isfandiyyār, transl. by E. G. Browne, p. 106. V.M.].

<sup>6</sup> The original source seems to be the biography of Ibrāhīm Šūlī in *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Egyptian ed., IX, 21. The author, Abul-Faraj Isfahānī died in A.D. 967.

the origins of this family; Şül is said to have been a Turk; he and his brother Fîrûz were rulers of the province of Jurjân (or Gurgân) stretching along the river of this name; in spite of their Turkish extraction they adopted the religion of the Magians (Zoroastrians) and became assimilated to the Persians. The name Şül occurs in Tabari as a geographical term. As the Arab letter *şād* is often used to represent the *č* sound, Marquart<sup>1</sup> reads the name as the Turkish word *čöl* "sand" (more correctly "steppe, desert"), and following Nöldeke<sup>2</sup> takes it for the name of one of the Turkish tribes. He thinks that the Turk Şül is named here mistakenly in the place of the head of the Turkish tribe *Chöl*<sup>3</sup>. It is more probable, however, that we have here the title *čur* which occurs frequently in Turkish inscriptions in Mongolia<sup>4</sup>. The Arabs would hardly have put a *şād* before a palatal vowel, especially as there was another way of rendering the *č* sound (by means of the letter *shīn*). The tradition quoted contains apparently still another inaccuracy: Şül with whom the Arabs had to deal in A.D. 717 could hardly have been the same person as the chief of the Turks during the conquest of the region along the Gurgân; if the Turks had come here only after the fall of the Sasanian kingdom they would hardly have accepted Zoroastrianism. In any case we have here one of the rare examples of the influence of Iranian culture on the Turks already before Islam.

The account of the event of A.D. 717 speaks merely of Turks without any mention of various Turkish peoples. One may assume that the steppes to the east of the Caspian were occupied by the Turks already in the 6th century, as the clashes of the Turks with Sasanian Persia belong to that period; secondly, that the Ghuz or Oghuz of the Arab geographers were the descendants of these Turks, and thirdly, that they established themselves in the west independently of the splitting of the Toquzoghuz in the 8th century which Ibn al-Athīr has in mind.

<sup>1</sup> J. Marquart, *Eranšahr*, Berlin 1901, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 123, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Eranšahr*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> [On the western coast of the Caspian the same title may be reflected in the Armenian appellation of Darband: *Čol*. V.M.].



Some of the Arab reports on the "Tughuzghuz", i.e. the Toquzoghuz coincide with the Chinese accounts of the Sha-t'co Turks. The word *sha-t'co* means "steppe" <sup>1</sup>. This was the name of the Turkish tribe which broke away from the state of the western Turks, the centre of which was the valley of the Chu river, and established itself in the extreme east of present-day Chinese Turkestan in the vicinity of lake Barkul. The Chinese render the Turkish name of this tribe as Ch'ü-yüeh; this may possibly be the word *čol* mentioned by Marquart (see above) <sup>2</sup>. Clashes with the Tibetans forced the Sha-t'co Turks to move further west into the region where to-day stands the town of Gu-chen and where in the Middle Ages stood the town of Bishbalıq, already mentioned in the Turkish inscriptions in Mongolia. The prince of the Sha-t'co Turks took up residence in this town in A.D. 712. In the beginning of the 9th century the Tibetans drove them out and forced them to retreat into China where at the end of the 9th century they took part in the putting down of a revolt which threatened the Tang dynasty. In the 10th century there rose among the Sha-t'co Turks three dynasties <sup>3</sup> whose rule was very shortlived (the three together ruled 28 years, A.D. 923-951) in a small part of China, the province of Ho-nan <sup>4</sup>. Arab authors also speak about the revolt of the 9th century in China and its suppression but transfer to the Toquzoghuz <sup>5</sup> the role which the Chinese ascribe to the Sha-t'co Turks. This coincidence

<sup>1</sup> Iakinf Bichurin, *Collected data on the peoples who lived in Central Asia*, SPb. 1851, I, p. 452 sq. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, p. 96 sq. [Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, I, 47, translates *sha-t'co* as "sandy downs". V.M.].

<sup>2</sup> [This explanation is doubtful. P. Pelliot tentatively restored the name as \*Chigil. Prof. E. Pulleyblank would restore the name as \*Chungul. He refers to the Chinese appellation of a tribe dependent from the Uyghurs of Khocho, namely Chung-yü or Chung-yün, cf. Hamilton in *T'oung Pao*, 1958, vol. 46, p. 152. V.M.].

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes, *o.c.*, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> See chronological and geographical details in C. Arendt, *Synchronistische Regendentabellen zur Geschichte der chinesischen Dynastien*, *Mitt. der Seminars für Orient. Spr.*, Berlin, III, 158 sq.; IV, 116 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Especially Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, I, 288, 302 sq.

makes it likely that the first information of the Arabs on the Toquzoghuz refers originally to the Sha-t<sup>co</sup>o Turks. The Arabs apparently did not know about the ousting of the Turks by the Tibetans or of the Tibetans by the Uyghurs and, taking their information from written sources, continued to speak of the "Toghuzghuz" even at the time when the corresponding area was in the possession of the Uyghurs. Maḥmūd Kāshghari, who wrote in the second half of the 11th century, basing himself not on books but on personal acquaintance with Central Asia, knew only the Uyghurs and not the Toquzoghuz. On the other hand the 11th century author Idrīsī <sup>1</sup> and Mubārak-shāh Marvarrūdī <sup>2</sup> who wrote in the beginning of the 13th century quote written sources on the Toquzoghuz without mentioning that these sources belong to the past.

Whatever had been the part played by the Oghuz people in Central Asia in the previous centuries, it concentrates after the events of the 8th and 9th centuries more and more in the west, on the border of the Near Eastern civilised world which in the 11th century was doomed to experience the invasion of the Oghuz, or, as they were called only in the west, the Turkmen.

<sup>1</sup> *Géographie d'Idrīsī*, trad. par Jaubert, I, 490 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *A volume of Oriental Studies* presented to E. G. Browne, Cambridge 1922, p. 406 sq., where even the Uyghur writing is ascribed to the Toquzoghuz.

## II. THE OGHUZ (TURKMANS) BEFORE THE FORMATION OF THE SELJUQ EMPIRE

We have seen that the Oghuz were the neighbours of the caliphate dominions from the estuary of the Gurgān to the region near the present-day town of Chimkant. It was of course impossible for the Arabs to know with any precision how far the territories covered by the Oghuz nomads in their wanderings stretched to the north. Very doubtful is Istakhri's <sup>1</sup> statement that the frontier between the Oghuz lands and those of their northern neighbours, the Kimāks, was formed by the upper course of the Itil (Volga), i.e. according to the Arabs' geographical notions, the lower course of the Kama. On his way from Khwarazm to the country of the Bulgars in the spring of A.D. 922, Ibn Faḍlān <sup>2</sup> found the Oghuz only on the Ust-Yurt plateau, during the descent from its northern rim (Chink). There were apparently no Oghuz in the region to the east of the Emba where Ibn Faḍlān met the advance detachments of the Bashqirs.

The Oghuz had no khans. The traditions of the Turkish qaghanate were carried on in the East by the Toquzoghuz (or Uyghurs), in the West by the Khazars. At the head of the Oghuz, as was the case with their eastern neighbours the Qarluqs, stood a leader with the more modest title of *yabghu* <sup>3</sup> which also occurs in the Turkish inscriptions of Mongolia. The pronunciation *jabghu* is also mentioned <sup>4</sup>. Mahmud Kashghari speaks of the change of the initial *y* into *j* in the languages of the Oghuz and the Qipchaqs, although at the same place he treats this phonetic peculiarity as a feature of distinction between the Turks and the Turkmans <sup>5</sup>, to whose number the Qipchaqs could hardly be

<sup>1</sup> *BGA*, I, 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, 1924, p. 444.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>4</sup> On this see also my article *Die historische Bedeutung der alt-türkischen Inschriften*, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Mahmūd Kāshghari, II, 253.

reckoned. The "king", i.e. the *yabghu* of the Oghuz lived, or at least spent the winter, in the region along the lower course of the Sīr-darya (Jaxartes). The frontier town of the Iranian Samanids on the Sīr-darya was Saurān<sup>1</sup>. From that point down to its estuary the river flowed through the steppes of the Oghuz. Here within the territory of the Oghuz and dependent on them there existed in the 10th century,<sup>2</sup> several towns founded by Muslim immigrants without any military action on the part of the Samanids. The principal among these towns was the one called "New Settlement" (*al-qariyat al-hadītha* in Arabic, *Dih-i nau* in Persian; later *Yangi-kānt* in Turkish). It was situated at a distance of one farsakh (6-7 km.) from the river bank, of two days' travel from the Aral sea, ten from Khwarazm and twenty from Fārāb (Otrar). Its site is still marked by the ruins of Jankant. In winter the "king" of the Oghuz lived there. In the same region there stood two other smaller towns<sup>3</sup>. One of these, Jand (represented by the ruins in the Tamar-utkul district, some 30 km. from the present-day Qizil-orda), had a certain future (even the Aral sea was sometimes called the Jand lake); the other is no longer mentioned after the 10th century, and even its name cannot be definitely established. As these towns were founded by civilised immigrants their existence is no witness to any spread of town-life among the Oghuz themselves, whereas about another town situated closer to the frontiers of the Samanid dominions, Sughnaq (now the ruins of Sunaq-qurghan), Mahmud Kashghari says that it was "one of the Oghuz towns"<sup>4</sup>. Sughnaq (or Sighnaq) is not mentioned by the Arab geographers but it may be identical with the town Sunakh about which the anonymous author of the *Hudūd al-ʿAlam* written in Persian circa A.D. 982 (the so-called Toumansky MS.) says that it is "a small town in the Fārāb (Otrar) province, very rich; from it good bows are exported to various places"<sup>5</sup>. Still higher up the river,

<sup>1</sup> *Turkestan*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *BGA*, II, 393.

<sup>3</sup> On this region see, for instance, *Turkestan*, p. 149 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshghari, I, 392.

<sup>5</sup> *Toumansky MS.*, f. 24b sq.

already in the Samanid possessions, lived "peaceful Turks" (an expression of the Toumansky MS.) from among the Oghuz and Qarluqs who had accepted Islam. The point of concentration seems to have been the town of Sutkand, also a rich settlement on the left bank of the Sīr-darya, the ruins of which can be seen to this day. About Sütkaṇḍ the Toumansky MS. says that many of the Turks living there had accepted Islam; therefore there must have been some pagans as well. In the same region, along both banks of the Sīr-darya, lived also nomad Turks, numbering some 100 tents<sup>1</sup>, to whom grazing grounds had been allotted. They had become Muslims and had bound themselves to defend the frontiers of the Samanid state against their pagan brethren. What importance the Sīr-darya had for the Oghuz may be gathered from Kāshgharī's statement that the word "river" (*ügüz*) without any additional qualification meant the Sīr-darya to the Oghuz because their towns stood there and nomads belonging to their people lived along its banks<sup>2</sup>. This differentiation between the towns and the nomads attests that part of the Oghuz had become town-dwellers<sup>3</sup>, although the Toumansky MS. states quite definitely that the Oghuz did not possess a single town<sup>4</sup>.

The utilisation of Arab geographical literature is rendered difficult by its bookish character and the resultant chronological vagueness. For instance, if we know that one author wrote in the 10th century and another in the 11th, this does not mean that the information of the latter refers to a later time than that of the former. Nearly all the authors take their data from books without naming their sources and without determining their dates, so that it often happens that in an 11th century work an earlier source is utilised than in one written in the 10th century. Better chronological definitions are to be found in the few accounts of historians and travellers which have reached us. Thus there exists a report<sup>5</sup> that ʿAbdullāh b. Ṭāhir (A.D. 830-844), ruler of Kho-

<sup>1</sup> *Yurts* — felt tents.

<sup>2</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, I, 58.

<sup>3</sup> Saurān is also called in Kāshgharī, I, 364, a town of the Oghuz.

<sup>4</sup> *Toumansky MS.*, f. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Baladhuri, 431.

rasan, sent his son and future successor Ṭāhir against the Oghuz; all that is said about the outcome of the campaign is that Ṭāhir reached places which no one had ever reached before. The operation probably took place in the western part of the present day Turkmania because the *rabāṭs*, i.e. fortified frontier posts, in Dihistān (to-day Mashhad-i Mişriyān) and Afrāva (now Qizil-Arvat) were said to have been built in the days of ʿAbdullāh b. Ṭāhir <sup>1</sup>. His activities seem to have achieved their aim, and the fortifications built by him successfully fulfilled their purpose down to the events of the 11th century. Trade with the Oghuz on this section of the frontier seems, however, to have been far less brisk than on the frontier of Khwarazm and on the Sīr-darya, judging by the silence of the sources. According to the Toumansky MS., there were no cultivated fields around Qizil-Arvat at all; grain was brought in from the neighbourhood of Mashhad-i Mişriyān (at that time irrigated by canals from the Atrak) and from the country round Nesā (near Ashkhabad) <sup>2</sup>.

If in this region the task consisted in protecting the cultivated lands from the raids of the nomads, on the Sīr-darya the struggle against the nomads was connected with the gradual spread of agriculture northwards, down the river. Here too, the Arabs at first adopted a defensive policy; despite a series of expeditions deep into the steppes, it was the region in the vicinity of Tashkent that became the frontier province of the caliphate, and long walls were built to protect against the nomads the cultivated strip along the Chirchik stretching from the banks of the Sīr-darya to the mountains <sup>3</sup>. It is possible that even this line could not always be held. Tabari's report on the activities of Rafiʿ b. Layth, who rebelled against the Abbasids in Central Asia in 191/806-7, names among the rebels "the ruler of Shāsh (as the province of Tashkent was then called) with his Turks" <sup>4</sup>, from which it may be

<sup>1</sup> *Irrigation*, pp. 34 and 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Hudūd al-ʿAlam*, f. 29b. In the same passage it is also stated that there was only one spring in the rabat. The position was the same in the 19th century. See *Irrigation*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Irrigation*, p. 143. *Turkestan*, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Tabari, *Annales*, III, 712. *Turkestan* p. 205.

inferred that the cultivated strip along the Chirchik had temporarily passed into the hands of the Turks. This event may have been connected with the revolt among the Arabs which had broken out in 190 H./A.D. 806. In 189 and 190 H. coins were minted at the silver mine of Angren<sup>1</sup> where one of the caliphal mints was situated<sup>2</sup>. The power of the caliph seems to have been swiftly restored in Shāsh; when the four Samanid brothers were appointed rulers of Mawarannahr, one of them received Shāsh<sup>3</sup>. The conquest of Isfijab in A.D. 840 was a further step forward, and in this case too it is reported that a long earth wall was built round the vineyards and cultivated fields<sup>4</sup>, and thus the conquest was consolidated by defense measures. We know that later on there was a Turkish dynasty in Isfijab which stood in vassal dependence from the Samanids, but whether these rulers were from among the Oghuz is not known.

On the further advance of the Muslims we possess Istakhri's<sup>5</sup> report on the expedition of a huge army against Shaughan (near the present day town of Turkestan). During this expedition a force of 4,000 men lost its way and only after several days succeeded in rejoining the main army. The expedition took place under Naṣr b. Ahmad. There were two Samanid rulers of this name, of whom one ruled in the 9th century. (A.D. 864-892), and the other in the 10th century (A.D. 914-943). The report could refer to either of the two, but it seems more likely to concern the former<sup>6</sup>. Nothing is known about the aim of the expedition or its results.

<sup>1</sup> On its site see *Turkestan*, p. 172. [Originally Āhangarān.]

<sup>2</sup> A. Markov, *Inventory Catalogue of the Muslim coins of the Hermitage* (in Russian), SPb, 1896, p. 33, Nos. 551 and 552.

<sup>3</sup> *Turkestan*, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> *Irrigation*, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *BGA*, I, 291; II, 330; *Turkestan*, p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> In Istakhri's text amir Naṣr is referred to as one already dead, and the author says that he had heard the story from someone who had taken part in the campaign. If these words, like the greater part of Istakhri's information, go back to Balkhi, only the first Naṣr could be meant here, as the second Naṣr outlived Balkhi. If, however, the words are Istakhri's own, the question remains a moot one. What Istakhri says in another passage (*BGA*, I, 144) about the reign of the second Naṣr leads one to suppose that by that time this reign had come to an end.

The "king", or *yabghu*, of the Oghuz was not the actual ruler of his people, and the desire of unity was as alien to the 10th century Oghuz as it was to the 19th century Turkmans. In this respect the observations of Ibn Faḍlān<sup>1</sup> and the report in the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam*<sup>2</sup> produce exactly the same impression. According to the *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam* each of the Oghuz tribes had a special chief "because of their inability to agree among themselves". According to Ibn Faḍlān the *yabghu* could send his governors or lieutenants to some places; such a governor was called *küdergin* (a term that does not seem to occur in any other source). In addition, in the region crossed by Ibn Faḍlān there was a special army commander; his father, who was still alive, was a relative (father-in-law or brother-in-law)<sup>3</sup> of the king of the Volga Bulgars. Thanks to the protection of this man the Arabs crossed the land of the Oghuz safely; otherwise, according to Ibn Faḍlān, the Oghuz might have robbed and even killed them. But affairs were decided not so much by the orders of these chiefs, as by consultations of the Oghuz among themselves. Respect for old men also played an important part.

The Oghuz produced upon Ibn Faḍlān the impression of being a wealthy nomad people, owning, as the Turkmans did later, huge flocks of sheep. There were very rich men who owned as many as one hundred thousand sheep. Sheep were the principal item of export from the Oghuz steppe to the Muslim provinces, and the trade was the briskest at the frontier places of Khwarazm. In peaceful times the Oghuz came (evidently with their herds) to the town of Parategin<sup>4</sup>, on the left bank of the Amu-darya, one day's distance from the Aral sea, or to Gurganj (now Kunya-Urgenj)<sup>5</sup>. As everywhere else where trade was carried on between nomads and sedentary peoples, this trade was more neces-

<sup>1</sup> *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, 1924, p. 244 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Hudud al-ʿĀlam*, f. 18b.

<sup>3</sup> The Oghuz chief called the Bulghar king his *ṣahr*; this term can mean both a daughter's or a sister's husband.

<sup>4</sup> The initial *p* of this name is determined by the Arab transcription which hesitates between the letters *f* and *b*. See index in *BGA*, IV.

<sup>5</sup> *BGA*, I, 303, below. [*Kunya* in this case corresponds to Persian *kuhna* "old".]



sary for the nomads who therefore brought their herds to the frontier places of the cultivated regions without waiting for the merchants of these regions to come to the steppes. Naturally this trade, as Istakhri states, could take place only in peaceful times. Trade relations were often disturbed by the nomads' raids into the cultivated zone or *vice versa* by expeditions into the steppes undertaken mainly with the purpose of capturing Turkish slaves<sup>1</sup>, who of course could be also acquired by trade in view of the frequent feuds of the nomads among themselves. In peaceful times grain was also brought in boats down the Sīr-darya to the "New Settlement"<sup>2</sup>.

We possess very scanty information on those movements of the Turkish people which resulted partly from the urge of the nomads to seize cultivated lands and partly from the struggles among the nomads for the possession of grazing-grounds. Thus Istakhri speaks of the "recent" occupation by the "Turks" of the Siyāh-kūh peninsula ("Black Mountain", a Persian name for Manghishlaq), which until then had been uninhabited; the reason for the Turks' migrating to this peninsula was their clash with the "Oghuz"<sup>3</sup>. It is quite probable that in point of fact Istakhri had in view a struggle among the Oghuz tribes and that the Turks who occupied Manghishlaq were also Oghuz. They found there springs and grazing grounds; they also seized the cargoes of the ships wrecked on the coast of Manghishlaq where there was a whirlpool. Thus Manghishlaq, which later acquired a great importance for trade on the Caspian sea, was in the 10th century merely a source of danger for the ships that sailed near it.

The Turkish neighbours of the caliphate were forced gradually to submit to the influence of Muslim culture and to accept Islam. The oldest version of the legend about the spread of Islam in Kashgharia tells how the Turks appreciated the goods brought by Muslim caravans, such as rich stuffs and sugar, and how later on this led them to become acquainted with Islam as a religion<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *BGA*, III, 285, below.

<sup>2</sup> *BGA*, II, 393.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 219.

<sup>4</sup> *Turkestan*, I, 131 (Russian edition, 1st part).

The same situation must have obtained elsewhere. The spread of Islam among the Oghuz in the 10th century must have been slow. In A.D. 922 Ibn Faḍlān found among this people the same funeral rites as those which prevailed among the Turks in Mongolia in the 8th century. Statues were erected over the grave, numbering as many as the men the deceased had killed in his life-time, in the belief that these people would serve him in the other world<sup>1</sup>. When a man fell sick no-one came near him. If he was rich, a tent was put up for him where he had to lie until he either died or recovered; if he was poor or a slave, he was simply abandoned on the steppe. The dead man (evidently only a rich one) would be seated fully clothed and armed in a deep grave arranged in the form of a dwelling; some of his belongings would be placed by his side, then the grave was filled in and a clay vault erected over it<sup>2</sup>. To commemorate the deceased 100-200 head of cattle were slaughtered, and the skulls, hides and tails hung on trees in the belief that the deceased would ride into the next world on these animals. Ibn Faḍlān saw an Oghuz king who bore the title *yināl al-saghīr* (lesser *yinal*) who had at one time become a Muslim but later reverted to paganism.

Besides Islam, other religions, especially Christianity, were propagated on the steppes, but the information available is very vague. The 13th century author Zakāriyā Qazvīnī<sup>3</sup> calls the Oghuz Christians. In the country of their northern neighbours, the Kimaks, there existed a rock bearing what appeared to be the marks left by the feet and knees of a man who had prostrated himself there, and of a child's feet and an ass's hooves; the Oghuz worshipped these traces ascribing them to Jesus Christ, evidently in connection with the legend of the flight to Egypt. As Marquart<sup>4</sup> has shown, we find an earlier version of the tale about the traces and their worshipping by the Oghuz in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ZVO*, XXV, 64.

<sup>2</sup> On the buildings over Turkish tombs see e.g. *ZVO*, XXV, 57 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *ZVO*, VIII, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Osttürkische Dialektenstudien*, Berlin 1914, *Abh. Gött.*, Neue Folge, vol. XIII, p. 101.

Bīrūnī<sup>1</sup> (beginning of the 11th century) who says nothing, however, either of Christianity among the Oghuz or of the connection of the traces with Christ, so that it is possible that the explanation of this worship was invented by Qazvinī himself or by one of his predecessors. It is possible that this cult had arisen quite independently of Christian legends merely because of the strangeness of such a natural phenomenon, as the Oghuz in general, according to the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, worshipped anything which struck them as unusual or remarkable. The same passage contains a remark on the respect awarded to “doctors”, as priests and shamans are called by times, for instance in Ibn Rusta’s report on the Russians (*BGA*, VII, 146).

There exists no clear and detailed information on the success of Islam in the region along the lower course of the Sīr-darya which is linked up by tradition with the gradual movement of the Oghuz southwards and the ensuing conquest of Iran by them. In any case what we witness here is not a unification of a people for a common military undertaking, but scattered movements of separate groups which ended in the submission of the whole of the Near East, the Arab peninsula excepted, if not to the Turkman people, at least to a dynasty that sprang from it.

The most detailed information on the origins and rise of this dynasty is to be found in Ibn al-Athīr<sup>2</sup>. Historians usually call this dynasty “the house of Seljuk”, after the name of its ancestor Seljuk, son of Tuqaq (in the south-Turkish pronunciation: *Du-qaq*). The word *tuqaq* was supposed to mean “new bow”. In Ibn al-Athīr’s text the word *jadīd* (“new”) could be read as *hadīd* (“iron”), hence probably the rise of the legend that Seljuk bore the nickname of “the man with the iron bow” (*timur-yayligh*)<sup>3</sup>. In some tales<sup>4</sup> Seljuk’s father is given the name of the legendary sage Loqman, mentioned in the Qorʾan (31st sūra).

<sup>1</sup> *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, IX, 321 sq.

<sup>3</sup> So in *EI*, IV, 222.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Muhammad Husayni (on this work see *ZVO*, XVIII, 0116 sq.), *Das Geschenk aus der Seldschukengeschichte*, ed. Karl Süssheim, Leiden 1909, p. 17. See also Ravandi, *GMS*, New Series, II, 1921, p. 88.

The author of the 15th century history <sup>1</sup> of the Seljuk dynasty combines the two legends and calls Seljuk's father Loqman-Duqaq <sup>2</sup>. According to Ibn al-Athīr already Duqaq showed leanings towards Islam and quarrelled with the Oghuz yabghu when the latter assembled an army for an expedition against Muslim provinces. They even came to blows over it but eventually became reconciled and Duqaq remained with the yabghu. His son Seljuk also won the yabghu's favour and received the title of *sü-bashi* ("Chief of the army"). The same title is given to Seljuk in Mahmud Kashghari <sup>3</sup>. The yabghu's wife set him against Seljuk and the latter with his companions left the land of the unbelievers for the land of Islam. There he accepted Islam, settled down in the neighbourhood of Jand, became the ally of the Muslims in their struggle against the unbelievers, turned out the tax-collectors of the yabghu and freed the Muslims from the tribute they had been paying him. At that time Hārūn, son of the *ilek* (i.e. the Qara-khanid Boghra-khan Hārūn b. Mūsā) <sup>4</sup>, seized part of the Samanid state. The Samanids turned to Seljuk for help. Seljuk sent his son Arslan with whose aid the Samanids retrieved their possessions, after which Arslan returned to his father. Seljuk lived 107 years and died in Jand where he was buried.

Among the events related above exact dates can be chronologically established for the occupation of Bukhara by Boghra-khan and his subsequent retreat: he occupied Bukhara in May 992, and on August 17 of the same year the Samanid amir Nūḥ b. Mansūr <sup>5</sup> re-entered the city. Ibn al-Athīr's account of the help given by Seljuk to the Samanids is not confirmed by the other sources. 'Utbī, the earliest historian to mention these events <sup>6</sup>, speaks only of the harassing by the Oghuz of Boghra's army

<sup>1</sup> The tradition on the name of the author is given by Gordlevsky in *Drevnosti Vostochniye*, IV, special pagination p. 1. See Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1927, 9, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Asiatic Mus. 590 ba, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, I, 397.

<sup>4</sup> On his origins see *Turkestan*, 257, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Turkestan*, 258 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī* of 'Utbī with Manīnī's commentary (Egyptian edition), I, p. 176.

during his retreat. One can also note (without going into the question of the comparative accuracy of the two sources) the chronological discrepancy between Ibn al-Athīr's report and that of the 14th century historian Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī. According to Ibn al-Athīr Seljuk died in Jand after A.D. 992, whereas according to Ḥamdullāh<sup>1</sup> Seljuk's sons (evidently after their father's death) entered the Samanid possessions in 375/985-6 and settled in the province of Bukhara in the vicinity of Nūr. In any case the accord between the Oghuz and the inhabitants of Jand did not last long; the historian Bayhaqi in his account of the events of A.D. 1034 speaks of an old enmity and blood-feuds between Shāh Malik (who at that time ruled in Jand and on whose origins there is no information) and the descendants of Seljuk<sup>2</sup>.

According to Ibn al-Athīr Seljuk left three sons: Arslan, Mikāil and Mūsā. Mikail was killed in a fight against the unbelievers, and it was only after his death that his sons Toghrul-bek Muhammad and Chaghri-bek Dāvūd settled in Nūr. This information is followed by a chronologically impossible story about the relations of the two brothers with Boghra-khan, about Toghrul-bek's treacherous capture by Boghra-khan and his liberation by Dāvūd.

More credible is the participation of Seljuk's descendants in the events of the early 11th century when the Samanid pretender Muntaṣir began a hopeless struggle<sup>3</sup> against the Qarakhanids who occupied the kingdom of his fathers. According to the accounts of two 11th century historians, ʿUtbī<sup>4</sup> and Gardīzī<sup>5</sup>, Muntaṣir, after unsuccessful operations in Khorasan, set out in A.D. 1003 from Abīvard to join the Oghuz. Unfortunately no definite information is given about the territory where they were living. Gardīzī adds that their ruler, the yabghu, had accepted Islam and established family ties with Muntaṣir. In the account

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, XIV, 434.

<sup>2</sup> Bayhaqi, ed. Morley, p. 856.

<sup>3</sup> On the course of the struggle see *Turkestan*, 282 sq.

<sup>4</sup> ʿUtbī-Manīnī, I, 335 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Gardīzī, Camb. MS. King's College, 213, f. 113a sq

of the historian Ravandī<sup>1</sup> the name Yabghu was borne by Seljuk's son Mūsā, and it is possible that Gardīzī had him in view. As the report on the Oghuz joining Mūsā is immediately followed by the account of the campaign against Samarqand, without any mention of a crossing of the Amu-darya, it may well be that the Oghuz in question were those living in the vicinity of Nūr.

In connection with the help given to Muntaṣir ʿUtbī speaks about the traditional devotion of the Oghuz to the Samanid house; the march of events leads one to suppose that, as usual, the nomads were guided by the hope of booty. With the aid of the Oghuz Muntaṣir won a victory on the Zarafshān, but he was unable to take Samarqand because immediately after the victory the Oghuz withdrew, sending the loot to their camping places and taking with them the 18 enemy chiefs whom they had captured. They refused to give them up to Muntaṣir. Their original intention was to obtain ransom money but later the report reached Muntaṣir that the Oghuz wished to use the captives for concluding peace with the enemy. With 700 warriors (300 horsemen and 400 foot) Muntaṣir left the Oghuz and crossed the Amu-darya at Darghān. The river was frozen over and straw was scattered to help the horses over the ice. The Oghuz pursued Muntaṣir but were unable to cross the river. According to ʿUtbī the danger of the crossing held them back. Gardīzī's version is that the ice broke under them and that they perished. After that Muntaṣir made no attempts to seek the support of the Oghuz.

The Samanid possessions in Central Asia passed into the hands of the Turkish dynasty which the Muslim historians usually call "the house of Afrāsyāb". Russian scholars, since the days of V. V. Grigoryev<sup>2</sup>, use the term *Qarakhanids*, from the title of one of the first representatives of this dynasty. In the Qarakhanid state the clan organisation and the system of fiefs connected with it were even stronger than in most other nomad states; the rulers of different provinces succeeded one another

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, New Series, II, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *The Qarakhanids in Mavarannahr according to the Tarikh-i Munejjimbashi* (*Trudi Vost. Otd. Arh. Ob.*, v. XVII, 1874).

so rapidly that neither written information nor even coins enable us to establish the chronology of the Qarakhanid epoch and the genealogy of the Qarakhanid rulers.

The origin of the Qarakhanid king ‘Ali-tegin under whom the descendants of Seljuk lived in the beginning of the 11th century. is not quite clear. Bayhaqi quotes the statement made by the vazir Maymandi to the Ghaznavid sultan Mas‘ūd (A.D. 1032) that ‘Ali-tegin had been already established in Mavarannahr for 30 years <sup>1</sup>, which is probably an exaggeration. Ibn al-Athīr also gives some details on the relations between ‘Ali-tegin and the Seljukids which are not supported by other sources. He speaks of several armed encounters between them, whereas according to other authors there were no hostilities till after the death of ‘Ali-tegin which occurred in A.D. 1034. In A.D. 1025 Sultan Mahmūd Ghaznavī, who had succeeded to the Samanids in Iran and in A.D. 1017 conquered Khwarazm, marched against ‘Ali-tegin and forced him to flee into the steppes. At the head of the Oghuz in ‘Ali-tegin’s service stood Seljuk’s son Arslan who also bore the Muslim name of Isrā’īl. He was taken prisoner and on Mahmud’s orders sent to India and imprisoned in a fortress where he died. Historians writing within the Seljuk empire, who also influenced Ibn al-Athīr, represent Mahmūd’s action as an act of treachery: he invited Isrā’īl and seized his unsuspecting guest <sup>2</sup>. Gardīzī’s earlier account gives a different version <sup>3</sup>. After a report on the meeting of Mahmūd with the chief of the Qarakhanids, Qadīr-khan Yusūf <sup>4</sup>, the historian speaks of ‘Ali-tegin’s flight into the steppes; at the same time Mahmūd having learnt that Isrā’īl b. Seljuk had taken cover in a certain place sent men there who arrested him, after which he was sent to Ghazna and from thence to India.

In his account of the relations of the Ghaznavids Mahmūd and Mas‘ūd with the Oghuz, Gardīzī for the first time calls the

<sup>1</sup> *Turkestan*, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly fantastic is the account of Ravandi (*GMS*, n.s. II, 87 sq.) which has strongly influenced the later Persian historians.

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge MS., f. 125 sq.

<sup>4</sup> On the meeting see *Turkestan*, 283 sq.

*Oghuz Turks*. In his record of the events of the early 11th century, he like ʿUtbī uses only the term *Ghuz*. Bayhaqi also calls the *Oghuz Turks*, whereas Ibn al-Athīr continues to speak only of the *Ghuz*. One could gather from Ibn al-Athīr's account that, with the help of Arslan (Isrāʾīl?), Mahmūd captured even the *Oghuz* obedient to Arslan, destroying part of them and establishing the others in different parts of Khorasan. In Ravandi Isrāʾīl even speaks of hundreds of thousands of men allegedly at his disposal. On the other hand, from Gardīzi's <sup>1</sup> account it appears that part of the *Oghuz* were hostile to the Seljuk house, and this would explain why Isrāʾīl could come to so sad an end. Turkman chiefs brought to Mahmūd complaints against their amirs (i.e. the Seljukids) and asked that permission be given to 4000 families to move into Khorasan, assuring the sultan that they would be useful both to him and to his subjects because they would bring their flocks of sheep that would feed the inhabitants while their men would increase the army of the sultan. Mahmūd allotted to them grazing grounds in the steppe near Sarakhs, Abīvard and Farāva (Qizil-Arvat). Amir Arslan-Jādhīb, the governor of Tūs, advised Mahmūd not to commit such an error and as an alternative suggested that either the *Turkmen*s should be wiped out altogether, or their thumbs should be cut off so that they should be unable to use their bows <sup>2</sup>. Mahmūd thought this advice inhuman, but soon after was obliged to entrust Arslan-Jādhīb with the task of making war on the *Turkmen*s. In this connection Ibn al-Athīr explains the revolt of the *Turkmen*s by the exactions of the sultan's agents who seized the property of the *Turkmen*s and even their children. Gardīzi <sup>3</sup> speaks only of the complaints about the behaviour of the *Turkmen*s made by the inhabitants of the towns Nesā, Abīvard and Farāva. By this time the *Turkmen*s had become so strong that Arslan Jādhīb was unable to master them and the Sultan was obliged to march against them in person. The *Turkmen*s were

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge MS., f. 125 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 313, below, and Gardīzi, Cambr. MS., f. 126a.

<sup>3</sup> Gardīzi, f. 128a.



defeated; some of them were driven off to Dihistān and Balkhan, while a small number (in one passage Ibn al-Athīr <sup>1</sup> mentions 2,000 tents, and in another 2,000 warriors) went to Kerman and from there to Isfahan, after which down to the middle of the 1040's they successfully plundered and devastated Persia and regions further to the west, including the towns of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan and Armenia.

From that time onwards there are distinguished three branches of the Oghuz or Turkmans with which the provinces of the caliphate had to deal: those of the Seljuks, those of Balkhan and those of Iraq ('Irāq being the Arabic name of the ancient Babylonia). When in A.D. 1035 Seljuk's grandsons addressed to sultan Mas'ūd the request to cede to them the region of the towns of Nesā and Farāva, they promised, among other things, "to prevent the incursions of rebels from the direction of Balkhan, Dihistān, the confines of Khwārazm and the banks of the Amu-darya, and to drive out the Turkmans of Iraq and Khwārazm" <sup>2</sup>. In later times, in a letter to western rulers Toghrul-bek spoke of the Oghuz who had advanced westwards as of his servants who had left him while he was at war with the Ghaznavids and had complications with Khwarazm, and expressed his assurance that in the end they would again rally to his banner <sup>3</sup>.

The operations of the Oghuz of Iraq were merely irregular raids and had no immediate influence on the course of political developments; despite the long duration and the wide range of their forays Ibn al-Athīr compares them with a swiftly dissolving summer cloud <sup>4</sup>.

The Turkmans who under Mahmud had been driven to the Balkhan mountains received the permission of Mas'ud to return to Khorasan, though at the same time (A.D. 1031) the Sultan gave the order to the newly appointed governor of Khorasan and Western Persia to seize the chiefs of the Oghuz, the most important among whom was Yaghmur. They were all (according

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 266 and 324.

<sup>2</sup> Bayhaqi, p. 583.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 277.

to Ibn al-Athīr<sup>1</sup> fifty of them) killed, and this led in A.D. 1033 to the rebellion of their sons who took their revenge on the Muslims<sup>2</sup>. To put down the revolt Masʿūd had recourse to extreme measures; Ibn al-Athīr speaks of executions and maiming; those who got away moved on to Rayy and beyond to join up with those who had gone there earlier. According to Ibn al-Athīr the term "Iraqi Oghuz" was coined at that time.

After A.D. 1025 the grandsons of Seljuk remained with ʿAli-tesgin who, after Mahmud's withdrawal, was able to return to Bukhara. Despite the campaign<sup>3</sup> undertaken against him on Masʿūd's orders in A.D. 1032 by the Khwarazmshah Altuntash, ʿAli-tesgin, until his death in 1034, remained the ruler of the whole kingdom of Bukhara. At the same time the grandsons of Seljuk, heedless of the fate of their uncle, did not sever relations with the Ghaznavids; every year they wintered in Khwarazm where Altuntash allotted them grazing grounds<sup>4</sup>. He died in 1032, and at the hands of his son and successor Hārūn they received still more friendly treatment. In A.D. 1034 Hārūn severed his allegiance to Masʿūd and in the same year joined the grandsons of Seljuk who had quarrelled with the sons of ʿAli-tesgin. Hārūn assigned to them lands on the right bank of the Amu-darya near Shūrkhān<sup>5</sup> and gave them support when they were attacked by their implacable enemy, the ruler of Jand, Shāh-Malik. From Khwarazm the Turkmans pushed further on, and in A.D. 1034 there are reports of their appearance in Marv, Sarakhs, Abivard and Bādghīs (in north-western Afghanistan)<sup>6</sup>. Some Turkmans (probably those who had remained with ʿAli-tesgin's sons) invaded Qabādiyān and the province of Tirmidh; they crossed the Amu-darya but were defeated at Shāpūrkān<sup>7</sup>. In A.D. 1035 Hārūn was killed at the instigation of the Ghaz-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 267.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in Bayhaqi, 460.

<sup>3</sup> On him see *Turkestan*, 312 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Bayhaqi, 583.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 586.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 535.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 543.

navid government, and the Turkmans, 1,000 horsemen strong, left Khwarazm and by way of Marv arrived in Nesā. Through the new governor of Khorasan, Abul-Faḍl Sūrī, they presented a petition to Sultan Masʿūd asking him to cede to them the towns of Nesā and Farāva. The letter <sup>1</sup> addressed to Sūrī was composed in the name of three brothers — Yabghu [or Bayghu] <sup>2</sup>, Toghrul [Tughril?] and Dāvūd. In the meantime Sūrī reported to the sultan that the Turkmans who were already settled in Nesā and a troop (*fauji*) of “Khwarazmians and Saljukids” had received the newcomers inhospitably without even inviting them to be seated [settle down? V.M.]. Despite such discord among themselves, in the same year the Turkmans managed to defeat the army sent against them, and even detained one of the dignitaries captured by them after conclusion of the treaty (at the end of August 1035) <sup>3</sup>, by which the Turkmans got even more than they had originally demanded. Toghrul received Nesā, Yabghu Farāva, and Davud Dihistān. All three were styled *dihqāns*, as Turkish chiefs were called all over the area where the Turkish and Iranian worlds came into contact, namely from the shore of the Caspian sea down to Kāshghar <sup>4</sup>. The treaty was concluded in Nīshāpūr not with the Turkman princes themselves but with their envoys and it was assumed that, when the sultan would have withdrawn to Balkh and the Turkmans would feel secure, one of the brothers would come to live at the court (apparently as a hostage). In fact all three brothers remained in Nesā <sup>5</sup>.

The relations established by the treaty did not endure long; by the beginning of 1036 news began to come in of the raids of

<sup>1</sup> See the text *ibid.*, 582 sq. [Ed. Tehran 1307, p. 478, ed .Ghanī, p. 470: Sūrī reports that 10,000 Saljuqīs and Yinalīs came *via* Marv to Nasā but the local Turkmans and the *Khawārazmiyān-i Saljuqiyyān* did not give them a place where to settle. The newcomers seem to have lived under the authority of the late ʿAlī-tegin.].

<sup>2</sup> [See *History of the World Conqueror*, p. 288, n. 31.].

<sup>3</sup> The dignitary in question was Khwāja ʿAlī-Mikāʾil (*ibid.*, 600). Gardizi (Camb. MS., f. 135a) has Husayn ibn-ʿAlī ibn-Mikāʾil. Writing *circa* 1050, Gardizi adds (f. 135b): “and he still remains among them”.

<sup>4</sup> On the *dihqān* of Dihistān *v.s.* p. 00; on the *dihqān* of Kāshghar see *Turkestan*, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> Bayhaqi, 610 sq.

Turkmans (both of the Seljukid and of the Iraquian Oghuz who had joined them) into the northern provinces of Afghanistan and Sarakhs <sup>1</sup>. Within a short time successful operations were renewed by the Turkmans against sultan Mas'ud's forces. The question of the sovereignty over Khorasan was finally decided only by the battle at Dandānaqān (between Marv and Sarakhs) in May 1040 <sup>2</sup>, but even before that, in 1037, coins were struck in Marv in the name of Davud, and in 1038 in Nishapur in the name of Toghrul <sup>3</sup>. The former dihqāns now began to style themselves "Kings of Kings", and this title, in its Persian form *shāhanshāh*, appears on their earliest coins. Later it was replaced by the Arabic *sultān*, and former royal titles — the Arabic *malik* and the Persian *shāh* — were given to vassal rulers. The Seljuk sultans spread their power over almost the whole of Muslim Asia; in such circumstances the region on the Sīr-darya whence they had emerged could not have much importance for them. Sultan Alp-Arslan (A.D. 1063-1072) appeared on the Sīr-darya only in 1065, after he had won resounding victories in the west, to conquer Jand and Saurān <sup>4</sup>. Feeling themselves Muslim, rather than Turkish, rulers, the Seljuk sultans gave scant attention to this borderland of their empire and did not oppose its occupation by another Turkish people, the Qipchaqs. The Seljuk sultans were completely indifferent to the fate of the Oghuz people as a whole, and probably did not even know that in the same year (A.D. 1035) when Alp-Arslan was operating on the Sīr-darya, the Oghuz had crossed the Danube and invaded the Balkan peninsula <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 618.

<sup>2</sup> *Turkestan*, 303.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 327 sq. The chronology has been corrected according to Bayhaqi, 676 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Turkestan*, 314.

<sup>5</sup> [Ancient *Haemus*, called *Balkan* by the Turkmans in recollection of their ancient country by Mt. Balkhan, on the eastern coast of the Caspian.].

### III. FROM THE END OR THE 11TH CENTURY TO THE MONGOL INVASION

Owing to the formation of the Seljuq empire the Oghuz, or Turkman, people acquired for the Muslim world an importance which no other Turkish people enjoyed in the Middle Ages. That is why it has received comparatively more attention and why we find in Muslim literature a detailed enumeration of the clans and tribes into which the Oghuz were subdivided. We possess no similar data for any other Turkish people.

The list of the divisions of the Oghuz people has come down to us in two independent versions. The first is to be found in the work of Maḥmūd Kāshghari <sup>1</sup>, the second in that of Rashīd al-dīn <sup>2</sup>. The first version remained quite unknown until recently, while the second has been often utilised, among others by the 15th century author of the history of the Seljuk house <sup>3</sup>.

We have seen that according to Mahmud Kashghari there were originally twenty-four Oghuz clans, though two of these (their names are not given) were formed by the Khalaj who had separated themselves from the Oghuz, so that in the author's time there were twenty-two Oghuz clans which he proceeds to enumerate. All he has to say on the origin of their names is that each of them was the name of the ancestor of the corresponding clan. According to Rashīd al-dīn, from the earliest times to his day there had always been twenty-four Oghuz clans which all stemmed from the common ancestor of the Oghuz, Oghuz-khan. He had six sons, each of whom had in his turn four sons. The names of these grandsons became the names of the clans descended from them. Rashid al-din gives the meaning of each of these twenty-four names. Twenty-one of these coincide with the corresponding names given by Mahmud Kashghari, the only dif-

<sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd Kāshghari, I, 56 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Trudi*, VII, 32 sq.

<sup>3</sup> MS. As. Mus. 590a, pp. 21-25.

ference being that the latter quotes them in a more archaic form. The names are the following (in the order in which Mahmud Kashghari gives them) :

*Mahmūd Kāshghari*

Qīniq  
Qayīgh  
Bayundur  
Ive, or Iyve  
Salghur  
Afshar  
Bektili  
Bükdüz  
Bayat  
Yazghir  
Eymür  
Qara-bülük  
Alqa-bülük  
Igder  
Ürekir, or Yürekir  
Tutırqa  
Ula-yondlug  
Tüker  
Becheneg  
Juvaldar  
Jebni

*Rashīd al-dīn* <sup>1</sup>

Qīniq  
Qayī  
Bayundur  
Yive  
Salur  
Avshar  
Bekdili  
Bükdüz  
Bayat  
Yazir  
Eymür  
Qara-evli  
Alqir-evli  
Yigder  
Ürekir  
Dudurgha  
Ula-yontli  
Düker  
Bijne  
Javuldur  
Chebni

Only the last three names are quoted by Rashid al-din in the same order as by Mahmud Kashghari. For the rest the order of enumeration is quite different. The last, twenty-second name given by Mahmud Kashghari, Jaruklugh or Charuklugh <sup>2</sup> (the author apparently did not distinguish between the sounds *j* and *č*)

<sup>1</sup> Mahmud Kashghari vocalises the names; we presume that Rashid al-din has the same pronunciation if the spelling does not contradict it.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this clan was evidently connected with the name of the tribe Jaruq or Charuq, living in Kashgharia, in the town of Barchuq (now Maral-bashi). See *Mahmūd Kāshghari*, I, 318.

has no parallel in Rashid al-din. Rashid al-din gives three names absent in Mahmud Kashghari: Yayirli, Qariq [Qiriq? V.M.] and Qarqin. Both authors give the *tamghas* of each clan (the term itself is only in Rashid al-din) which were used for branding the herds belonging to it. According to Rashid al-din the *tamghas* had been introduced to avoid disputes about ownership. The *tamghas* reproduced in Mahmud Kashghari's text differ considerably from those given in Rashid al-din's. More reliance should be placed on Mahmud Kashghari's text not only because it is earlier in time, but also because it is based on a good copy made in A.D. 1266 from the author's autograph. It is possible that the *tamgha* of the Qiniq clan from which the Seljuk dynasty arose, has been preserved on the coins of the first Seljuk sultans (having a similarity with the *tamgha* reproduced by Mahmud Kashghari). Rashid al-din provides some data which are absent in Mahmud Kashghari. Thus we learn from him that some remnants of totemism survived among the Oghuz even after their conversion to Islam. Each clan revered some bird which the members of the clan neither touched nor ate. Such a totem was designated by the term *onghun* or *uyghun*<sup>1</sup>. It was also strictly established what part of the meat each clan had the right to during common feasts (though there is no Turkish term for such shares). Only six, not twenty-four, *onghuns* and parts of meat were distinguished, one for every four clans, to suit the number of Oghuz-khan's sons. Neither in Mahmud Kashghari not in Rashid al-din does one find any information about the geographical distribution of the clans.

How far the difference in the spelling of the names by the two authors reflects the evolution of the language between the second half of the 11th and the beginning of the 14th century is a moot question. Mahmud Kashghari may have spelt the names in the way in which he himself pronounced them and not as they were pronounced by the Oghuz. Information that he himself gives on

<sup>1</sup> On the pronunciation see Radloff's *Versuch*, I, 1645, where it is also said that in Central Asia the same word meant *tamgha*. In ethnological literature the Mongol word *ongon* that has a somewhat different meaning is generally accepted. Cf. Potanin, *Ocherki sev.-zap. Mongolii*, IV, 93 sq.

the Turkish language and its dialects shows the existence in those days of the phonetic features which even to-day characterise the dialects of the southern group: initial voiced consonants instead of surds (*d* for *t*), the dropping of the voiced guttural (*ğ*) in the middle and at the end of words etc. <sup>1</sup>. It also shows that the Turkman language differed in its vocabulary from the more eastern dialects very much to the same degree as it does now. Of particular interest for the historian are those cultural terms which the Oghuz brought to the west from Central Asia though they were unknown to the Central Asian Turks. There existed already at that time the word *tughra* which was later used to designate the seal of the Ottoman sultans; in the Seljuk empire an adjective, *tughrāʾī* <sup>2</sup> derived from it was used to designate the "keeper of the seal", one of the principal dignitaries of the empire mentioned next to the vazir <sup>3</sup>; the terms existed already in the 11th century. Mahmud Kashghari <sup>4</sup> gives the word *tughra* in the form *tughragh*, adding: "thus is called the royal seal in the language of the Oghuz; the Turks do not know this word, and I do not know its provenance". However, in the same passage and elsewhere <sup>5</sup> *tughragh* is also given in another meaning: "thus is called every horse which the king gives to his army on the day of taking the field ...; later (these horses) are returned to him after the halt (in the operations?)". In the second passage one finds added to this sentence: "and also, in the Oghuz language, a letter when a seal is apposed to it". The word *yarliq* used in approximately the same sense by other Turks (and later by the Mongols) was unknown to the Oghuz <sup>6</sup>.

The scarcity and vagueness of the terminology make it difficult to get a clear idea of the tribal organisation of the Oghuz, as of any other nomad peoples. In my study on Ulughbeg <sup>7</sup> I quote

<sup>1</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, I, 32 and 35.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, II, 132 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Nizam-oul-Moulk, texte persan, éd. par Ch. Schefer, Paris 1891, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, I, 385

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 217.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 31.

<sup>7</sup> V. Barthold, *Ulughbeg*, Petrograd 1918, p. 24; English translation, Leiden 1958, p. 27.



examples of the use of different terms having the same meaning, and it is improbable that the strict terminology quoted by Radloff from the dictionary of Ahmad Vefik-pasha was adhered to anywhere and at any time. In that list <sup>1</sup> the term *boy* is mentioned as referring to one of the small tribal subdivisions. As far as I know, it does not exist in the living Turkman language; in Mahmud Kashghari <sup>2</sup> it designates large tribal divisions of the Oghuz, and in this sense it was known to the 15th century author of the *History of the Seljuk house* <sup>3</sup>. Kashghari is silent about the relations between the *boy-s*; nor does he say anything about that military division of all the Oghuz which is mentioned by Rashid al-din, namely the division of their tribes into a right and a left wing <sup>4</sup>, or, as they were also called, into *buzuq* and *uchuq* <sup>5</sup>, each consisting of 12 tribes, and the *buzuq* tribes having recognised seniority. However, the Qiniq tribe from which rose the Seljuk dynasty was counted among the *uchuq* tribes, as was also the Salur (Salghur) tribe which, according to the tradition, was at one time the principal one among all the Oghuz. The division of the Oghuz into *buzuq* and *uchuq* tribes existed in the pre-Mongol period and is mentioned by Ibn al-Athir <sup>6</sup>. Rashid al-din explains these terms as meaning "broken" and "three arrows" and quotes the following legend. One day the sons of Oghuz-khan found a golden bow and three arrows and asked their father to divide their find among them. Oghuz-khan broke the bow into three pieces and gave one to each of his three elder sons, and

<sup>1</sup> Radloff, *Versuch*, I, 1697 (under *ulus*). The term *boy* is not given at its place in the alphabetical order.

<sup>2</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, III, 103; cf. II, 218. The Arabic words *qabīla* and *batn* are used here with the same vagueness as the Turkish terms; cf. I, 56, where the idea of a *qabīla* is spread over the entire Oghuz people. [On the somewhat limited meaning of the term *boy* under the Aq-qoyunlu (A.D. 1476) see Minorsky, *BSOAS*, 1939, X/1, p. 164.].

<sup>3</sup> MS. As. Mus., 590ba, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> In Kashghari's time (I, 69; III, 114) the Oghuz used for "right" a special word *sagh*, instead of *ong* used by the Turks.

<sup>5</sup> [Most probably *\*bozuq* "(those of the) broken (bow)", and *\*üch-oq* "(those of the) three arrows", see below. V.M.].

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Athir, XI, 54.

to his younger sons he gave an arrow each. A non-Muslim legend about Oghuz-khan, also belonging to the Mongol epoch, tells a similar story with the difference that the bow was of gold and the arrows of silver, and that they had previously been seen by Oghuz-khan in a dream <sup>1</sup>.

The "Oghuz" naturally realised the special position they held among the Turkish peoples. The term *Chigil* <sup>2</sup>, which was the name of one of the Turkish peoples living in the present-day Jetisu (Semirechye) <sup>3</sup>, was used, according to Kashghari, to designate all the "Turks" beyond the Amu-darya down to "Upper" China, i.e. South China <sup>4</sup> which remained in the 10th century and after under the rule of the national Sung dynasty while Northern China had been conquered by aliens. The name of Chigil was originally borne by a small town not far distant from Taraz (Talas, or Aulia-Ata?), also mentioned in some other sources <sup>5</sup>. This town, allegedly built by Alexander of Macedonia, was continuously attacked by the neighbouring Oghuz, and this hostility persisted in the days of Mahmud Kashghari, i.e. in the second half of the 11th century.

It is remarkable that the name of Oghuz does not appear in the Turkish genealogical epics in the form in which they circulated during the epoch of the Seljuq empire, while that of Chigil does. In the Middle Ages, both in the Muslim and in the Christian world, genealogical conceptions were connected with Biblical legends. Far more definitely than either the Christians or the Jews, the Muslims regarded Noah's three sons as the ancestors of the three human races of the Old World — the white, the black and the yellow. In the latter case it was not the colour of the skin but the broad face, and small eyes that were taken as the basic features <sup>6</sup>. The ancestor of the peoples belonging to this

<sup>1</sup> V. Radloff, *Das Kudatku Bilik*, Theil I, p. XIII; text *ibid.*, 242 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This pronunciation is determined by the artificial etymology (Persian *chi-gil* — "what kind of clay?") quoted by Mahmud Kashghari, I, 330.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my *History of Semirechye*, p. 16 sq.; Engl. transl. p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> About the three Şin, the Upper, the Central and the Lower, see Kashghari, I, 378.

<sup>5</sup> V. Barthold, *Otchet*, SPb., 1897, p. 15 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Tabari, *Annals*, I, 223.

third race was taken to be Japhet, and at first among his progeny, besides the Turks, figured only the Slavs and the mythical Gog and Magog of the Bible. Japhet was most often called the ancestor of the Turks, and as late as in the 19th century A.D. there were European scholars <sup>1</sup> who suggested calling the Old Turkish language "Japhetic". The supposed descendants of Japhet were acting at that time not as creators of culture but as its destroyers, which allowed to assert that there was nothing good in the children of Japhet. This could naturally not be said by the subjects of the Seljuq sultans, and the anonymous Persian author who wrote in the 12th century <sup>2</sup> makes an exception in favour of the two "clever" sons of Japhet, Turk and Khazar, while admitting that their brothers were no good. Of Turk's sons this author names four: Tūtel [Tong? V.M.], Chigil, Barskhān and Ilak. The three younger sons were the ancestors of the Chigil (i.e. perhaps of all the nomad Turks with the exception of the Oghuz), the Barskhanians (inhabitants of the town of Barskhān on the south-eastern side of the Issik-kul who had a special dialect) <sup>3</sup> and the Ilakians (Ilak was the name for the cultivated stretch of land along the Angren (Ahangarān) river which was at the time apparently regarded as turkicised). Nothing is said about the descendants of Tūtel who seems to be regarded as the ancestor of the Oghuz. These traditions were also utilised by the authors of the post-Mongolian period who amalgamated them with the traditions of the Mongolian time. Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī <sup>4</sup>, author of the history of Timur (15th c. A.D.), names the same four sons of Turk but his further narrative is somewhat confused; he again speaks of Japhet and names Abulja (the manuscripts give several variants of the names) as a son of his, whereas Rashīd al-dīn <sup>5</sup> considers him identical with Japhet. Both Rashīd al-dīn and Sharaf al-dīn represent Oghuz-khan, son of Qara-khan, as a descendant of Abulja-khan, with the only difference that the

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, I, 1811, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Mahmud Kashghari, III, 182.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction, MS. As. Mus. c 568, f. 226 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Ob.*, VII, 13 below.

genealogy given by Sharaf al-din is more complicated and contains more generations. According to Rashid al-din Abulja-khan had a son, Dib-Bakuy, one of whose sons was Qara-khan; according to Sharaf al-din, Qara-khan was the son of Moghol-khan. Moghol and Tatar were twin brothers, ancestors of the Mongols and the Tatars; between them and Dib-Bakuy there were two more generations. The origins of the Ghuz as a people are mentioned in another genealogy quite unconnected with Oghuz-khan; according to it one of Japhet's seven sons was called Mening (or Ming?), and his son was that Ghuz from whom stemmed the Ghuz, "the worst of all the Turkish peoples" <sup>1</sup>. Rashid al-din <sup>2</sup> on the contrary recognises all the Turkmans, as many as there are in the world, as descendants of the twenty-four grandsons of Oghuz-khan, adding that formerly the appellation *Turkman* did not exist and the Oghuz, like all the other Turkish tribes, were simply called *Turks*; it was only after they had come to Mawarannahr and Iran that "owing to the water and the air" of those lands they had become partly, though not completely, similar to the Tājiks, so that others began to call them *Turkmān*, i.e. "Turk-like".

According to Rashid al-din <sup>3</sup> the Turks always knew exactly from what clan this or that king or amir of theirs originated. The Seljuk sultans who reigned for 400 years (actually a much shorter time) in Iran and Turan and who subjugated all the lands stretching from the frontiers of Egypt to China, sprang from the Qīnīq clan.

The sources do not give us any exact information about the position which the Turkmans occupied in the empire which they had created. The Turkish translator of Ravandi's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* asserts that under sultan Sanjar (A.D. 1118-1157) Oghuz customs were still strictly observed; thus the chief bek of the right wing was always chosen from among the Qayī and Bayat tribes, and the chief bek of the left wing from among the Bayundur

<sup>1</sup> Sharaf al-din, *l.c.*, f. 22b.

<sup>2</sup> Trudi, VII, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 39.

and Pecheneg tribes<sup>1</sup>. This information is absent in the Persian original<sup>2</sup>. Thanks to the work of the vazir Nizām al-mulk, who for thirty years (A.D. 1064-1092) administered the Seljuk empire, we dispose of sufficiently detailed data on the organisation of this empire at the end of the 11th century. One of the chapters of this work (ch. 26) is devoted to the Turkmans. In it the author says that the Turkmans are a burden to the state but have to be reckoned with in view of their services to the dynasty and their family ties with it. Nizām al-mulk advises the sultan to select 1000 young Turkmans, enrol them among the *ghulāms* (guards) of the palace, and gradually accustom them for service at the court so that they should become used to people and lose their former aloofness. On this pattern it would become possible, in case of need, to form a force of 5,000-10,000 men, equipping them similarly to the *ghulāms* so that they too should enjoy the same privileges: the king would be glorified and they themselves would be content<sup>3</sup>. In fact such a measure could have been of advantage only to a few, and the enrolment among the "ghulams of the palace", i.e. the guards of the sultan consisting mainly of bought slaves, would hardly have satisfied the Turkmans. Apparently the sultan found a more effective means of ridding the agricultural and urban population of Persia of the "burden" constituted by the proximity of the nomads by sending the Turkmans to the border provinces of the Seljuq empire where a holy war against the Byzantines and the Georgians was going on. This can be the only explanation of the gradual turkicisation of Asia Minor and Azarbayjān.

The Turkmans took part in all the conquests of the Seljuq dynasty and, after its decay, in those of their successors, the atabegs (tutors of the young Seljuq princes who later became independent rulers). When in A.D. 1164 the Syrian atabeg Nūr

<sup>1</sup> MS. As. Mus., 590ba, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> The text of Ravandi's work on Sultan Sanjar was published already in 1886 by Schefer, *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux*, 31-47. Cf. the GMS edition, N.S., II, 1921, pp. 167-174.

<sup>3</sup> Nizām al-Mulk, *Siasat Nameh*, texte éd. par Ch. Schéfer, Paris 1891, p. 94.

al-dīn Maḥmūd sent an expedition to Egypt, Turkmans took part in it; when one of the generals of this expeditionary force, the Kurd Salāḥ al-dīn Yūsuf (Saladin) conquered Egypt, Syria and Tripoli, and founded the Ayyūbid dynasty, "Ghuz" also participated in his African campaigns; some of them took service under the amir Abū-Yūsuf Yaʿqūb (A.D. 1184-1199), of the Almohad dynasty which ruled in North Africa and southern Spain. A Ghuz, Amir Shaʿban, was granted a large estate in Spain which yielded a revenue of 7,000 dinars (up to £ 3,500). In general the Ghuz held high positions in the Almohad state<sup>1</sup>. There were Turkmans in the Mamlūk state which rose after the fall of the Ayyūbid dynasty in Egypt and Syria. The 15th century Egyptian writer Zāhiri<sup>2</sup> enumerates the Turkman tribes which lived in the area between Gaza and Diyārbakr, though he says nothing about their geographical distribution; among the names of these tribes we find the names spelt Üch-Okhlu and Buz-Okhlu, with the substitution of *kh* for *q*, usual with some southern Turkic dialects. Of the tribes enumerated by Zāhiri only one had any political importance, that of *Ibn-Dulghadir* (the Turkish appellation of the tribe which the Arabs called *Dhu'l-Qadr*). The seizure by the Ottomans of the Dulghadir possessions in Asia Minor (comprising the towns of Marʿash and Albi-stān), which were under the suzerainty of the Mamluks, was one of the causes of the war between the Mamluks and the Ottoman sultans that ended in the fall of the Mamluk state<sup>3</sup>. In the dynastic history of the Muslim world we find the term *Turkman* only once for a period of a hundred odd years, namely from the second half of the 14th century to the beginning of the 16th century; this was the time of the supremacy of the Turkman dynasties of the Qara-qoyunlu and the Aq-qoyunlu<sup>4</sup>. The first

<sup>1</sup> Abdo'l-Wahid al-Marrakoshi, ed. Dozy, Leyden 1881, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Khalīl ed-Dāhiry, *Zoubdat Kachf el Mamālik*, texte publié par P. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Mir Islama*, 1912, p. 373. See *Dhu'l-kadr* in *E.I.*, I, 1000 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Muhammedan dynasties*, transl. Barthold, SPb., 1899, pp. 214 sq., 302.

stemmed from the Bahārlu<sup>1</sup> tribe, the second from the old Bayundur tribe figuring in the lists of Kashghari and Rashīd al-dīn. Possibly under the Aq-qoyunlu the cycle of epic tales was created which is connected with the name of the singer and patriarch Qorqut, who expressed and preserved the wisdom of the people. In these tales Bayundur-khan is represented as the head of all the Oghuz. It is known that the traditions of Qorqut have survived also in Turkmenia itself but this is merely hinted at in learned literature<sup>2</sup> and no attempts have been made to collect such legends.

In the history of Muslim countries many individual rulers of Turkman extraction are mentioned, down to Nādir-shāh (A.D. 1736-1747), who belonged to the Afshar tribe, also named in Kashghari's list. But the rise of rulers from among the Turkmen had little effect, if any, on the life of the Turkman people as a whole. One of the atabeg dynasties was that of the Salghurids<sup>3</sup> in Fars (A.D. 1148-1287); but there are no historical data to show whether this dynasty had any connection with the Salghur (now Salor or Salīr) tribe. According to some historians the term *Salghur* should in this case be taken as the personal name of the ancestor of the dynasty and not as a tribal name; but from what the 14th century historian Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī has to say<sup>4</sup> it is clear that already in his time there existed no exact information on the origins of the Salghurid dynasty.

The Ghuz, as a people, appear on the scene during the last years of the reign of Sultan Sanjar (A.D. 1118-1157) when they rebelled and took him prisoner; in A.D. 1156, after three years of captivity he escaped to Tirmidh and from there returned to Marv where he died in the following year<sup>5</sup>. After their victory

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar dominion*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> A. G. Toumansky in *ZVO*, IX, 272 (reference to the tale of the Ersari mullah). Prof. Samoylovich published in *DAN*, B, 1927, 41 sq., a poem, omitted in Toumansky's translation, in honour of Salor-Qazan, ascribed to Qorqut.

<sup>3</sup> Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, transl. Barthold, p. 415.

<sup>4</sup> *GMS*, text, 503 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See the details in the articles by K. A. Inostrantsev and mine in *ZVO*, XX, 042 sq.; V. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 352 sq.

over the sultan the Ghuz plundered Marv, Nishāpūr and some other towns of Khorasan, but were obliged to retreat before the walls of Herat <sup>1</sup>.

These Ghuz were divided into Buzuq and Uchuq tribes, from which one might have imagined that the entire Turkman people was meant here. In fact it was only a small group of Turkmen from the region of Balkh (northern Afghanistan), and it is said also that these Ghuz had not followed the Seljuks to Iran but had remained in Mawarannahr from where they had been driven out not long before by another Turkish people, the Qarluq <sup>2</sup>. The names of the "amirs" of the Ghuz are given as Qorqut b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, head of the Buzuq group, and Dudu b. Dadik (according to an official document: Dudu b. Isḥaq b. Khizr), head of the Uchuq group. In a document written in A.D. 1156 the Khwārazmshāh Atsiz reminds Dudu-bek that he, the Khwarazmshah, had often given hospitality to the Ghuz in Khwārazm <sup>3</sup> whither they probably went for the winter, as their ancestors had done in the 11th century in the days of Altuntash.

We know nothing of the fate of the two Ghuz chiefs named; even after the death of Sultan Sanjar the Ghuz remained supreme in certain towns of Khorasan, including Marv where in the cathedral mosque the *khutba* continued to be read in the name of the late Sultan Sanjar <sup>4</sup>, no living ruler having been recognised. Like the other elements that struggled among themselves for supremacy in Turkestan and Persia, the Ghuz gave way, in the same 12th century, to the dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs which for a short time took the leadership in the eastern part of the Muslim world and was in its turn destroyed in the 13th century by the Mongol invasion which opened a new period in the history of Central Asia and the Near East.

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, New Series II, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 116 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Turkestan*, I, 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 359.



## IV. FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The narrations of the historians of the Mongol conquests, like all detailed accounts of military events, contain valuable geographical and historico-geographical material. They tell what countries and towns the Mongols passed through (with topographical details in the reports on the siege of towns) and in what order, with what peoples and tribes they clashed and where in particular. These data are the more valuable as after the tenth century, the golden age of Muslim geographical literature, we possess no detailed descriptions of Muslim provinces and towns for the pre-Mongol period.

During the epoch of Mongol domination and that of Timur and the Timurids, historical, and to some extent geographical, literature flourished, but that only in Iran. Meanwhile neither the Golden Horde, nor Central Asia produced any historians whose writings have reached later generations, and only under the Uzbeks we find the first important historical works in Central Asia. In this regard too the Turkmans have been luckier than the others; just as for the pre-Mongol epoch we have information on the Turkman clans such as is lacking for other Turkic peoples, so during the period of the Uzbek khanates the Khwārazmian khan Abul-Ghāzī (1603-1663) wrote in 1660<sup>1</sup> a special historical work on the Turkmans<sup>2</sup>, the like of which

<sup>1</sup> In the year of the Mouse (*Genealogy*, 19); the corresponding year of the Hijra is given there as 1071 (A.D. 1660-1), and at the end, p. 74, as 1070 (A.D. 1659-60).

<sup>2</sup> This work has not been published yet in the original; the Russian translation by A. Toumansky, *The genealogy of the Turkmans*, was published in Askhabad in 1897. The same information is partly contained in a somewhat later important work by Abul-Ghāzī on the Turks in general (*Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares* par Aboulghāzi Behādour Khan, publ., traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaisons, I — Texte, II — Traduction, St. Pétersbourg 1871-1874. [The critical edition of the text of the *Genealogy* with a Russian translation was published by Prof. A. Kononov in 1958.]

does not exist for any other Turkic people. One has to admit however that Abul-Ghāzī's *Genealogy* must be utilised with great caution because, apart from the data borrowed from Rashīd al-dīn, it is exclusively based on oral tradition.

In Abul-Ghāzī's days the Turkmans remembered, as they apparently do even to-day, that they had come from the banks of the Sīr-darya; Abul-Ghāzī uses the term "rear" (*arqa-taraf*) which, according to the Russian translator<sup>1</sup> "is used among the Turkish peoples of Central Asia with regard to the country which that particular people regards as its original home. The Turkmans take theirs to be the banks of the Sīr-daryā". In the time of Chingiz-khan not all the Turkmans had left the banks of that river. When early in 1220 Chingiz-khan took the town of Zarnūq on the left bank of the Sīr-darya, below Süt Kand, a "guide from among the local Turkmans" who knew the road well, showed the Mongols a road from there to the town of Nūr (in the region of Bukhara) which had not been used until then<sup>2</sup>. Quite different were the relations between the Mongols and the Turkmans on the lower course of the river. The Mongol army, operating there under the command of Chingiz-khan's eldest son Juchi, took Jand, whence a small detachment was sent to occupy Yangikant; from there a force of 10,000 men formed from "nomad Turkmans" was directed upon Khwārazm. At the head of this force was the Mongol general Taynal who went forward leaving his lieutenant in command of the Turkmans. The Turkmans rebelled and killed their Mongol officers, on learning which Taynal returned and wiped out the greater part of the Turkmans. Those who escaped fled to Marv and Amūye (Charjuy)<sup>3</sup>.

Within the limits of the present-day Turkmenia a special importance was enjoyed by the Yazir clan (Mahmud Kashghari, as we have seen, uses the more archaic form *Yazghir*), the only Turkman clan which already in the 12th and 13th centuries was connected with a definite locality. The Yazirs were so numerous

<sup>1</sup> *Genealogy*, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Juvaynī, *GMS*, XVI, 77 sq. *Turkestan*, 439. On the location of Zarnūq see also *Irrigation*, 146.

<sup>3</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 69 sq.

that they were regarded as a separate people. Ibn al-Athīr <sup>1</sup> speaks of “Yazīr Turks”.

In 1160 an army of the Khwārazmshāh Il-Arslan attacked the “Yazīr Turks” who were led by Yaghmur-khan, and defeated them. Many Turkmans were killed. Yaghmur appealed to the “Khorasan Ghuz” for help, and together with them marched against the prince of Dihistān, Aytaq, whom he considered responsible for the attack of the Khwārazmians. Aytaq sought the aid of the shāh of Māzandarān who set out with a numerous army composed of “Kurds, Daylamites, Turks and Turkmans”, living in the vicinity of Abaskun (at the estuary of the Gurgān). The encounter took place not far from Dihistān; five times the Māzandarānian army put to flight the “Ghuz and Yazīr Turks”. Aytaq was with the right wing. Having lost all hope of overcoming the centre of the Māzandarānians, the “Ghuz Turks” attacked Aytaq who fled, and with him the Māzandarānian army. The shah of Māzandarān returned to his capital Sārī with great losses; merchants who were in the vicinity of the battle-field buried the dead and counted up to 7,000 of them. Aytaq fled to Khwārazm and remained there. Immediately after the battle the Ghuz (the “Yazīr” are no longer named) took by storm and plundered Dihistān in January 1161, after which they “devastated Jurjān (the region along the Gurgān) and drove away its inhabitants into various provinces”, and then returned to Khorasan.

According to Muhammad Bakran (author of the geographical work <sup>2</sup> *Jahān-nāma*) who wrote in the early 13th century, the “Yazīrs are a tribe from among the Turks; they came to the border of Balkhan and its mountains. They were joined by a tribe from Manghishlaq and by another from Khorasan. Then their numbers increased, they grew stronger, left that place and came to the limits of Shahristān <sup>3</sup> and Farāva <sup>4</sup>, and later settled

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athir, XI, 171 sq. Cf. *Turkestan*, 359.

<sup>2</sup> On him see *Turkestan*, I, 81 sq.; II, 37.

<sup>3</sup> See *Irrigation*, 40 (1 farsakh, i.e. 6-8 km. to the north of Nesā, not far from Ashkhabad).

<sup>4</sup> Now Qizil-arvat (*ibid.*).

in the fortress of Tāq. Now they consist of the following groups: the pure Yazīr, those from Manghīshlaq and the Persian (Pārsī) ones" <sup>1</sup>.

Yazīr formed a separate dominion which in the 13th century was ruled for eleven years by Hindū-khān who had deposed his brother ʿOmar-khān; he had wanted to blind him and, although the order was not carried out, ʿOmar-khān throughout his brother's reign pretended to be blind. After Hindū-khān's death, Turkān-[Tärkän?]-khātun, the mother of the Khwārazmshāh Muhammad, annexed Yazīr to Khwārazm in view of the marriage ties between the last ruler and the tribe to which the queen herself belonged. ʿOmar-khān pressed his claims but without success. For his long-suffering patience he received the nickname Şabūr-khan. In A.D. 1220 he accompanied Turkan-khatun in her flight from Khwarazm, and was killed on her orders on the boundary of the Yazīr province <sup>2</sup>.

According to Abul-Ghāzī the Yazīr had come to Khorasan and lived for many years near Durūn; therefore Durūn was called their *yurt*. Some of the Yazīr went to live in the hills near Durūn and took up agriculture; they were later called Qarataşlı <sup>3</sup>. According to the most recent data the Qaradaşlıs (the usual south-Turkish substitution of *d* for *t*) are "a considerable Turkman tribe living in the Ilyālī region <sup>4</sup>. The Qaradaşlı are also mentioned on the Amu-darya below Chārjūy, in the Deynau region <sup>5</sup>. At the end of the 18th century and in the beginning of the 19th the Qaradaşlı were driven out of the Akhal oasis by the Teke <sup>6</sup>.

Abūl-Ghāzī's information needs a correction: the name Durūn

<sup>1</sup> Text and translation by Toumansky, *ZVO*, IX, 303.

<sup>2</sup> Nasawi, ed. Houdas, 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Genealogy*, 58; *ZVO*, IX, 302; cf. on the Yazīr *Genealogy*, 38: "From among the Yazīr there was also a king, and around the Yazīr small tribes gathered". This item of information seems to have been in Rashīd al-dīn, but the word "Yazīr" is omitted in the MSS. (*Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Ob.*, VII, 39).

<sup>4</sup> *Materials for the regioning of Central Asia*. Book 2, *Territory and population of Bukhara and Khwarazm*, part II, Tashkent 1926, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, part I, p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> A. Samoylovich, *Abdu-s-Sattar-qazī*, SPb., 1914, p. 091.

(now ruins near the railway station of Bahārden) appears in local toponymy later than the name Yazīr; it seems to be mentioned for the first time in the account of Timur's expedition in 1384<sup>1</sup>. In the region which the Yazīr occupied they found only the fortress Tāq. In a passage the historian Juvayni calls this fortress "Taq of the Yazīr"<sup>2</sup>; later the name *Taq* disappears and alone the name *Yazīr* has remained. The 14th century author Ḥamdul-lāh Qazvīnī describes Yazīr as a town of medium size whose district was rich in grain<sup>3</sup>.

In connection with the migrations of the Yazīr one regrets the paucity of information on the Manghishlaq peninsula. Above we have quoted Istakhri on the seizure of Manghishlaq by the Turks and their plundering of ships that came to grief on the shores of that peninsula. In the 12th century the situation was different: a special Muslim dominion was formed which, together with Jand on the Sīr-darya, was regarded as a march of the Muslims and a bastion in the war against the infidels. Not far from the sea, probably on the coast, there stood a stronghold "between Khwarazm, Saqsin and the Russian possessions". From this expression of Yāqūt's<sup>4</sup> it is evident that already at that time there existed a trade-route, not mentioned in the 10th century, from Russia across the estuary of the Volga and the Manghishlaq peninsula to Khwarazm. In fact this road was used by the Moscow state in the 17th century and later. The location of Saqsin remains doubtful, but the report of Gharnatī (12th c.)<sup>5</sup>, the only Muslim author who visited Saqsin, leads one to suppose that this town was situated near the estuary of the Volga and had the same importance for trade as had Itil in the 10th century and Astrakhan after the 11th century. In the 12th century the only state which

<sup>1</sup> *Zafarnāmah*, ed. Calcutta, I, 382. *Irrigation*, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 120 and 122; the editor adopted a faulty reading.

<sup>3</sup> *GMS*., XXIII, 1, 159 and 2, 155 (also a faulty reading).

<sup>4</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 670, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Text in *J. As.*, CCVII (1925), especially p. 115. Cf. also the opinion of Westberg (*IAN*, 1899, 291) and Marquart (*Abh. Gött.*, Neue Folge, Bd. XIII, No. 1, 1914, 56). [It is probable that Saqsin is only a contraction of the name Sāigh-sin which Ibn Khurdadhbīh mentions at the estuary of the Volga. V.M.].

could contemplate seizing the main points of this trade route was Khwārazm; the Khwārazm-shāh Atsiz succeeded in conquering Manghishlaq where he seems to have encountered stubborn resistance. An Arab poet living in Khwarazm says, addressing himself to Atsiz: "You sent, as an ordeal for Manghishlaq, a bolt of lightning from the skies from which all the inhabitants perished" <sup>1</sup>. In 1138 Sultan Sanjar temporarily succeeded in defeating Atsiz and conquering Khwarazm; a document composed on this occasion <sup>2</sup> rebuked the Khwārazmshāh for shedding the blood of Muslims and ghāzīs in Manghishlaq and Jand without the sultan's permission. The Khwarazmshah's reaction to these reproofs was open rebellion. However, a letter addressed to the vazir of Baghdad in A.D. 1133, also in the name of Sultan Sanjar, contains an expression of full approval of the Khwarazmshah's expedition from Jand (which was evidently already in his power) into the interior of Turkestan <sup>3</sup>. After his defeat Atsiz temporarily lost Jand, and later (in 1152) had to conquer it anew <sup>4</sup>; we possess no information as to whether his power in Manghishlaq had been weakened. Manghishlaq is subsequently mentioned several times in documents of the Khwarazmshahs as a province belonging to them <sup>5</sup>. When the Khwarazmshah Muhammad, who had fled from the Mongols, died in 1220 on an island off Abaskūn, his sons left for Manghishlaq where the local inhabitants supplied them with horses <sup>6</sup>; nothing is said about the stronghold which had stood there.

According to Gharnati <sup>7</sup> the Khwarazmshah 'Alā al-daula (meaning apparently Atsiz) for forty years (no Khwarazmshah ruled for that length of time) tried to conquer Saqsin — apparently without success. Saqsin was conquered only by the Mongols in 1229, as can be inferred from the account of the Russian

<sup>1</sup> Yāqūt, l.c.

<sup>2</sup> *Turkestan*, I, 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 41 sq.; II, 351 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 34, 79.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 466.

<sup>7</sup> *J. As.*, CCVII, 88.

<sup>8</sup> *Laurentyev Chronicle*, SPb., 1872, p. 430.

Chronicle<sup>8</sup> of the flight of the surviving "Saksins and Polovtsi" to the Bulgars. The "Saksins" are named here as a separate people. Westberg<sup>1</sup> takes this term as but another name for the Khazars; Marquart<sup>2</sup> refers to Gharnaṭi's report as quoted by Zakariyyā Qazvīnī<sup>3</sup> that the town of Saqsin was owned by forty Ghuz tribes, but Gharnaṭi's text which has now been published contains no such passage. The question of the ethnographic origin of the inhabitants of the town of Saqsin thus remains still unsolved.

The Turkmans are also mentioned in the accounts of Mongol operations in the vicinity of Marv in 1220<sup>4</sup>. Bahā al-mulk, the newly appointed vazir of Marv, withdrew to the stronghold of Tāq (Yazir), whence he went on to Mazandaran. He finally submitted to the Mongols and received aid from them for the purpose of occupying Marv. During his absence Marv was seized first by the sultan's former guide, the Turkman Bugha, who drew support from "the Turkmans of those parts" as well as from the soldiers who had fled before the Mongols; later, in 1221, the former vazir of the town, Mujir al-mulk, ousted Bugha who was obliged to submit to him although "the Turkmans and soldiers of the town" numbered more than 70,000. While Mujir al-mulk was preparing for the Mongol attack, Ikhtiyār al-dīn, the former ruler of the town, arrived in Marv from Amūye (Charjuy) which had been taken by the Mongols. In Marv he joined "the other Turkmans" who elected him their leader. An additional force of 2,000 men followed by "Turkmans and the sultan's Turks" arrived from Khorasan. Mujir al-mulk and Ikhtiyār al-dīn fell out; the Turkmans wanted to seize the town but were thwarted by the measures taken by Mujir al-mulk. They withdrew to the bank of the river (probably the Amu-darya) and from there raided the country around Marv. During one such raid a Turkman force, twelve thousand strong, was ambushed by the Mongols; later the same happened to the main Turkman forces

<sup>1</sup> *IAN*, 1899, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Abh. Gött.*, Neue Folge, Bd. XIII, p. 56, 102, 111 (No. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Qazvini, ed. Wüstenfeld, *Gött.*, 1848, II, 402, below.

<sup>4</sup> Zhukovsky, *Ruins of ancient Marv*, SPb. 1894, p. 48 sq. The main source is Juvayni (*GMS*, XVI, 119 sq.).

numbering over 70,000<sup>1</sup>. During the disorders which prevailed in Marv and its neighbourhood in 1222<sup>2</sup> a certain Arslan seized the power in the town. When news from Marv reached Nesā, the Turkman Tāj al-dīn ʿOmar b. Masʿūd collected a crowd of his fellow-tribesmen and marched to Marv where the inhabitants voluntarily submitted to him. He mustered 10,000 troops and for six months ruled in Marv, Abīvard and Kharāqān<sup>3</sup>, sending detachments to the upper Murghab to attack the Mongol baggage-train stationed there. Tāj al-dīn decided to possess himself also of Nesā whose ruler, Nuṣrat al-dīn Ḥamza ibn-Muhammad, was a descendant of the local dynasty. During the siege there arrived from Yazīr in aid of the besieged a certain Pahlavān (perhaps Kush-tegin-Pahlavān, a former ruler of Marv who had fled to the Gurgān). The besieged made a sortie and in the ensuing battle Tāj al-dīn was killed. After this the region along the Murghāb fell entirely into the power of the Mongols who completed the destruction of Marv.

Yazīr and its Turkmans are also mentioned in the account of the events during the reign of the Khwārazmshāh Muhammad<sup>4</sup>. When in 1208 the participants in the rebellion of the governor of Nishapur, Qazli, realised the hopelessness of their enterprise, they held council about finding a way out of the situation. Among them was a "Turkman from Yazīr" who suggested marching in the direction of Yazīr, seizing the fortresses of that region and making a stand there. He volunteered to lead the way and take the fortresses by ruse. The inhabitants guessed his intention, arrested him and sent him in chains to the sultan. This account suggests that there were several strongholds in the Yazīr region. Nevertheless in the accounts of expeditions and migrations Yazīr is usually mentioned as a region through which all passed without stopping on their way to other places. When Turkān-[Tärkän]-khatun, mother of the Khwārazmshāh Muhammad, left Khwārazm at the time of the Mongol invasion, she went to Māzan-

<sup>1</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Turkestan*, II, 485. *GMS*, XVI, 131 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Not far from Marv. Cf. *Irrigation*, 60 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 2, p. 71 sq. *Turkestan*, II, 338.



darān by way of Yazīr and Dihistān<sup>1</sup>. When Chingiz-khan's youngest son Tuluy was entrusted with the conquest of Khorāsān, he took Marv, Nīshāpūr and Herat at the head of his troops, while the taking of the remaining Khorasan towns, and among them of Yazīr<sup>2</sup>, was left to separate Mongol detachments. Towards 1230, when the Mongols, temporarily driven from Persia by the victories of the Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-dīn, once again returned to Khorasan, Yazīr is mentioned among the towns which surrendered to them some voluntarily, some by force<sup>3</sup>.

Under the Mongols the different sections of the Turkman people, except those who had gone westwards to the Near East, were divided among the three principal states formed by the Mongols: the Golden Horde or the dominions of the Juchids, descendants of Chingiz-khan's eldest son; Persia, or the dominions of the descendants of Hulagu (son of Tuluy); and Central Asia, where in the 14th century the supreme power passed to the descendants of Chaghatay, Chingiz-khan's second son. The only source in which the boundaries between all these states seem to be more or less accurately described is the Chinese map of A.D. 1331<sup>4</sup>. On it Dihistān and Marv are shown as belonging to Persia; the northern part of Khwārazm with Urgenj (now Kunya-Urgenj) and the bank of the Sīr-darya from its estuary to Saurān — to the Golden Horde; and the southern part of Khwārazm — to the Chaghatay state. We are comparatively well informed on Persia of the Mongol epoch; we even possess a detailed geographical description of Persia, the work of Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī, completed in 1339<sup>5</sup>); but this work too has nothing to say about the Turkmans, and the very term *turkman* occurs only in one passage<sup>6</sup> where a "Turkman village" (Dih-i Turkmān or Turkmān-kendi, now Turkmānchay) is mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Juvayni, *GMS*, XVI, 2, 199, names only Dihistān; Nasawi has Yazīr, ed. Houdas, p. 39. V.s., p. 000.

<sup>2</sup> *GMS*, XVI, 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, 219.

<sup>4</sup> *Trudi Ross. Duh. Missii v Pekine*, IV; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, v. II.

<sup>5</sup> *GMS*, XXIII.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

in Āzarbayjān, on the road from Sultāniya to Tabrīz. In general the Turkmans who are most often mentioned are those who lived at the time to the west of the present-day Turkmenia; one interesting detail is given by the Arab geographer Ibn Saʿid (13th c.)<sup>1</sup> who says that the Turkmans of Asia Minor "make Turkman rugs which are exported to (various) countries". This seems to be the earliest record of Turkman carpets by an Oriental author<sup>2</sup>, and it is highly probable that the Turkmans of Asia Minor had brought this craft with them from Central Asia.

The Central Asian author Jamāl Qarshi who in 672/1273-4 visited Barchkand (or Barchīnlighkand) on the Sīr-darya writes that Turkmans were still living there<sup>3</sup>; this statement is interesting, if only the Arabic plural *tarākima* which he uses was not given in those days a social, rather than an ethnical sense, as is the case now in the Caucasus where *tarakima* denotes the poorest and least cultured elements of the nomad population.

At the time when the Mongol state in Persia was breaking up, there arose within the limits of the present-day Turkestan a state founded by the Chūnghurbāni tribe, probably Turkman<sup>4</sup>. Its ruler Arghun-shāh who was known for his building activity in the stronghold of Kalāt<sup>5</sup> held also the towns of Tūs, Qūchān, Abīvard, Nesā and the Marv oasis<sup>6</sup>; the chief inhabited place of the latter, after the destruction of Marv, was Māhān, on the site of present day Marv<sup>7</sup>. After the death of Aghun-shāh his dominions were divided between his sons, Muḥammad-bek and ʿAlī-bek; the former was the eldest but ʿAli-bek became better

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Abul-Fidā (*Géographie d'Aboulféda*, publ. par Reinaud, Paris 1840, p. 379).

<sup>2</sup> Marco Polo's account belongs to approximately the same time, *Marco Polo's travels*, Russian transl. by Minayev, SPb. 1903, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Turkestan*, I, 151.

<sup>4</sup> [This is doubtful. The name *Jwn-gh.rbān* is probably Mongol: *dzaun ghurban* "the three (divisions) of the left (wing)". The family of these rulers was apparently affiliated to the Oyrat governor of Khorasan Aghun-gha. See my article *Tūs* in *E.I.* V.M.].

<sup>5</sup> V. Barthold, *Istor.-geogr. ocherk Irana*, SPb. 1903, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>7</sup> *Irrigation*, 61.

known from his struggle against Timur. About 1362 Timur was taken prisoner by the Turkmans on the Murghāb and spent 62 days imprisoned in Māhān which belonged to ‘Ali-bek; then he was set free but was given no food for his journey. He was helped out of these straits by Mubārak-shāh, one of “the rich Turkmans of Māhān” and chief of the Sanjari clan. For this act of kindness Mubārak-shāh and his descendants enjoyed particular respect in Timur’s dominions <sup>1</sup>, and even in later times the members of the Sanjari clan are spoken of as Timur’s friends <sup>2</sup>. In 1382 ‘Ali-bek was defeated by Timur and sent to Farghāna where he was put to death in the following year. His wars with Timur left such a strong impression that even in the beginning of the 15th century the northern regions of Khorasan were called “Ali-bek’s Khorasan” <sup>3</sup>. However, the historical traditions of the Turkmans mention neither ‘Ali-bek, nor the Chūnghurbāni tribe, nor the Sanjari clan, nor the Arghun tribe which lived in the vicinity of Bukhara and was reckoned to the “Turkestan Turkmans” <sup>4</sup>.

Abul-Ghāzī quotes several traditions, of obviously legendary character, about the origins of the Turkman tribes. Like all legends these tales teem with chronological contradictions, and the author himself <sup>5</sup> draws attention to the chronological unreliability of his sources. An important place is given to the Salor (or Salir) tribe from which a number of other tribes are supposed to have stemmed. According to these legends <sup>6</sup> the Turkman country stretching from the Sīr-darya to the Amu-darya and thence to the Murghāb once belonged to ‘Alī-khān, who resided in Yangikant. The vile nature of his son Shāh-Malik provoked a rebellion headed by Toghrul [Tughril]. Shāh-Malik was killed, and ‘Ali-khan died soon after; dissensions broke out among the Turkman tribes, and the greater part of them dispersed

<sup>1</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 16 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Zafar-namah*, Calcutta ed. I, 126.

<sup>3</sup> *Ulugh-beg*, p. 69 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 157. Daulatshah, ed. Browne, 364.

<sup>5</sup> *Genealogy*, 62 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 55 sq.

to other countries. Those who remained "at the estuary of the Sir and on the Amu-darya" proclaimed Toghrul their khan, after whom, until the rise of Seljuk, there came several other khans. A number of Turkman tribes, including the Salor, migrated to Manghishlaq. Some of the Salor, however, numbering ten thousand tents (*kibitkas*), went to Khorasan and thence to [Persian?] Iraq and Fars; when these provinces submitted to Sultan Malik-shāh men of Dingli-bek's clan came to him and established their kinship with him by telling him that their ancestors had migrated from Turkmenia. Later on other Salor, headed by Oghurjīq, went to Manghishlaq. In Iraq Oghurjīk had clashed with the Bayundur tribe after which he went with 1,000 tents by way of Shamākhī to the Crimea, and from there across the Volga on to the Yayik. Having quarrelled there with the khan of the Qangli people, Gök-Tonli, who took 700 tents from him, Oghurjīk with the remaining 300 tents went to Manghishlaq. There he remained three years but then was forced to flee from his enemy still further south to the Balkhan mountains. Like Oghuz-khan Oghurjīq had six sons: of the two eldest one was the ancestor of the Yomut<sup>1</sup> and apparently of the Ersari (the name Ersari-bay occurs in the *Genealogy*), and the other the ancestor of the "Inner Salor" (*Ichki-Salor*). Abul-Ghāzī quotes another legend<sup>2</sup> according to which the ancestor of the Salor was Salor-Qazan who lived some 300 years after the Prophet<sup>3</sup> and fought the Pechenegs. A Pecheneg raped Salor-Qazan's mother, and by him she bore a son named Irek; the son of Irek, Ariikli, was the ancestor of the "Inner Salor". The existence on Manghishlaq of "Inner" and "Outer" Salor is also mentioned in the 16th century by Janī-Maḥmūd Ghujduvani, author of a biography of Shaykh Kamāl al-dīn Khwārazmī. One can gather from the text that the Inner Salor lived on the coast, while the Outer Salor lived further east from the coast on the way to Khwarazm<sup>4</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> The current Russian pronunciation *Yomud* does not occur anywhere in Oriental sources.

<sup>2</sup> *Genealogy*, 65 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>4</sup> *ZVO*, XV, 208.

division into "Inner" and "Outer" existed also among the Salor living in the southern part of Turkmenia, where, according to Abul-Ghāzī<sup>1</sup>, the Inner Salor were the westerly ones, those of Khorasan, while to the Outer Salor belonged the tribes Teke, Sarīq and Yomūt. About the origins of the Teke and Sarīq the *Genealogy*<sup>2</sup> says that their ancestor was a certain Toy-Tutmaz from among the Salor.

The *Genealogy* enumerates several other Turkman tribes which were not pure Turkmenians but "had joined the Turkmenians". The origins of these tribes are partly connected with the events of the reign of khan Jānī-bek (A.D. 1341-1357) of the Golden Horde. He sent as his governor to the Turkmenians the Uyghur Sankli-Sin. In the last year of Jānī-bek's reign this governor was murdered by his slave Ayaz at the instigation of the Turkmenians. Ayaz remained among the Turkmenians and from him stemmed "the entire Eski people"<sup>3</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī long before Jānī-bek there had lived Ersari-bay, the ancestor of the Ersari tribe, because the Ersari elders, who were contemporaries of the 14th century Golden Horde, referred to Ersari-bay as their greatgrandfather<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, Shaykh Sharafkhoja, author of the *Mu'īn al-Murīd*<sup>5</sup>, who lived in the beginning of the 14th century, is named as Ersari-bay's contemporary.

Ersari-bay clashed with the "ruler of Iran", i.e. the khan of the Persian Mongols, and was killed by him; his beautiful daughter, Mama-bike, was seized by Qoma-bek who had been sent from Iran, and became his wife, but was later sent back to the Turkmenians accompanied by a male slave given to her by Qoma-bek. This slave had four sons — Khizr, 'Ali, Ik-bek and Qashgha; they were freed and settled down to cultivate the land on the Uzboy, where the Amu-darya flowed at the time, and

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire des Mogols* etc., I, 209 sq (text): II, 223 sq. (transl.).

<sup>2</sup> *Genealogy*, 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 68. A MS. of this work exists in Ankara. On it see A. Z. Validi in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v. II, Istanbul 1928, p. 315 sq. The date of the copy is Ramadan 713, i.e. December 1313 or January 1314 (*ibid.*, 320).

many people gathered round them. From Khizr and Ali stemmed the tribal groups Khizir-eli, with the subdivision Qutlar, and the Ali-eli, with the subdivision Moghulchiq. The descendants of Ik-bek were called *qul* (slave) and were divided into two clans, the Qullar and the Chaghatay-Qullar; the latter stemmed from a fugitive of the Chaghatay tribe Arlat<sup>1</sup> who had come to live among the Turkmans at the time of the Timurids (15th c.). The descendants of Qashgha were called Qara-öyli ("of the Black House"); they were poorer than the rest and their land was ill-suited for agriculture.

In the same region on the Uzboy still another tribal group was formed, that of the Teveji, i.e. "camel-drivers". According to Abul-Ghāzī<sup>2</sup> Jānī-bek khan, who held the whole of Turkmenia from Urgenj to Astarabad, learnt that Balkhan was "a place wonderfully suitable for breeding camels", and for this purpose sent there thirty families who were hence called "Teveji". When after Berdi-bek's death (A.D. 1359) disorders broke out in the Golden Horde, the Turkmans seized the khan's camels and plundered the Teveji who became fishermen and later joined the Qara-öyli. As time went on the Qara-öyli became poor while the Teveji became very numerous. Khalīl "the Bold", who was the chief both of the Qara-öyli and the Teveji, came to an agreement with the Ersari who lived in Balkhan by which they gave him land with the obligation to deliver to them half the harvest, two thousand loads of reeds for cattle enclosures and a number of hunting birds; for the snares to catch the birds they provided him with the necessary ropes. Abul-Ghāzī adds that in his days the descendants of Khalīl were called Tagh-saqarī.

In his other, larger work Abul-Ghāzī gives much information on the struggle between the Turkmans and the Uzbeks of Khwarazm whose khans regarded the Turkmans as their subjects. Details on the geographical distribution of the tribes are found only in an account of life on the Uzboy in the 16th century when the Amu-darya flowed in that direction. Abul-Ghāzī<sup>3</sup> divides

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ulugh-beg*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Genealogy*, 71 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire des Mogols*, text, 207; transl., 221 sq.

the region along both banks of the river from Pishgah down to the sea into three parts. Between Pishgah and Qara-kechit lived the Adaqli-Khizir tribe; between Qara-kechit down to the western slopes of the Balkhan mountains, the Ali-eli tribe, and from there to the estuary, the Teveji tribe. All three together were called Üch-el ("three tribes"), and they paid to the khan of Khwarazm a tenth part of their crops; the Teveji and the Ali-eli also paid a tax on their herds; the Adaqli-Khizir provided the khan with *nukars* (servants or bodyguards) <sup>1</sup>.

As I have established elsewhere <sup>2</sup> Pishgāh was the name of the wells situated at a long day's march from Urgenj (i.e. Kunya-Urgenj) to the south of the river-bed; these wells were reached by travellers going from the Qurtish wells to Urgenj; the Qurtish wells <sup>3</sup> are also mentioned in the *Genealogy* as the dwelling place of Khizir who gave his name to the Khizir-eli tribe. The name Qari-kechit occurs only in this passage; the Adaqli-Khizir seem to have formed part of the Khizir-eli tribe and to have lived near the stronghold of Adaq, in all probability not far from the place where the Uzboy emerges from the Sariqamish depression <sup>4</sup>.

All this information is given by Abul-Ghāzī in connection with the clash between the Turkmans and the khan of Khwarazm, Şufyan. After Timur and his descendants, predominance in Central Asia passed to the Uzbeks who came from the Golden Horde. The Uzbek khan Shībani, who overthrew the Timurids, formed a vast state which included, besides Tashkent, Farghana, Bukhara and Samarqand, also Khwarazm and Khorasan. In A.D. 1510 Shībani was killed near Marv in a battle with the Safavid Shah Ismā'īl who had sprung from among the Azarbayjan Turks <sup>5</sup> and founded the new shi'ite Persian state. Of the lands conquered by Shībani some passed to the Timurids, as vassals of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 210 sq.; transl., 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Information on the Aral sea*, Tashkent, 1902, p. 93 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Genealogy*, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ZVO*, XV, 186.

<sup>5</sup> [Shāh Ismā'īl was a descendant of the shaykhs of Ardabīl but, like his grandfather and father, was supported by the Turkman tribes of Azarbayjan and Armenia. V.M.].

Shah Ismā'īl, while the remainder was directly annexed to Persia, though only for a short time. The Uzbeks soon recovered their power, and this time formed two independent khanates, one in Samarqand and Bukhara, the other in Khwarazm. The founding of the latter dates apparently from 1511 <sup>1</sup>.

Khwarazm under the rule of the Uzbek conquerors was not a unified state. The power was in the hands of the entire family of the khan whose members were styled "sultans"; one of the older members of the family occupied the throne but his power over the sultans was slender. Personal qualities mainly determined the importance of each sultan, and some of them often possessed more power and influence than the reigning khan.

The first detailed information of Abul-Ghāzī on the distribution of the provinces of Khwarazm among the members of the khan's family belongs to the time of Şufyan-khan. The chronology of Abul-Ghāzī contains certain lacunae and obscurities, but as I have established elsewhere, Şufyan-khan's brief reign began and ended between the years 1525 and 1535 <sup>2</sup>.

Urgenj belonged directly to Şufyan-khan; the remaining part of Khwarazm was parcelled out among the sultans. In addition to the lands watered by the Amu-darya (*Su-boyu*, literally "the strip along the water-course") the khans of Khwarazm also held sway over the area in the south stretching along the Küren-dagh and the Kopet-dagh mountains (*Tagh-boyu*, lit. "the strip along the mountains"). Among their subjects were also reckoned the Turkmans living on the Manghishlaq peninsula, along the Amu-darya (along the Uzboy?), in Balkhan and in Dihistān (Mashhad-i Mişriyān) <sup>3</sup>. Şufyan-khan clashed with the Balkhan Turkmans, namely with the Ersari tribe; after having agreed to pay a tax (*zakāt*) to the khan the Turkmans killed the forty tax-collectors sent by him. Şufyan-khan undertook an expedition against the Ersari tribe and their allies, the Salor of Khorasan. The Turkmans took refuge in Chutaq, lying at a three days' distance from Balkhan. Abul-Ghāzī visited Chutaq several times:

<sup>1</sup> *EI*, II, *Khwārazm*.

<sup>2</sup> *Information on the Aral sea*, 92.

<sup>3</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 206; transl., 220; *ibid.*, on subsequent events.



it stood on a height surrounded by mountains and was accessible only by a narrow path wide enough for one loaded camel<sup>1</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī this natural fastness had only one drawback, the lack of water; otherwise it could have withstood any foe. Already after a few days lack of water forced the Turkmans to send their *aqsaqals* ("white beards") to parley with the Uzbeks; at the same time they sought the intercession of Şufyan-khan's brother Aqatay (Abul-Ghāzī's greatgrandfather). It was agreed that the Turkmans would give 1000 sheep for every tax-collector killed; of the total the Ersari tribe and the Salor of Khorasan had to supply 16,000 each, while the remaining 8,000 were to be delivered by the Teke, the Sarīq and the Yomut who were jointly called "Outer Salor". The following year the khan sent his tax-collectors (*barātdārs*) and received the agreed number of sheep in full; later he began to levy the same number every year, and this practice continued for several generations<sup>2</sup>.

In this connection Abul-Ghāzī describes the tribute levied in sheep from the other Turkmans. The custom was for an additional 10 % of the agreed tribute to be levied for the khan's kettle, and a distinction was made, therefore, between such sheep and those levied on the *barāt*. The Inner Salor gave 16,000 sheep with an additional 1,600 for the khan's kettle; the same number was exacted from the Hasan-eli tribe (only once mentioned by Abul-Ghāzī) to which the Igdīr and Chavuldur clans<sup>3</sup> also belonged; these supplied 12,000 and 1,200 sheep, the remaining 4,000 and 400 sheep being given by other small clans. The Arabachi tribe (named by Abul-Ghāzī also only in this passage)<sup>4</sup> gave 4,000 and 400, the Göklen, 12,000 and 1,200. On the taxes levied from the Turkman agricultural tribes on the Uzboy see above.

<sup>1</sup> The exact site of Chutaq needs a further location.

<sup>2</sup> Aboul-Ghāzī, text, 210, above; transl., 224.

<sup>3</sup> Now the Choudur tribe is also called Esen-eli (i.e. probably Hasan-eli); the Igdīr are regarded as a division of the Choudur (*Territory and population of Bukhara and Khwarazm*, part II; *Khwarazm*. Tashkent 1926, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> On the present day Arabachi group see *Territory*, 105 (on the right bank of the Amu-darya, in the Turtkul district).

Taxes were levied from the Turkmans not only for the khan but also for individual princes. In his account of the events of the following years <sup>1</sup> Abul-Ghāzī mentions Muhammad Ghāzī-sultan, ruler of Durūn who sent his *barātdārs* to the Turkmans living on the Uzboy.

The khan of Bukhara, ʿUbaydullāh (1533-1540), took advantage of the dissensions among the Uzbeks of Khwarazm and in 1538 seized Khwarazm. Having occupied Urgenj ʿUbaydullāh brought the Uzbeks away from that place leaving the Sarts and Turkmans in peace. Both the Sarts and the Turkmans are described as *raʿya* <sup>2</sup>, i.e. as sedentary agriculturists, which shows that at that time there were Turkmans who had taken to agriculture not only on the Uzboy but also in the region of Urgenj. On the Gurgan, the Turkmans had to deal both with the Uzbeks of Khwarazm and the Persian government. In those days the military power in Persia belonged to other Turkmans, those of Azarbayjan, and it was from among these that the Safavid dynasty sprang [see above].

Persian historians distinguish as a separate group the Turkmans who lived between the Gurgān and the Atrak and were called "the tribe of Sayīn-khan", i.e. of the Golden Horde (Sayīn-khan being the nickname of Batu), or else Yaqa-Turkman, i.e. probably "river-side" Turkmans. According to the Persian historian Iskandar-munshī <sup>3</sup>, these Turkmans helped the Khwarazmian prince Dīn-Muḥammad in his struggle against ʿUbaydullāh. Dīn-Muḥammad came to the Turkman Adaqlī-Khizīr tribe on the Uzboy and promised them, in the event of victory, the *tarkhanate*, i.e. exemption from taxes, and full equality with the Uzbeks <sup>4</sup>. With the aid of these Turkmans Dīn-Muḥammad succeeded in ousting the Bukharans; whether he kept his promise is not known. In any case under his brother, ʿAli-Sultān, who died in 1565 <sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Aboul-Ghāzī, text, 214; transl., 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 223; the term does not appear in the translation, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran edition, 1314, p. 80. The author was himself a Turkman.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghāzī, text, p. 225; transl., p. 241.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 246; transl., p. 264; Year of the Bull. A.H. 976 as given by Abul-Ghāzī is wrong: it should be 973 as in Iskandar-munshi, p. 84, above.

a tax in sheep was again being levied from the Turkmen. Every infantryman in 'Ali-sultan's army received 16 sheep, the expense being covered partly from the Turkman tax and partly from the fifth part of the booty taken during the raids into Khorasan<sup>1</sup>.

Iskandar-munshi<sup>2</sup> tells of the revolt of the Turkmen against the authorities of Astarabad which occurred in 957/1550. The Turkmen brought gifts to the newly appointed governor of Astarabad, Shāh-verdi-sultān. A handsome young Turkman, Aba-bek, chief of the Okhlu clan (*Oqlī* or *Oqlī-göklen* in Abul-Ghāzī; apparently a division of the Göklen tribe) attracted the attention of the sultan. This gave cause to rumours insulting for Aba-bek. He left Astarabad, appeared suddenly in the midst of his clan and killed the head (*dārūgha*) of the tribe, Shatīr-bek (apparently appointed by the Persian government). During the attempt to quell the revolt Shah-verdi-sultan was killed. In 962/1555 a new army of the shah arrived. Aba-bek fled to Khwarazm where he sought the aid of 'Ali-sultan. The latter granted his request but soon made his peace with the Persians and returned to Khwarazm. This report does not seem to give the full truth for in the same passage the death of the Persian commander, Kōkche-sultan Qajar, is mentioned, and it is even stated that Aba became still more rebellious and in 965/1557-8 raided Astarabad. The Persians had to send another expedition (12,000 strong according to Abul-Ghāzī) which is very similarly described by Iskandar-munshi and Abul-Ghāzī<sup>3</sup>: on the banks of the Gurgān the Uzbeks and Turkmen commanded by 'Ali-sultan inflicted a crushing defeat on the Persians. 'Ali-bek had 3,000 men and Aba-bek only 300. Yet it was the latter who assured the victory, despite the Uzbek apprehensions of a treachery on his part. Soon after Aba-bek was killed by a captive Persian girl whom he had married by force; his head was carried to Shah Tahmāsp in Qazvin<sup>4</sup>.

The Turkmen are also mentioned by Abul-Ghāzī in his account of the events of the end of the 16th century when Khwa-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 243 sq.; transl., p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Tehran edition, p. 82 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Aboul-Ghāzī, text, p. 244 sq.; transl., p. 261 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Iskandar-munshi, p. 83, is alone to speak of this event.

razm was conquered by ‘Abdullāh-khan of Bukhara. On the first occasion, in 1591<sup>1</sup> ‘Abdullāh-khan made peace with the sultans of the Khwarazmian Uzbeks, among whom was the uncle of Abul-Ghāzī’s father, Timur-sultan, who had received from his father, Aqatay-khan (killed in the 1550-s) the Teveji tribe of the Turkmans, which at the time counted from 5,000 to 6,000 families<sup>2</sup>. During ‘Abdullāh’s second expedition in 1593 Timur-sultan was no longer alive, and only his sons are mentioned<sup>3</sup>. In the days of Aqatay-sultan’s youth, when with other Uzbek princes he had come to Urgenj, the princes did not disturb the Turkmans who had agreed to pay a tribute but plundered those who refused to pay. Aqatay himself raided the Göklen and captured the daughter of one of their chiefs (*on-begi*)<sup>4</sup> of the Chaqirlar clan. He married her and had by her a son, khan Hajji Muhammad, or Hajim, born in A.H. 930, in the Year of the Dragon<sup>5</sup>, i.e. A.D. 1520 (the date according to A.H. is, as usual, wrong).

In 1593 ‘Abdullāh-khan’s power spread both over Khwarazm and the Uzbek possessions in Khorasan which belonged to Nūr-Muhammad (or Nūrum-khan). This khan was regarded as the grandson of Dīn-Muhammad, but his descent from the khan is doubtful<sup>6</sup>; the rulers of Khwarazm did not recognise him as a relative and often raided his province. Nūrum-khan’s possessions included Marv, Abīvard, Nesā and other towns; his army consisted partly of Uzbeks of the Nayman clan and partly of “Sayīn-khan Turkmans”. Already in 1589 he became friendly with ‘Abdullah’s son, ‘Abdul-Muʾmin who was operating against the

<sup>1</sup> The date is in Iskandar-munshi, p. 301, below, as that of Hajji Muhammad’s return from Khorasan to Khwarazm; Abdullāh’s expedition is mentioned only as a rumour started by his son ‘Abdul-Muʾmin.

<sup>2</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, p. 253; transl., p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 259 sq.; transl., p. 277 sq.

<sup>4</sup> This term means literally “chief of ten”, and was used in the sense of “commander” only by the Turkmans.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 254; transl., p. 271 sq.

<sup>6</sup> He was the son of a Marv courtesan, and on this account bore the nickname Lūlibacha (*ibid.*, text, p. 241 sq.; transl., p. 258 sq.). [Lūlī “a gypsy”].

Persians in Khorasan. Nūrum-khan had originally mustered his forces (6-7,000 men) to defend himself against ‘Abdu-l-Mu’min, but the Persians construed his action as a sign of hostile intentions against them, refused to believe his explanations and gave him battle in which they were utterly defeated. Nūrum-khan sent news of his victory to ‘Abdu-l-Mu’min<sup>1</sup>. In 1591 Hajjim-khan undertook an expedition against Nesā while a Persian army commanded by Farhād-khān was sent to Khorasan. Hajjim-khan met Farhād-khan in Bistām and made an alliance with the Persians, but ‘Abdullāh’s expedition<sup>2</sup> forced him to return to Khwarazm. In 1592 Hajjim-khan succeeded in seizing Nesā and Durūn. Nūrum-khan sought out ‘Abdullāh in Bukhara and offered him Marv<sup>3</sup> on condition that the Bukharans help him to recover Nesā. ‘Abdullāh-khan occupied Marv but went no further and put off his aid to Nūrum-khan for a year on the pretext that a Persian army under the personal command of Shāh ‘Abbās had arrived in Bistām and that the Persians had an alliance with Hajjim-khan. Nūrum-khan left the Bukharans and went to Abīvard. It is possible that he succeeded in recovering Marv, for in 1593, according to Iskandar-munshi, the Uzbek Naymans in Marv betrayed Nūrum-khan and passed over to ‘Abdu-l-Mu’min. Nūrum-khan went to the shah’s court in Isfahan<sup>4</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī it was earlier, in 1592, that Nūrum-khan came to Hajjim-khan in Urgenj and that it was only with him that he went to Shāh ‘Abbās in 1593 after the conquest of Khwarazm by the Bukharans<sup>5</sup>. From Iskandar-munshi’s account it is only clear that in the spring of 1595 both Hajjim-khan and Nūrum-khan were at the shah’s court in Qazvin<sup>6</sup>.

The Turkman Süyünüch-Muḥammad was appointed governor (*ḥākim*) of Nēsa and Abīvard on behalf of the khan of Bukhara<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Iskandar-munshi, Tehr. ed., p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 306 sq. Aboul-Ghāzi, text, p. 242; transl., p. 259. Cf. Zhukovsky, *Ruins of ancient Marv*, p. 75 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 316.

<sup>5</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, p. 266; transl., p. 285.

<sup>6</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 345.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 347.

In 1595 Hajjim-khan, together with two of his sons, ‘Arab-Muhammad and Muhammad-quli, took advantage of Shah ‘Abbās’s campaign in Khorasan in an attempt to return to Khwarazm with the help of the Turkmans. According to Abul-Ghāzī <sup>1</sup> they left the shah’s army in Bistām, but according to Iskandar-munshi <sup>2</sup> they did so somewhat later, in Isfarāyīn. The shah considered that, while ‘Abdullāh-khan was in power, such an attempt was doomed to failure and did not support the Khwarazmians, though he did not hold them back. They arrived in Astarābād which at that time did not belong to the Persians for, according to Iskandar-munshi <sup>3</sup>, some time previously the Turkmans of the Sayīn-khan and Eymūr clans had established themselves there; according to Abul-Ghāzī <sup>4</sup> the Eymūr (now Imreli) clan in Astarabad had for its chief ‘Ali-Yār-bek. Neither of the authors confirms the account of the Russian ambassador Grigory Vasilchikov, who was in Persia in 1588 and 1589, according to which the man responsible for the wresting of Astarabad from Persia was the Khwarazmian prince Mahmet (Muhammad)-qul, son of Hajjim-khan, who had been living as a hostage in Persia since 1575 <sup>5</sup>. This prince is alleged to have left the shah during one of his expeditions into Khorasan and to have gone to the Turkmans where he was joined by a lot of people; “and having come to the sea he took from the shah the town Starabat, and is now established in Starabat and has possessed himself of many places near Starabat, and intends to make a stand against the shah” <sup>6</sup>. According to Iskandar-munshi, Muhammad-quli left the shah with the latter’s permission only in 1595 in Bistām, not in Isfarāyīn as his father Hajjim-khan and his brother ‘Arab-Muhammad had done. Abul-Ghāzī has it that ‘Arab-Muhammad and Muhammad-quli left the shah’s army together. From Astarabad

<sup>1</sup> Aboul-Ghâzi, text, p. 266; transl., p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 348 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 349.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghâzi, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Pamiatniki diplomat. i torgovikh snosheniy Mosk. Rusi s Persiey*, ed. Veselovsky, I, III.

Hajjim-khan and his kinsmen went to Küren-dagh where they were joined by some 50 or 60 Teke and Yomut, former subjects of Hajjim-khan's brother, Mahmūd-sultan, one time ruler of the town of Vazir (in Khwarazm). At the Qurtish and Orta-quduq wells on the Uzboy they were joined by 5-600 Turkmans of the Ersari tribe who had been driven out of Manghishlaq by the Mangit (Noghays), Manghishlaq having thus become almost completely deserted<sup>1</sup>. From Grigory Vasilchikov's account of the embassy's return from Persia it appears that at that time the Turkmans were still in Manghishlaq and Ust-Yurt. During the ten days when the ship carrying the embassy was held up in the bay of Mertviy Qultuq it was attacked by "Turkman people"<sup>2</sup>. The Turkmans of the Ersari tribe were subjects of two other brothers of Hajjim-khan, Pulād-sultan and Timur-sultan, and for this reason came to the aid of Pulād-sultan's son, Bābā-sultan who was with Hajjim-khan. There were so few Bukharan troops in Khwarazm that even with that small force Hajjim-khan took Urgenj, while Bābā-sultan occupied Khiva and Hazārasp, though neither of them was able to maintain his conquest. The Turkmans with their booty hastened to abandon them; only five or six Teke and Yomut stayed with Hajjim-khan while Bābā-sultan was left with three of his own *nukars* and three Ersari Turkmans; the Uzbeks of Khwarazm had nearly all been taken by ʿAbdullāh to the khanate of Bukhara. In such conditions ʿAbdullāh speedily restored the power of Bukhara in Khwarazm. Hajjim-khan returned to Persia with ʿArab-Muhammad, Bābā-sultan was killed, and Muhammad-quli went to the Mangit (Noghays) and from there to the Russians with whom in 1598 he took part in Boris Godunov's expedition against the Crimean Tatars<sup>3</sup>. Hajjim-khan reached Persia through Astarabad where he was helped by "Yaqa-Turkmans of Sayin-khan"<sup>4</sup>. From Iskandar-munshi's account<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aboul-Ghâzi, text, p. 267; transl., p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *Pamiatniki*, I, 106.

<sup>3</sup> Barthold, *History of the study of the East*, Leningrad 1925, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 357.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 373. As can be seen from another passage (*ibid.*, 400) ʿAli-Yār-khan received the title of Khan and the formal confirmation from Shāh ʿAbbās.

we know too that the chief of the Eymür tribe, ‘Ali-Yār-bek (Iskandar-munshi has ‘*Ali-Yār-khan*), mentioned by Abul-Ghāzī, was succeeded by his son Muhammad-Yār. In 1597 he was killed by Turkmans of the Okhlu clan, a division of the Göklen. His younger brother Qīlich-bek fled to Shāh ‘Abbās in Persia, where he was graciously received and confirmed in the governorship of Astarabad. Like his predecessor, Qīlich-bek had no actual power for the Okhlu clan did not obey him; disorders took place in Astarabad caused by a turbulent element of the local inhabitants nicknamed *siyāhpūsh* (“blackclothed”). In his time ‘Ali-Yār-bek had been completely helpless against them and was glad to have them accept his lieutenant (*nā‘ib*) in Astarabad while he himself remained on the Gurgān. The federation formed by the Turkmans under the name of Sayīn-khānī, or Yaqa-Turkmans, consisted of the tribes Okhlu, Göklen, Eymür, Salor and others <sup>1</sup>. They lived between the Atrak and the Gurgān and were agriculturists, but at the same time they raided and plundered the region of Astarabad. The bulwark against them was the fortress Mubārak-ābād on the Gurgān, three farsakhs (some 15 km.) from Astarabad. During the disorders in Persia at the end of the 16th century the Turkmans grew in power and destroyed Mubārak-ābād. ‘Ali-Yār-bek of the Eymür tribe became the actual ruler of Astarabad, and Shāh ‘Abbās was obliged to confirm him in this dignity; but, as we have seen, neither he nor his successors were able to gain a firm footing in Astarabad.

The year 1598 in which ‘Abdullāh-khan of Bukhara died saw the restoration of Hajjim-khan’s power in Khwarazm, of Nūrum-khan’s in Marv and Nesā and of Shāh ‘Abbās’s in Khorasan and Astarabad. Hajjim-khan once again accompanied the shah’s army as far as Bistām and from there made his way to Khwarazm through Astarabad, having received from the shah a decree appointing him over the Sayīn-khānī Yaqa-Turkmans, his former subjects <sup>2</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī <sup>3</sup>, Hajjim-khan camped near Kūren-dagh among the Teke, having with him only his son

<sup>1</sup> See their enumeration in Iskandar-munshi, 399.

<sup>2</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 389.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, text, p. 272; transl., p. 291.



‘Arab-Muhammad and 15 men. Here he learnt about the death of ‘Abdu-l-Mu’min and the breaking up of the khanate of Bukhara, upon which he immediately proceeded to Khwarazm where he seems to have met with no opposition.

In the same year Nūrum-khan returned with the help of the Persians first to Nesā, and then to Marv, where besides the local population his power was recognised also by the Jalayir clan of the Uzbeks, the Turkmans of the Ali-eli tribe and others<sup>1</sup>. According to Abul-Ghāzī he persecuted the Uzbeks despite the fact that “at the price of great efforts they had made him khan”<sup>2</sup>, and favoured the Sarts and Turkmans. In 1600 his powers were revoked by Shāh ‘Abbās and he himself was sent to Shiraz. During his clash with the shah he was abandoned by the Jalayirs and the Ali-eli and Sayīn-khānī Turkmans who lived within the borders of Nesā, Dūrūn and Bāghbād<sup>3</sup>. The government in the former possessions of Nūrum-khan was entrusted to Persian governors.

The pacification of Astarabad was achieved in 1598 by the victory over Qarī-khan, the chief of the Okhlu clan, who was “defeated on the Atrak and fled to the desert”; the *aqsaqals* (“white beards”) of the other Sayīn-khānī clans, and of the Eymūr, Göklen, Salor and others<sup>4</sup>, submitted to the shah who ordered the restoration of Mubārak-ābād, the disarming of the *siyāhpūsh* and the execution of their leader, Khoja Sharaf al-dīn Savuri<sup>5</sup>. Thus the 16th century ended with the restoration of the khanate of Khwarazm and the consolidation of the shah’s power in Central Asia.

<sup>1</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 397, below.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, text, p. 242. In the translation (p. 259) these words are omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 417 above.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 402.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 403. Ridā-Qulī-khan in his *Raudat al-safa* composed in the 19th century (Tehran edition, vol. VIII) adds that the former Turkman ruler Qilich-khan was taken away by the shah to Persia.

## V. FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Even in the days when Persia under Shāh ‘Abbās had acquired great strength, the Persian authorities in Astarabad adopted a defensive policy towards the Turkmans. Although the Persians defeated the Turkmans on the Atrak in A.D. 1598 and rebuilt the fortress on the Gurgān (see above), they did not attempt to pursue the Turkmans on their steppes, and the further fate of the defeated Qarī-khan is unknown. In 1621 Farēdūn-khan, the governor of Astarabad, who had administered that march for 18 years, died. He had constantly, and always with success, fought the Sayīn-khānī Turkmans so that, according to Iskandar-munshi, he did not leave one of them alive, especially as regards the Göklen and the Okhlu clan who were held to be the most unruly or all the Turkmans <sup>1</sup>. All this is undoubtedly greatly exaggerated.

By that time the khanate of Khwarazm was no longer divided into “the side of the mountains” and “the side of the water”, because “the side of the mountains” belonged now to the Persians. The first of the shah’s towns on the way from Khwarazm to Khorasan was Durūn <sup>2</sup>. The Turkmans lived in the northern part of Khwarazm. In 1616 the rebel princes Ḥabash and Ilbars received from their father ‘Arab-Muhammad the town of Vazir with the Turkmans belonging to it <sup>3</sup>. During their revolt against their father Ḥabash and Ilbars relied on the help not of the Turkmans but of the main Uzbek clans — the Uyghur and the Naiman. Their elder brother Isfandiyār found asylum with the Turkmans in 1621. In the same year ‘Arab-Muhammad was deposed and blinded on the orders of Ḥabash-sultan. Isfandiyār, under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca, went to join Shāh ‘Abbās <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 680 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Pamiatniki*, II, 280.

<sup>3</sup>) Aboul-Ghāzi, text, p. 281, above; transl., p. 301, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, text, p. 287; transl., 308.

According to Iskandar-munshi <sup>1</sup> Isfandiyār first went to Astarabad where he joined the Persian army which the shah was leading against Qandahār. This campaign was begun in the spring of 1622. "On Wednesday, the 8th of Rajab (18th May)" the army approached Qandahār, and on 11 Sha'bān/12 June the town capitulated <sup>2</sup>. On Wednesday 24 Sha'ban (there is an obvious mistake either in the date or in the day of the week) the shah set out on the return march, and in August seems to have arrived in Herat <sup>3</sup> where he spent two and a half months <sup>4</sup>. Apparently in Herat the shah dismissed Isfandiyār and ordered the amirs and chiefs of the Sayin-khānī Turkmans, the governor of Astarabad and the amirs of those parts to render him assistance. Isfandiyār collected a large force from among the Sayin-khānī Turkmans and defeated his brothers, one of whom, Abul-Ghāzī, had voluntarily gone over to him. Isfandiyār became khan, after which he frequently sent envoys to the shah's court with expressions of loyalty.

According to Abul-Ghāzī, Isfandiyār went to Durūn on the advice of the shah who also told him to send trusted men to Urgenj and to the Balkhan Turkmans. A passage suggests <sup>5</sup> that Isfandiyār in person went to Balkhan, but from another passage one may gather that the Balkhan Turkmans came to him in Durūn. They numbered 100 or 80 (70 Teke and Sarīq and 10 Yomut), while Isfandiyār himself had 300 nukars. By that time Urgenj had become depopulated because the Amu-darya had changed its course; the main inhabited point in its neighbourhood, which served as residence to Ḥabash, was the fortress Tūq (?), probably not far from the present-day Nukuz. In the vicinity of Urgenj were the nukars of 'Arab-Muhammad (killed in the same year in Khiva by his son Ilbars), of Isfandiyār and of his two brothers, Abul-Ghāzī and Sharīf-Muhammad <sup>7</sup>. All of them

<sup>1</sup> Iskandar-munshi, 688.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 685.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 688.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 692.

<sup>5</sup> Aboul-Ghāzī, text, p. 288; transl., p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 297; transl., 318.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 297; transl., 318.

rallied to Isfandiyār after his sudden attack on Tūq which forced Ḥabash to flee to Ilbars in Khiva. This success was followed by a revolt against Isfandiyār among the Uzbeks at the instigation of a darvish of the Sayyid-Ata order who assured them that they would all be killed by Isfandiyār and their wives carried off into slavery by the Turkmans of Balkhan and Manghishlaq. Isfandiyār was obliged to withdraw to Manghishlaq whence he returned with a more formidable Turkman army of 3,000 men, headed by Muhammad-Husayn-bek. Ilbars was killed, Ḥabash fled to the Mangit (Noghays) on the Emba, but was delivered by them to Isfandiyār and also killed. In the Year of the Pig (A.D. 1623) Isfandiyār became khan of the whole of Khawarazm <sup>1</sup>.

In the Year of the Mouse (A.D. 1624) Isfandiyār was sought out by his brothers Abul-Ghāzī and Sharīf-Muhammad who previously had fled to Bukhara. Abul-Ghāzī drew the attention of his companions to the suspicious behaviour of the khan who had not dismissed the Turkmans after he had gained possession of Khwarazm, a fact which Abul-Ghāzī took for a sign of hostile intentions against the Uzbeks. His advice was <sup>2</sup> that they should, before entering Khiva, wait for the moment when the nukars of the khan, Uzbeks and Turkmans, rode out to meet them and then suddenly attack the Turkmans and kill them all; later they should apologise to the khan for this selfwilled action and explain it by their fear of the Turkmans, "a people having no thoughts and little intelligence, which besides was our enemy of old". Abul-Ghāzī's younger brother, Sharīf-Muhammad, suggested a still more drastic action: to kill Isfandiyār-khan and in his place set on the throne Abul-Ghāzī. Both princes were warned not to say such things, or else all would be told to the khan. Abul-Ghāzī and Sharīf-Muhammad arrived in Khiva, and on the fourth day after their arrival (two months after the death of Ḥabash) <sup>3</sup> the khan issued a *yarliq* ordering the extermination of the Uyghurs and Naymans, with a special injunction not to touch any other Uz-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 291; transl., 312.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 298; transl., 319 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 290; transl., 311.

beks. This clause was not very strictly observed by the Turkmans who on the very first day murdered one hundred Uyghurs and Naymans, and with them ten other Uzbeks. The khan put Abul-Ghāzī under guard, and having won over Sharīf-Muhammad sent him to Urgenj to organise there too a massacre of Uyghurs and Naymans. The remaining Uzbeks, evidently in fear for their lives, threatened to go to Bukhara and take Sharīf-Muhammad with them unless Abul-Ghāzī and Muhammad-Husayn were sent to them; and they further demanded that Abul-Ghāzī should swear to them in the khan's name that they would be safe, and that Muhammad-Husayn should do the same in the name of the Turkmans. The khan complied with the demand and sent to Urgenj a very small force, which fact might also have reassured the Urgenj Uzbeks. Muhammad-Husayn had with him only from sixty to seventy men <sup>1</sup>, and when rumours of hostile intentions on the part of Abul-Ghāzī and Sharīf-Muhammad made him leave Urgenj, it is stated that only thirty to forty men fled with him <sup>2</sup>. The action of the Uzbeks against the Turkmans seems to have been not so much defensive as offensive.

The war which began in the winter of 1624-5 between Urgenj and Khiva (and of which the Qalmuqs took advantage to raid Urgenj) is regarded by the historian as a war between Uzbeks and Turkmans. It achieved no definite results although the Turkmans received aid from Balkhan and Manghishlak <sup>3</sup>, and their numbers grew to 5,000 <sup>4</sup>. All the efforts of Abul-Ghāzī to retain the Uzbeks in Urgenj failed, however, and they dispersed in various directions; some went to the Noghays, some to the Qazakhs, and some to the Bukharan dominions. Abul-Ghāzī himself went first to the Qazakhs and later to Bukhara. The Turkmans in Khiva also fell out with the khan and invited Abul-Ghāzī who, if he is to be believed, accepted the invitation only with the consent of the Uzbeks who were with him in Bukhara, and, according to him, the Uzbeks assured him that their trust in him would

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 301; transl., 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 302; transl., 324.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 303; transl., 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 305; transl., 327.

always remain unshaken <sup>1</sup>. The khan withdrew to Hazārasp, and Abul-Ghāzī began to rule in Khiva though he had with him only 600 men, whereas the khan's force had grown to 5,000 as the Turkmans living in the region of Bukhara had again gone over to him. Abul-Ghāzī speaks but briefly about the struggle; according to him the whole matter ended peacefully, and Sharīf-Muhammad was now with the khan.

Three years after the events of 1624 <sup>2</sup> a new movement of the Uzbeks took place. Some of them, numbering 3,000 tents, gathered near the estuary of the Amu-darya. A party of 800 Uzbek families of Urgenj were on their way to join them on the Aral sea when they were overtaken by the khan and routed. The khan took advantage of the Uzbeks' settling at the mouth of the river to bring about a final break between the Turkmans and Abul-Ghāzī. In accordance with the khan's wish Sharīf-Muhammad went to the Uzbeks, while the khan pretended complete ignorance of the matter and told the Turkmans that it was Abul-Ghāzī who had called the Uzbeks to the Aral sea and had sent Sharīf-Muhammad to them. Abul-Ghāzī, who had only five or six men with him, was seized on orders from the khan and sent to Persia where he spent ten years, apparently from 1629 to 1639 <sup>3</sup>.

A somewhat different version of Abul-Ghāzī's arrival in Persia is found in the 18th century historical work *Khuld-i barīn* ("The Upper Paradise") <sup>4</sup>. In the Year of the Snake (A.D. 1629) Isfandiyār raided Marv while Abul-Ghāzī raided Durūn and Nesā. He occupied these towns without meeting with any resistance, and, with the support of the Turkmans, marched on Abīvard. At the approach of the Persian army he first retreated, but then accepted the battle and was defeated. Isfandiyār decided to lay the blame entirely on Abul-Ghāzī's shoulders and deliver

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 307; transl., 329.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 290 sq.; transl., 311 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 309; transl., 331 sq.

<sup>4</sup> On this work see *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II, 587. Rieu, *Supplement*, No. 34. Owing to the kindness of the late E. G. Browne I was able in 1923 in Cambridge to utilise the MS. belonging to this scholar. [The author of the history is Muhammad Yūsuf Vālih, see Storey, *Persian literature*, I, 131.].

him to the shah. He sent an embassy to Persia with gifts to tell the shah that the khan was sending him his brother; in former times Khwarazmian princes had been in the shah's service; should the shah wish to receive Abul-Ghāzī on the same conditions, may he please to do so, or should he wish to punish Abul-Ghāzī for the raid let him punish him. Abul-Ghāzī was taken to Abīvard, and from there further on, and it was only in the month of Jumādā II 1039/January-February 1630 that he appeared before the shah who was at the time in Hamadan. He was received with honours and after that lived in Isfahan in the fortress of Tabarek <sup>1</sup>.

This account shows that Abul-Ghāzī's reconciliation with Isfandiyār-khan and the Turkmans was more complete than could be understood from his own version. When speaking of his flight from Persia <sup>2</sup> he himself mentions the help given him by the Turkmans. He gives no definite date of his flight but as he says that he spent ten years in Persia and left in the eleventh year, this would suggest the year 1640 as the date of his flight; further on, however, he says that he returned to Urgenj in the Year of the Snake (A.D. 1641) having spent the winter among the Ersari near Meihane, two years among the Teke in Balkhan and one year with the "Qalmuq padshah" — evidently Kho-Orloq (A.D. 1632-1644) <sup>3</sup>. The division of the Ersari to which the Turkmans of the Meihane region belonged bore the name of Qizil-ayaq. These Turkmans had formerly lived in Manghishlaq whence they had been ousted by the Qalmuqs. They had come to Meihane three years previously and at first lived in shelters, and only in the year before Abul-Ghāzī's arrival had been able to provide themselves with felt tents. Having ascertained that "these Turkmans were not of those who might betray him to the Persians" <sup>4</sup>, Abul-Ghāzī felt completely safe and at their invitation spent the winter with them. Then, after two more years spent

<sup>1</sup> *Khuld-i barīn*, MS. Browne, f. 7b sq.

<sup>2</sup> Aboul-Ghâzi, text, p. 309; transl., p. 332 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. N. N. Palmov, *Etudī po istorii privolzhskikh kalmikov*, part I, Astrakhan 1926, p. 6 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghâzi, text, 315; transl., 337.

among the Teke of Balkhan he went on to Manghishlaq. The Turkmans there were at the time completely broken, only seven hundred families still remained there and these were subjected to the Qalmuqs. This shows that in the 1630-s the Turkmans had been driven out of Manghishlaq by the Qalmuqs as they had been by the Noghays at the end of the previous century. In the interval the Turkmans had evidently dislodged the Noghays and returned to their former grazing grounds, which, according to Russian sources, in the year 1613 stretched to the Emba <sup>1</sup>. In 1633-4 the Noghays were pushed by the Qalmuqs beyond the Volga <sup>2</sup>, though the relations between the Noghays and the Qalmuqs were not always hostile. In 1656 (Year of the Monkey) the Qalmuqs, egged on by the Turkmans, raided Durūn and Astarabad <sup>3</sup>.

The Uzbeks to whom Abul-Ghāzī now went lived evidently not in the ruined Urgenj but on Lake Aral (in the delta of the Amu-darya). They did not recognise Isfandiyār, and they accepted Abul-Ghāzī, although he was proclaimed khan only in 1643. Six months after the arrival of Abul-Ghāzī, in the beginning of the Year of the Horse (i.e. the spring of 1642) Isfandiyār died <sup>4</sup>. Abul-Ghāzī requested the Turkmans to recognise him as his brother's successor, but they preferred to submit to Nādir-Muḥammad-khan of Bukhara who sent them his grandson Qasim-sultan; actually all the government posts and revenue remained in the hands of the Turkmans. From the Aral Abul-Ghāzī undertook the conquest of Khiva, but without much success. The situation changed in 1645 when Nādir-Muḥammad was deposed in Bukhara and his son proclaimed khan in his stead. All the Bukharan troops stationed in Khiva returned to Bukhara. In the beginning of the Year of the Hen (spring of A.D. 1645) Abul-Ghāzī entered Khiva, apparently unopposed. Without the Bukharan prince the Turkmans did not want to continue the war, the less so as Abul-Ghāzī proclaimed a full amnesty. Three Turkman chiefs (two of them *on-begis* "commanders of ten

<sup>1</sup> *Pamiatniki*, II, 351.

<sup>2</sup> Palmov, *o.c.*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Khuld-i barīn*, f. 149b.

<sup>4</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 291 and 316; transl., 312 and 338.



men") sent half a dozen "white beards" to parley with him and declared that they had no other sovereign but Abul-Ghāzī. The khan hastened to reassure them and invited the "white beards" and other Turkmans to Hazārasp where he had a feast arranged for them. At the very beginning of the feast the Uzbeks, on a secret order of Abul-Ghāzī, fell upon the Turkmans and killed from one to two thousand of them, after which they plundered their homes and carried off their children into slavery, while the "victorious" khan returned to Khiva. The whole story <sup>1</sup> is told quite frankly by Anūsha-khan, the son of Abul-Ghāzī, who completed his father's history.

During the ensuing years Abul-Ghāzī raided a number of times <sup>2</sup> the Turkmans who had fled from Khiva. In the winter of the Year of the Dog (December 1646) he attacked the Turkmans on the Tejen, and in this case too the report tells candidly of the abduction of children and of the khan's victorious return to Khiva. In the year of the Mouse (A.D. 1648) the khan carried out an expedition against the Turkmans who had gathered in the region of Bami-Burma (on the map: *Beurma*), and the Turkmans who had escaped from Tejen and had joined them. The Turkmans sent their baggage to Qara-qastī and entrenched themselves behind fortifications which they built with stones. Their leader was Qāhir-khoja. During a sortie the Turkmans were defeated and all perished before they could reach the safety of their stronghold. The Uzbeks broke into the fort and plundered all those who were in it. In the meantime the khan had gone to Qara-qastī where he looted the Turkman camps and seized their property and children.

In 1651, the Year of the Hare, there took place another expedition against the Turkmans called Bayrach after their chief who were settled on the banks of the Atrak and of the Gurgān. While pursuing the retreating foe the khan found himself on a waterless steppe. His entire army had dispersed, and of 10,000 men (the number is hard to believe) only 400 remained. On their way they

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 319-321; transl., 342-344.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 321-325; transl., 342-344.

came across some Teke merchants who traded with the village of Bayrach, took one for guide and in this way discovered the headquarters of that chief. The khan's men fell to plundering the houses, and only thirty of them remained with the khan. Nevertheless by a swift attack he succeeded in taking the village. Bayrach himself was killed by a bullet at the outset of the fighting<sup>1</sup>. The mention of Teke merchants is interesting as we have no other reference to the existence of traders among the Turkmans. The mention of a clan called after the chief is also unusual. The name did not disappear after the chief's death; among the Sariq there still exists a branch of Bayrach, though the latter lives now not on the Atrak but in the basin of the Murghāb<sup>2</sup>. The Bayrach clan had apparently no connection with the events of Khiva; the only explanation given for the expedition is that these Turkmans did not want to submit to the khan.

Abul-Ghāzī's last expedition against the Turkmans belongs to the year 1653 (Year of the Snake); nothing is said about what prompted it. The attack was made on the Eymür tribe in the locality Fuj (Fauj?)<sup>3</sup>, which is not named in any of the other sources. The Turkmans were robbed and carried off into slavery. On the way back, near the Dīnār well on the Uzboy, the khan came upon some Sariq from whom he also captured children and cattle. It is added in the text (the translation has a lacuna here) that the khan made other raids on the Turkmans about which it would be too long to tell, and that after each raid he returned home with booty.

In 1649 and 1653 Khwarazm suffered from incursions by the Qalmuqs which the khan beat back. Judging from the data quoted above some connection may be presumed between the khan's raids of the Turkmans and the expeditions of the Qalmuqs against Khwarazm. In 1653 peace was concluded with the Qalmuqs, in connection with which Abul-Ghāzī is alleged to have made the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 324 sq.; transl., 347 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Aristov, *Zametki ob etnich. sostave Turkskikh plemen*, SPb. 1897, 141: C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, 1888, pp. 125 and 186.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in the text (p. 325); in the translation, p. 348 — *Toudj*, which is not among the Errata; Index gives — *Foudj*.

bold assertion that the Qalmuqs had never been the enemies of Khwarazm<sup>1</sup>. The first Qalmuq raid had occurred during the winter of 1603-4<sup>2</sup>, as Abul-Ghāzī, himself avers.

Judging by the details given by Abul-Ghāzī, the expeditions against the Turkmans were plundering raids; it is stated that finally the khan brought the Turkmans into submission and for several years, till the beginning of the war with the Uzbeks of Bukhara in 1655 (Year of the Sheep), he ruled in complete peace<sup>3</sup>. During his wars with the Turkmans Abul-Ghāzī took necessary measures to make himself safe on the Persian side, and already in 1648 (Year of the Mouse) he sent an embassy to the shah<sup>4</sup>. During the war between Khwarazm and Bukhara, the khan of Bukhara, ‘Abdul-‘Azīz, asked the shah to release the Khwarazmian prince who was held in Persia, in order to create difficulties for Abul-Ghāzī in Khwarazm, but the shah, in view of Abul-Ghāzī’s long residence in Persia and his good relations with that country since his return to Khwarazm, would not agree<sup>5</sup>.

Under Abul-Ghāzī’s son and successor, Anūsha (1663-1687) the Turkmans<sup>6</sup> had no possibility to oppose the khan’s power. Anūsha’s wife, Tokhta-khanīm, came from among the Turkmans living near Darghān, on the southern border of Khwarazm. Two years after the death of Anūsha, consequently in 1689, her son Erenk-khan ascended the throne. The youthful khan (his elder brother died at the age of seventeen) indulged in romantic adventures, and while returning from one of these escapades was thrown from his horse and killed. No sooner did his mother learn about his death than she had him buried, and before the news had spread, travelled to her tribe in Darghān and brought back

<sup>1</sup> Aboul-Ghāzi, text, 327; transl., 350.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 275; transl., 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, text, 327; transl., 351.

<sup>4</sup> *Khuld-i barīn*, MS. Browne, f. 117a.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 150b.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Khwarazmian historian Muḥsin who wrote in the beginning of the 19th century. On him see *Mélanges asiatiques*, X, 278; *EI*, II, 987.

with her a nephew who was of the same age as the khan and very similar to him in appearance. It was then given out that the khan had been visiting his Turkman relations and was now coming home. By this trick the young Turkman succeeded in bringing his fellow-tribesmen into Khiva and taking possession of the town, after which he began to persecute the Uzbeks. Some of the latter went to the Aral region, which had seceded from Khiva already during the lifetime of the true Erenk-khan, and returned with an army. The usurper was killed, Tokhta-khanım executed, and perhaps only one in a hundred of the Turkmans escaped with their lives. These events took place in the year 1106/1694-5.

The next mention of the Turkmans comes in the account of the reign of Mūsā-khan, and must belong to the early 18th century. This khan was more powerful than his predecessor and struck coins in his own name. Tribute was paid to him by the inhabitants of towns and castles from Marv to Astarabad "along the mountains". The hostility of the amirs of Khiva forced the khan to seek refuge in Marv where he was killed, and his head sent to Khiva. Such is the version given by Mu'nis. According to the account of Khoja Nafas, who left Khiva in 1713, Mūsā was still alive at the time of the Russian expedition of Bekovich-Cherkassky (1717) and was residing in Astarabad<sup>1</sup>, but Florio Beneveni, who visited Khiva in 1725, knew already that Mūsā-khan had been killed by the Khivans; there were fears that his death was going to be avenged by his son Shah-Timur in whose name rebels were operating<sup>2</sup>.

The time of khan Shīr-Ghāzī (1715-1727), under whom the expedition of Bekovich took place, was a period during which Khwarazm recovered its power. At the very beginning of his reign the khan received expressions of submission and tribute from Persians and Turkmans living from Marv to Astarabad and Balkhan, along the mountains and the banks of the Atrak and the Gurgān. In 1716 (Year of the Monkey) the Turkmans took part in a successful expedition of the khan against Mashhad.

<sup>1</sup> *Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.*, IX (1853), 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

In the reign of Peter the Great three clans of Turkmen, namely the Chavdur (Choudur), the Igdır and the Soyanaji<sup>1</sup>, migrated from Manghishlaq by way of Astrakhan on to the Kuma in the northern Caucasus. According to the data collected in 1809<sup>2</sup>, these Turkmen "joined the Qalmuq khan Ayuq (1670-1724) of their own free will, and followed his seasonal moves, for they were entrusted to his special care". The migration took place before the emperor's Persian campaign (1722), and the tradition still exists among the Turkmen that Peter I personally commended them to Ayuq, while according to some data the migration began already at the time of Puntsuq-Monchaq, father of Ayuq (1667-1670)<sup>3</sup>. Information on the history of these Turkmen is scanty. By settling among the Qalmuqs they became, like the latter, Russian subjects and their clashes with the Qalmuqs were investigated by the Russian authorities. In 1737 a small number of Turkmen is mentioned near Astrakhan (133 tents) and Krasny Yar (10 tents). Khan Donduq-Ombo demanded that these Turkmen should be handed over to him together with the Qalmuqs who were in the same region, but met with a refusal. Of greater importance for the Turkmen was the attempt made in 1771 by the Qalmuqs to carry them along with them when they decided to leave Russia for China. Part of the Turkmen, numbering 340 tents, broke away from them on the trek and returned to Russia, where they were settled in the region between Kolpichyev and the Kuma. The other Turkmen and the Qalmuqs with whom they were trekking were attacked by the Qirghiz (i.e. the present day "Qazakhs"). In a report submitted

<sup>1</sup> So spelt in A. N. Samoylovich's article in *Izv. Russk. Komiteta dlia izucheniya Sredney i Vostochnoy Azii*, ser. II, No. 2, SPb., 1913, p. 67. In the documents stands: "the Sunzhazhi clan".

<sup>2</sup> Preserved in the Astrakhan Qalmuq archives and kindly communicated to me by Prof. N. N. Palmov.

<sup>3</sup> E. Weidenbaum's *Guide-book on the Caucasus*, Tiflis 1888, p. 126, contains the statement that in A.D. 1630 the Turkmen were conquered by the Qalmuqs and brought by them on to the steppes bordering on the Caucasus. According to Samoylovich, "*Abdu-s-Sattar-qazi*, a book of tales about the battles of the Teke", SPb. 1914, p. 092, the migration of the Turkmen took place "towards the beginning of the 18th century".

in 1810, the Turkmans themselves speak of a successful battle with "Qirghiz-Qaysaqs", although part of them is known to have returned to Russia from "Qirghiz captivity". In 1778 at St. Peter's fort the testimony was taken down "of the elder Qubunbay about the abduction of Turkmans by Ablay's lieutenant Ubushi, about their captivity at Ablay-sultan's and about their escape from him". Ablay, head of the Middle Horde, assumed the title of khan in 1771. He was regarded as a Russian subject and, like other Qazakhs, had received orders to attack the Qalmuqs and force them to return within the borders of Russia. The Turkmans who had escaped from captivity were obliged to lead their nomadic existence between the Kuma and Kizliar. Their request, submitted in 1776 "for permission to move from the vicinity of Fort Kizliar to the neighbouring uluses of the Qalmuqs" was refused. In a petition dated 1810 the Turkmans wrote about their participation in the defence of Kizliar against the shah of Persia. According to information collected in 1809, there were 836 tents of north-Caucasian, or, as they were later called, Stavropol Turkmans: 336 of the Ighdir tribe and 250 each of the tribes Chavdur and Soynaji. In 1906 the Stavropol Turkmans numbered 15,990 (9,368 men and 6,622 women), and in 1912 somewhat fewer: 15,534 (9,086 men and 6,448 women), which led the Russian investigator to conclude<sup>1</sup> that the Turkmans were dying out. Now they live very far from Kizliar, on the Qalauz, the eastern Manich and the Kuma. In 1809 the Turkmans wrote that "they had no agriculture owing to the unsuitability of the soil and their disinclination for it". To-day many of them lead the life of sedentary agriculturists, keeping in their yards, as do the Uzbeks in Khiva, their felt tents (*yurts*) which "during the summer are taken outside the village". A. N. Samoylovich noted in 1912 the considerable progress of these Turkmans as compared with what was known about them at the beginning of the century. They do not seem to have broken off their relations with their fellow-tribesmen in Central Asia; we know, for instance, that the poet Makhtum-quli of the Göklen tribe, who must have

<sup>1</sup> A. N. Samoylovich, *l.c.*

lived in the days after their migration<sup>1</sup>, became the national poet of all the Turkmans including those of Stavropol.

In the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century the Russians took little interest in the Turkmans who had remained in Central Asia. There were clashes on the Caspian sea between the Russian traders and the sea-board Turkmans. The Astrakhan archives of the Qalmuq affairs possess some information on one of these incidents which occurred in 1719. In a report issued by a headman subordinated to Ayuq it is said: "Like those of Yetsan (?) and Yenibuluk, these Turkmans do not obey us". In 1774 the Turkmans themselves suggested that the Russians build a "trading station" in Manghishlaq; the Ogurchinsky islands (S.W. of Krasnovodsk) were also pointed out as a suitable place for the purpose, but neither suggestion was taken up. There exists an unpublished journal of the navigator Lebedev who, together with Captain Kopitovsky, visited the Turkmans in connection with their request to be accepted as Russian subjects. In reply it was declared to them that "they should deserve the favour of being taken under the protection of Russia by carrying on peaceful trade with the merchants, by giving free passage and help to those who travel with goods to Khiva and Bukhara, and by always returning Russian captives"<sup>2</sup>. In 1768 the rumour spread that the Qirghiz (i.e. Qazakhs) had the intention of "attacking the Turkmans camping in the vicinity of Khiva". This aroused some anxiety in Russia but only because it was feared "that the Qirghiz, changing their minds, might attack the Qalmuqs"<sup>3</sup>. No action seems to have been taken either with regard to a petition which six elders of the Choudur clan from Manghishlaq took to Astrakhan in August 1810; 2,300 families of Turkmans wished to be granted Russian citizenship; the elders said that the Turkmans, numbering 2,500 families, had left Khiva and had held

<sup>1</sup> Makhtum-quli's father, Doulat-Mamed, wrote in A.D. 1753-4 (A. N. Samoylovich in *ZVO*, XXII, 146).

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, *Istoriya izucheniya vostoka*, Leningrad 1925, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> S. M. Soloviyev, *History of Russia from ancient times* (in Russian) ed. "Obshch. polza", VI, 413 sq.

their own in "stubborn fighting" against a Khivan force which had been sent to bring them back <sup>1</sup>.

Turkman traditions connect the movements of the Turkman tribes with the events of Nādir-shāh's reign <sup>2</sup>. The weakening of the Persian power under the last Safavids made it possible for the Uzbeks and Turkmans to resume their raids into Khorasan. Nādir-shāh not only repelled these raids but undertook a successful campaign into Turkestan, conquering and for a time subduing Bukhara and Khiva which involved the subjection of the Turkmans. Nādir-shāh himself was a Turkman of the Afshar tribe and was born in Deregez, one of the northern marches of Khorasan which gravitated towards Abīvard, at the time the centre of the Afshars. In Abīvard lived the future father-in-law of Nādir-shāh, Bābā-ʿAlī-bek Kōse-Ahmadlu, who constantly warred with the Uzbeks and other Turkmans <sup>3</sup>. Nādir-shāh came into prominence during the internal disorders towards the end of the Safavid rule; he surrounded himself with a band of followers and seized Abīvard, Dastajerd (in Deregez where he was born) and Kalāt which remained his main bulwark even in later times. He clashed with leaders like himself who had seized other towns of Khorasan; his chief rival was Malik Mahmūd of Sīstān who had possessed himself of Mashhad, but Nādir had also to fight several Uzbeks and Turkmans, and even some members of his own Afshar tribe. The historian Mahdi-khan gives an account of these hostilities but without any definite dates. Thus he speaks of Nādir's expedition, in alliance with Qūchān Kurds and others, against Nesā and Durūn held by the Turkmans of the ʿAli-eli, Imreli, Teke and Yomut tribes. At their head stood the ruler of Durūn, Saʿīd-sultan, who was forced to submit and make peace <sup>4</sup>. When soon after Nādir was defeated by Malik Mahmūd Sīstānī and with two companions fled to Kalāt, the Turkmans of Durūn gave aid to those Afshars who were in revolt against Nādir.

<sup>1</sup> Astrakhan, Qalmuq archives, Files of the year 1811, No. 987.

<sup>2</sup> A. N. Samoylovich, *Abdu-s-Saṭṭār-qazī*, 92.

<sup>3</sup> Mahdi-khan, *Tarīkh-i Nādiri*, Pers. lith. ed. 1260, p. 27 (below).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.



Nādir set out from Kalāt and defeated them near Abīvard<sup>1</sup>. Later we again find the Turkmans of Durūn and Nesā in an alliance with Malik Mahmūd against Nādir. After a quick march from Abīvard, covering 20 farsakhs (some 100 km.) in one night, Nādir fell upon the Turkmans in Bāghābād (near Nesā) and killed and plundered them; thus he brought the Turkmans back on to “the right path” and forced them to obey him<sup>2</sup>.

Nādir also intervened in the affairs of Marv where there were no Turkmans at the time. The town itself was in the hands of the Qajars [also a pro-Safavid clan of Turkmans], while the surrounding country was held by the Tatars and Arabs. Owing to dissensions among the Qajars, the Tatars got the upper hand and won over the Yomut who had migrated from Urgenj (Khwarazm) to Qaraqum. The Qajars in their turn attacked the Yomut, killing some, capturing others; after that the Tatars, Arabs and Turkmans occupied the castle of Kal, 12 farsakhs from Marv, near the Sultānband dam whence Marv received its water, and for three years held out there. The inhabitants of Marv who began to suffer from lack of water appealed for help to Nādir-shāh who set out for Marv but, because of high water in the Tejen, turned aside towards Sarakhs<sup>3</sup>. Mahdi-khan describes the restoration of the Marv dam by Nādir-shāh at another place, in the account of the events of 1731<sup>4</sup>.

The Uzbeks and Turkmans of Khwarazm, who during the decline of the Safavid dynasty had resumed their raids into Khorasan, continued these incursions under the khan Shīr-Ghāzī (1715-1727) but without success. Shīr-Ghāzī stopped his attacks and sent envoys to Khorasan to treat about the passage of trade caravans from Khwarazm. Malik Mahmūd of Sīstān, who was still in possession of Mashhad, had entrusted to the inhabitants of the village of Chahcha, which belonged to him, the task of escorting a caravan back to the Tejen; but in Chahcha the caravan

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 192. These events are not mentioned at all in Zhukovsky's *Ruins of ancient Marv* (in Russian).

was plundered and the traders killed. Shīr-Ghāzī sent envoys to Nādir, to whom the robbing of the caravan was evidently ascribed, and requested the return of the property and the compensation of the merchants (i.e. probably of their families). The request was granted<sup>1</sup>. This incident is not mentioned in the history of Khwarazm, though Nādir is made out as taking part in armed clashes with Shīr-Ghāzī's forces. In the Year of the Monkey (A.D. 1716) Shīr-Ghāzī took Mashhad after a two days' siege, and marched from there on Nishapur which he was unable to take. Nādir who happened to be in the vicinity of Nishapur learnt of the withdrawal of the Uzbeks and took part in the pursuit. This time Shīr-Ghāzī abandoned Mashhad, only to retake it three years later in the Year of the Pig (A.D. 1719).

In A.D. 1729 Nādir took Herat and from there returned to Mashhad. His intention was to march against the Turkmans during the winter, spending the end of the spring in Astarabad<sup>2</sup>, but circumstances forced him to devote this year to the struggle against the Afghan usurper Shāh Ashraf and to the liquidation of the Afghan rule in Isfahan. Only in September 1730 Nādir arrived in Astarabad and was planning to deliver a simultaneous blow to the Yomut and Göklen. His enemies learnt of his preparations from the Ogurchi Turkmans, and had time to flee — the Yomut in the direction of Khiva, and the Göklen to the river Sumbar. Nādir forbade the Khorasanians to have any dealings with the Turkmans<sup>3</sup>.

In the spring of 1732, on Nādir's orders, the building was begun on the Chandīr<sup>4</sup> of a fort to hold a garrison of three thousand men, from which immediate measures could be taken against the Yomut and the Göklen in case of any movements on their part. This plan was later abandoned because it was recognised that the site was too far removed from "water and human habitation". What buildings had been started upon were razed. In the beginning of June chiefs (*on-begi*) of the Turkmans (pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 53 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 145 sq.

<sup>4</sup> [The northern tributary of the Atrak].

bably Yomut) and the Göklen came to Mashhad to express their submission to Nādir. He requested them to send him one thousand young men to take part in his campaign in the West. The demand was not complied with, and later new measures were taken against the Turkmans. A blow was dealt to the Yomut who had earlier fled before the Persian army; the men were killed, and the women sold into slavery. The Yomut were pursued as far as Balkhan and Mashhad-i Misriyān <sup>1</sup> (perhaps the first mention of the ruins of Dihistan under this name).

In the spring of 1735 (Year of the Hare) <sup>2</sup> when Nādir was in Shamākhī, news was received that Ilbars-khan of Khiva had dispatched Chyen-vakil of the Yomut with three thousand Turkmans to raid the northern marches of Khorasan. On their way back the Turkmans were overtaken by the Persian troops. According to Mahdi-khan, the Persians killed many Turkmans for which their commanders were rewarded by the shah <sup>3</sup>. The version given in the history of Khiva is that the Persians were defeated and the Turkmans returned to the khan with a rich booty.

In 1739, when Nādir-shāh was in India, Ilbars-khan personally led a force of Uzbeks and Turkmans on a raid into Khorasan. He crossed the Tejen at a distance of five farsakhs (some 25 km.) from Sarakhs, when the son of Nādir-shāh, Riḍā-quli arrived in Sarakhs. Ilbars changed his route and laid siege to the castle of Qahlān, between Nesā and Abīvard. The commander of the castle was in Abīvard where he assembled a force with which he moved to relieve the castle. Ilbars mistook this force for that of Riḍā-quli and turned back to Khwarazm <sup>4</sup>.

In 1740 Nādir-shāh conquered the two Central Asian khanates, Bukhara and Khiva, in each of which there were both Turkmans and Uzbeks. The khanate of Bukhara offered no resistance, but Nādir-shāh took away with him a greater number of fighting

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 197. On the events of 1732 in Turkmenia — p. 191 sq.

<sup>2</sup> In the history of Khiva this raid is placed in the Year of the Dragon (A.D. 1736).

<sup>3</sup> Mahdi-khan, 270 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 368 sq.

men than he was wont to do; twenty thousand Uzbeks and Turk-mans enrolled in Nādir-shāh's army passed through Chārjūy <sup>1</sup>. In Khiva, on the contrary, Nādir-shāh met with stubborn resistance; both khan Ilbars and Muhammad-<sup>c</sup>Alī-khan Ushak, chief of the Turkmen <sup>2</sup>, fought valiantly. The Khivan historian says that the Khivan army was composed both of Uzbeks and Turk-mans and that the latter (Yomut, Teke and others) displayed the most reckless defiance <sup>3</sup>. For their resistance the khan and many nobles paid with their lives; four thousand Uzbeks were led away, but nothing is said about the Turkmen.

Nādir-shāh installed in Khwarazm Ṭāhir, a local prince, but within six months the latter was killed in an affray with the Uzbeks of Aral and the Qazakhs led by Nūr-<sup>c</sup>Alī, who for a short time occupied the throne of Khiva. The punitive expedition into Khwarazm <sup>4</sup> planned by Nādir who was at the time in Daghestan, did not take place; the leader of the revolt, Artuq-inaq-khan went to Marv, the residence of Nādir's son, Naṣrullāh, who was governor of Khorasan, and gained him to his cause. In the Year of the Dog (A.D. 1742) the Persians, at the request of the Khwarazmians, recognised as their khan Ilbars's son Abul-Muhammad, whom Nādir renamed Abul-Ghāzī <sup>5</sup>. Meanwhile the order was given to transfer the Yomut and Teke from Khwarazm to Khorasan <sup>6</sup>. In the Year of the Pig (A.D. 1743) some Khwarazmian rebels took advantage of this to raise a revolt with the help of the Yomut. According to Mahdi-khan <sup>7</sup> the rebels killed Artuq-inaq, but the history of Khiva quotes another name and lays the killing at the khan's door. It adds, however, that Artuq-inaq too was killed in 1747 (Year of the Hare), also on the khan's orders; then the whole region fell into the power of the Yomut; none of the inhabitants ventured outside the fortifications and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 391.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 405 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Thus according to the history of Khiva.

<sup>6</sup> Mahdi-khan, 419.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 445.

famine began. The population appealed for help to Nādir-shāh who sent his nephew ʿAli-quli. In 1745 (Year of the Ox) the Yomut were defeated; they destroyed their homes with their own hands and fled into the Balkhan mountains. ʿAli-quli consolidated the khan's position on his throne and returned to Nādir-shāh who gave orders for one thousand men from among the Yomut to join the Persian army, and for the others to remain where they were and obey the Persian authorities <sup>1</sup>.

These orders could hardly have been complied with; in the year of Nādir's death (1747) there is a mention of a Turkman revolt in alliance with the Qajars of Astarabad <sup>2</sup>. The chief of the Qajars, Muhammad Hasan-khan fled to Bekenj-khan, chief of the Yomut. They were joined by the Göklen. Nādir-shāh's successor, ʿAli-quli, who had taken the name of ʿAli-shah (or ʿAdil-shah) fell suddenly upon the rebels and routed them but did not pursue those who fled <sup>3</sup>.

The same Yomut chief is also mentioned in the history of Khiva under the name of Bekenj-ʿAlī-Şūfī. In 1759 he was defeated among other rebels by the troops of Khiva. Soon after Khiva was brought to the brink of destruction by the three-year domination (1767-1770) of the Yomut <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 459.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Muġmil et-tāriġh-i baʿd-Nādirġje des Ibn-Muġammed Emġn Abu-l-Ĥasan aus Ģulistāne*. Herausg. von O. Mann, Leiden 1891, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Barthold, *Irrigation*, 20.

## VI. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I shall not dwell in detail on the events of the 19th century on which there exists some literature which needs checking on the basis of Turkman chronicles and documents preserved in Russian archives. The khans of the Qungrat [Qangur-at] dynasty, who ruled in Khiva from 1804 to 1920, several times claimed sovereignty over the whole of Turkmenia; the Turkmenians now resolutely resisted them in their own country, and now themselves made devastating raids into the khanate. Less important were the claims of the amirs of Bukhara and of the shahs of Persia. In consequence of the rivalry between these three powers, the Turkmenians, in the event of a clash with one of them, were able to seek the aid of the other two. Characteristic examples are the secession of the Turkmenians of Marv from Bukhara in 1822, and their voluntary submission to Khiva <sup>1</sup>, the building by the Khivians in 1824 of the new (present-day) Marv, the capture of this Khivan stronghold in 1843 by the Turkmenians (Salor and Teke) who sent the prisoners to the amir of Bukhara <sup>2</sup>; the victory of Qoushut-khan Teke over the khan of Khiva at Sarakhs in 1855 and the sending to Persia of the head of khan Muhammad-Amīn (Medemin) killed in this battle <sup>3</sup>; the victory of the same Qoushut-khan in 1860 over the Persians and the sending of one fifth of the booty to the khan of Khiva <sup>4</sup>. At the same time dissensions occurred among the Turkmenians themselves; the most characteristic event was the occupation by the Teke first of Akhal, where they fought the Emreli and Qaradashī tribes, then of Marv, where they fought the Sariq <sup>5</sup>; the advance of the Teke on Marv took place in 1857 and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 69 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Khiva*, f. 412a (references are to the Asiatic Museum MS. 590 ob).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 505a.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 587b.

<sup>5</sup> A. Samoylovich, *Abdu-s-Sattār-qazī*, 091. At another place (*ZVO*, XIX, 018 sq.) Samoylovich quotes extracts from Turkman MSS., according to which the Sariq migrated from Chārjūy into the Marv oasis under Bay-

was crowned with success in 1859<sup>1</sup>. We have seen that separate detachments of Teke had been penetrating into Marv even before that date. The khans of Khiva were also able to exploit dissensions among the Turkmans. In 1854 Medemin-khan undertook an expedition against Marv under the pretext that it was necessary to put an end to the disputes between the Sariq and the Teke about land and water. In March 1855 Medemin-khan fell in the battle against Qoushut-khan Teke near Sarakhs; on September 1st the new khan ‘Abdullāh was killed in a battle with the Teke<sup>2</sup>. The next khan, Qutluq-Murād, was offered help against the Yomut by the Teke of Akhal and the Sariq, and the Teke and Salor of Tejen and Marv<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, the pretender Er-Nazar-biy who appeared among the Qaraqalpaks of Qungrat, entered into an alliance with the Yomut<sup>4</sup>. In the beginning of 1856 the Yomut carried out a successful expedition against Khiva and killed the khan; on February 11th the vazir Muhammad-Ya‘qūb (he was executed in the same year on the orders of the new khan) managed to rouse the population and organise a massacre of the Yomut which lasted three and a half hours<sup>5</sup>.

In Persia, immediately after the cessation of disorders and the establishment of the Qājār dynasty, measures were taken against the Turkman raids. Punitive expeditions were sent from Astara-bad against the Yomut and the Göklen, and from Khorasan against the Teke and their neighbours, but produced no lasting results. Even at the beginning of the 19th century such actions taken by the Persians proved fruitless<sup>6</sup>, but the Persians continued to regard the Yomut and the Göklen as their subjects. When in 1819 the Russian ambassador to Khiva, Muravyev, suggested that the trade route across Manghishlaq be replaced by a route from “the port of Krasnovodsk”, Muhammad-Rahīm-khan

ram-‘Alī-khan, i.e. before 1785. Shāh-Murād of Bukhara who defeated Bayram-‘Alī-khan gave Marv to the Sariq, and Yolatan to the Salor.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 0103.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Khiva*, 511b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 514 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 516 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 521 sq.

<sup>6</sup> See *Rauḍat as-ṣafā* by Riḍā-quli khan, v. IX.

himself admitted that "although it was true that the Manghishlaq route was much longer than that of Krasnovodsk, the people of Manghishlaq were devoted to him, whereas the sea-board Yomut living in the direction of Astarabad mainly served the Qajars" <sup>1</sup>. Besides raids into Persia, the Yomut made incursions into Khiva. To escape from these plundering attacks the Mangit clan of the Uzbeks migrated in 1800 to the banks of the Amu-darya where they founded the town (or rather a market place) Mangit <sup>2</sup> which still exists to-day. The khans of Khiva, together with the Turkmen, made many incursions into the border lands of Persia and intervened in the hostilities between the Turkmen and the Persians. When in 1834 the Göklen successfully invaded the Gurgān region and a strong Persian army had moved up threatening them with reprisals, their khan Allā-Qul in the following year resettled some of them in Qizil-Arvat, and others in Khwarazm <sup>3</sup>. In 1837 the khan restored the stronghold at Meihane and left there part of the Göklen. Other Göklen were allocated lands near Kunya-Urgenj <sup>4</sup>. This expedition of the khan was in reprisal for the campaign of Shah Muhammad of Persia on to the Gurgan and the Atrak in 1836 intended to push the Turkmen back in the direction of Khiva and Urgenj <sup>5</sup>.

Under Shah Muhammad (1834-1848) there also took place the expedition of the governor of Mazandaran to the island of Cheleken which had been seized by the Turkman Qiyat-khan, of the Ja'far-bay clan (of the Yomut tribe). By seizing the island Qiyat-khan cut the road between the eastern and western shores of the sea; when clashing with the Persian authorities he claimed to be a Russian subject, and during complications with the Russians he made the opposite claim. The Persian governor succeeded in defeating the Turkmen, killing some and taking others prisoner. Shah Muhammad received the news of this event when on an expedition against Herat in 1837.

<sup>1</sup> N. Muravyev, *Journey in Turkmenia and Khiva* (in Russian), Moscow 1822, p. 134.

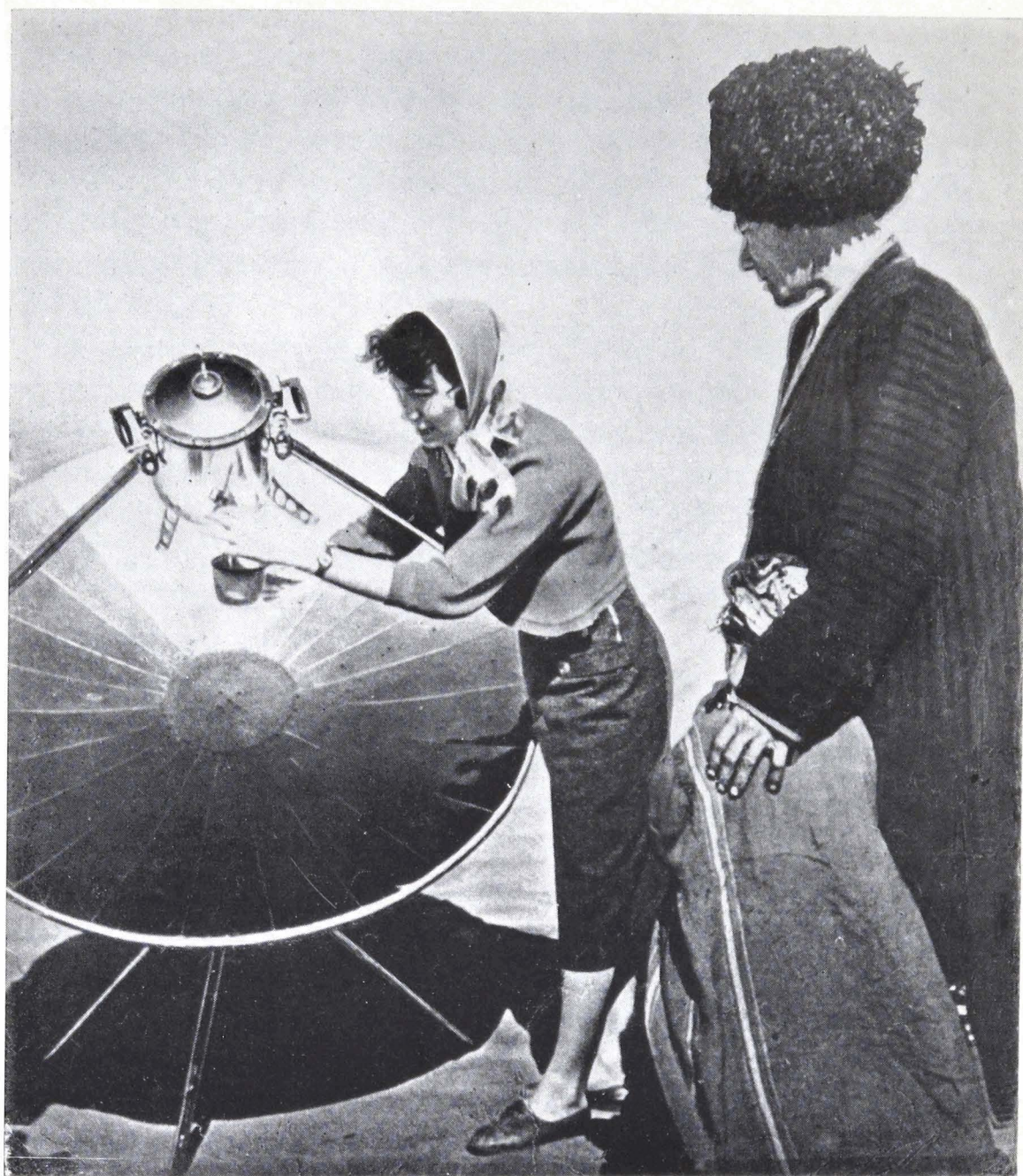
<sup>2</sup> *History of Khiva*, ff. 75b, 133b and 144b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 351 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 357 sq.

<sup>5</sup> On this and the following events see *Rauḍat as-ṣafā*, v. X.





A Turkman couple in the desert using a solar reflector to make tea



At the end of the reign of Shah Muhammad the former governor of Khorasan, Muhammad-Hasan-khan, who lived in Sarakhs, raised a revolt against the government with the support of the Turkmans (Teke, Yomut, Göklen, Salor and Sariq) living in Sarakhs, Akhal, Tejen, Qari-yab and Khiva. He always had with him three thousand Turkmans — when some left him, others took their place. The revolt was put down with great difficulty.

During the Persian campaign of 1860 the Salor left Panjdeh for Maruchaq, from where they were later driven out by the Sariq, while formerly it was the Ersari tribe that used to live in Panjdeh <sup>1</sup>.

The political independence of the Turkman people came to an end on the Murghab when simultaneously, in 1884, the Russians entered Marv and the Afghans occupied Panjdeh, which, however, they had to leave in 1885. By military action and agreements reached in the 1880-S the lands of the Turkman people were divided between Russia (with the vassal khanates of Khiva and Bukhara) Persia and Afghanistan. The Russian Turkmans, as subjects of the most powerful of the three states, were in the most favourable situation, especially on the Persian frontier where, according to the agreement, none of the small rivers rising in Persia and flowing into Russia could be utilised for irrigation before entering Russian territory. This privilege was lost to the Turkmans after the Revolution. On the other hand, it is on Soviet territory that for the first time the principle of the political unification of the Turkman people was advanced and a feeling of national unity aroused among the Turkmans themselves, the only unity which they had until then realised having been that of language and literature. As a clear witness of the careful study of Turkman life one can quote the following passage from a Russian book on the results of the national demarcation (*rayonirovaniye*) in Central Asia: "Every Turkman knows firmly his genealogy and makes hardly any distinction between his personal interests and those of his clan. Single clans, even those belonging to the same tribe, are often hostile to one another. They band toge-

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, 1888, p. 189.

ther only when they come out against members of another tribe or people . . . National consciousness is very slight. Only in recent times, especially in the year following the Revolution, separate tribes have begun to get used to the idea that they are only part of a national whole — the Turkman people”<sup>1</sup>. Let us hope that the success of cultural work will help this consciousness to grow.

<sup>1</sup> *Territory and population of Bukhara and Khwarazm*. Part 2: *Khwarazm*. Tashkent 1926, p. 102 sq.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aboul-Ghâzi — *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares* par Aboul-Ghâzi Behâdour Khan, publ., traduite et annotée par le Baron Desmaisons, SPb. 1871-1874.

*Genealogy* — *The genealogy of the Turkmans* by Abul-Ghâzi, khan of Khwarazm, Russian translation by A. Toumansky, Askhabad 1897.

*Histoire des Mogols* — see above Aboul-Ghâzi.

*Irrigation* — Barthold, *K istorii orosheniya Turkestana* (On the history of irrigation in Turkestan), SPb. 1914.

*Otchet* — Barthold, *Otchet o poyezdke v Srednuyu Aziyu v 1893-4* (Report on an expedition to Central Asia in 1893-4), in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. I, No. 4, 1897.

*Pamiatniki* — *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh i torgovykh snosheniy moskovskoy Rusi s Persiyey* (Documents on the diplomatic and trade relations between Muscovite Russia and Persia), ed. N. J. Veselovsky, SPb., vol. I 1890, vol. II 1892.

*Turkestan* — Barthold, *Turkestan*, English edition, GMS, 1928.

*Turkestan*, texts — Barthold, *Turkestan*, Russian ed., I, 1898.

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